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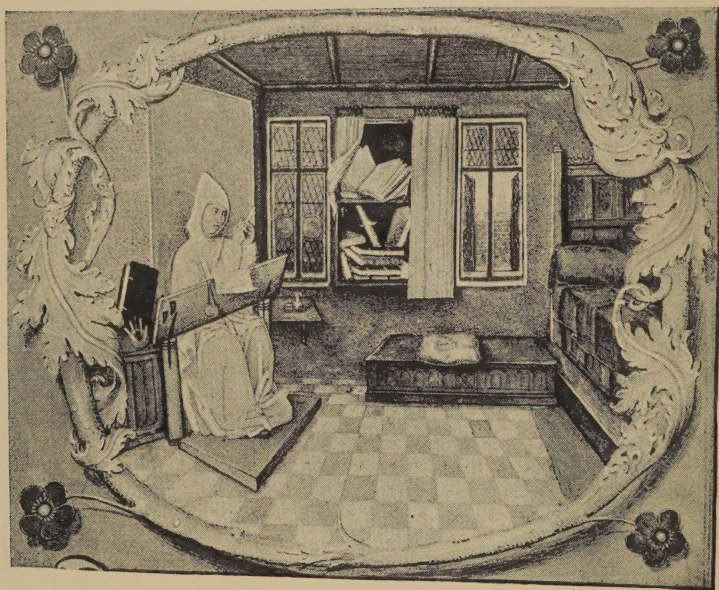
THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER IN ENGLAND

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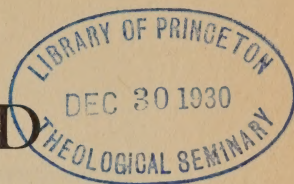
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CHARTREUSE TAILLANT SON ROSEAU

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THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER IN ENGLAND



By ✓
E. MARGARET THOMPSON

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INTRODUCTION

THE English Carthusians were always comparatively few, yet out of their number eighteen died for conscience' sake in the unhappy struggle between Henry VIII. and the Pope, outnumbering in this respect any of the monastic orders here. They were obscure men, not all of gentle birth, yet a writer, opposed to their ecclesiastical views, could say of three of the eighteen, what he might have said of several of the others, that they were "not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving of everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred who, in the summer morning, sat combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ" (Froude, *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ii., p. 350). Their brave resistance, their heroic endurance of suffering, and of ignominious and horrible deaths, for what they held to be truth, and vital for the unity of the Church, the Papal Supremacy, was a result not merely of personal character but of the Carthusian training, its severe asceticism, and its strict discipline, which was maintained unimpaired down to the time of the suppression of the religious houses.

Books and papers have been written on the Charterhouses of London and of Mount Grace. Their authors, in spite of their archæological interest in the monastic remains, do not seem to have given much study to Carthusian customs and statutes, but have been content, from a first or second hand acquaintance, to give a bare outline of Carthusian existence from the life of the modern members of the Order as lived at La Grande Chartreuse, or at St. Hugh's, Parkminster. Thus they give an unsatisfactory picture of the religious side of a mediæval or pre-Reformation Charterhouse. For though undoubtedly the main features and the Carthusian ideals and purpose are the same, yet during the centuries there have been changes, or perhaps the Carthusians would prefer to say developments, in practice, and even changes resulting, it would seem, from a changed outlook on the world without Carthusian walls. For instance, one thinks of the bareness of the church of the early Chartreux, without

carpet or hangings, and only the cup and reed for the altar service in precious metal, of the rejected gift of rich plate from the Count of Nevers, of the architectural simplicity of the little church at Witham and of the Hinton fragment in contrast with the more ambitious style of Mountgrace, and one is aware of the complaint urged at the beginning of the fourteenth century that the Order allowed no pictures in its monasteries; and then one reads of a new church erected after the fire of 1320 at La Grande Chartreuse, decorated after the manner of the Sainte-Chapelle, of precious objects of art burnt in the sack of that monastery by the Huguenots in 1562, of a silver reliquary containing part of the skull of St. Bruno, sown with precious stones, of pictures in the chapter-house there, and of a cloister in the Chartreuse at Paris adorned by Lesueur with paintings of scenes in the life of St. Bruno (*La Grande Chartreuse par un Chartreux*, pp. 230, 244-5); and one cannot forget the sometimes highly decorated graceful architecture of an Italian Certosa. One remembers the repudiation by Guigo, the fifth prior of the Chartreux, of the idea that it was incumbent on them to care for the bodies of other people, his disapproval of a troop of beggars, or alms-folk, at their gates, his hint even that their scanty sufficiency hardly permitted extensive charity; and then one is told that at the period of the French Revolution there was at La Grande Chartreuse a weekly distribution of 16,000 pounds of bread to men and women at different places of their domain, of 2,000 livres in money given yearly to mendicants, and of the employment of two brothers (converses, presumably), with boys to assist them, in making clothes for the poor out of the old habits of the monks and lay-brothers (*ibid.*, p. 183). If there were these and other changes in the Order on the Continent, even at the very fountain-head, La Grande Chartreuse, there were changes in it here also before the dissolution of the charterhouses; change, indeed, was almost unavoidable in the case of a monastic system enduring through many ages and stretching itself into distant countries with varying local circumstances. Therefore, in giving an account of the English charterhouses, the best material for an idea of the existence within them is to be supplied from those periods of Carthusian monachism contemporary with them.

This book is an attempt to describe the Carthusian system, its rule and discipline, and so far as possible to describe

life in its monasteries here. It does not pretend to be a complete history of individual English charterhouses, though a detailed relation of the origin of each with any important subsequent incidents has been included. The space devoted to the Witham and London charterhouses is inevitably out of proportion to that given to the others, because the larger amount of interesting material extant happens to relate to them and not to the others. Moreover, the history of the early years of the Witham monastery is that of the introduction and establishment of the Carthusian Order in England; and the history of the last years of the House of the Salutation in London is really the history of the abolition of the Order here. The temporal property of the Carthusian convents, the details of the seals used in their legal transactions, and lists of their priors, are of antiquarian and topographical interest, but are matters outside the scope of this book, which is mainly concerned with the religious life of these monks, and I use the term religious in the monastic sense. With the Carthusian rite, either as to the Mass or to the Breviary, being inexperienced in liturgical matters, I have judged it wiser not to deal. There is a long article on the subject in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie* of Dom F. Cabrol.

I am aware that the last part of this book differs in the nature of its contents to the rest. But no account of the English Carthusians would be complete without an account of their last years. The story of the London Carthusians has been told before not altogether accurately, but their less heroic brethren have received no attention. I have purposely given a full relation, illustrating it with the contemporary documents, whether favourable to the monks or not, because these throw considerable light on the state of discipline in the English convents of the Order at the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the House of the Salutation it had been maintained in proper force; hence the martyr spirit and Cromwell's difficulties with the "obstinates" on the question of the supremacy. Men thoroughly imbued by the Carthusian system with the monastic virtue of obedience must have found it additionally difficult to take part against the hitherto acknowledged head of Christendom. The Carthusian rule meant self-immolation; acceptance of hanging and torture at Tyburn for the sake of conscience was the consequence of it.

My thanks are owing to the Rev. C. H. B. Hudson for the loan of his 1570 manuscript of Chauncy's *Passion* of the Carthusian Martyrs ; to the late Rev. G. Davies, Master of the Charterhouse, London, for the opportunity of inspecting and making notes from his volume containing the Sermons of Adam Carthusianus and the fragment of Witham Chronicle ; to Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., for sending me his two brochures, *La Chronique des premiers Chartreux* and *Les Écrits Spirituels des deux Guiges* ; and by no means least to Canon C. Jenkins for his continual encouragement while studying for this book, and for having read part of my manuscript, and to Dr. Rose Graham for reading the proofs.

My heaviest debt is to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Frere, the Bishop of Truro, who has very kindly perused the whole of my manuscript ; I have had the benefit of his valuable criticism and suggestions for its revision before being offered for publication. But he is in no wise answerable for any of the statements in these pages. For them and for my interpretation of my authorities I am alone responsible.

E. MARGARET THOMPSON.

ST. HUGH'S COTTAGE,
STOKE-BY-NAYLAND.

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PART I

THE FRENCH ORIGINS

CHAPTER I

ST. BRUNO AND THE EARLY CHARTREUX¹

AMONG the contemporaries of St. Bruno were Philip I., King of France, William the Norman, and Hildebrand, otherwise Pope Gregory VII., men somewhat typical, the first of the sensuality, cupidity, and venality, the other two of the rapacity and restless grasping after possession and power of the princes, both lay and ecclesiastical, in the world from which he turned.² A late legend, founded upon no contemporary evidence,³ evolves the origin of the Carthusian Order from the conversion of Bruno on witnessing the miraculous incident of the temporary resuscitation of a theologian at Paris, who on his way to burial cried out, "By the just judgment of God I am condemned!" Apart from the unlikelihood or impossibility of the story, the scanty materials for his biography show that such a conversion in Bruno's case was not necessary, that throughout he was giving single-hearted service to God and the Church; that, moreover, there was sufficient in his own experience, without the aid of miracle, to quicken the germ of other-worldliness which was probably from the first latent in his character, and to develop it until he was driven of the Spirit into the wilderness.

Bruno was born at Cologne about the year 1030. Whether

¹ The authorities for this chapter, except where otherwise stated, are *Acta Sanctorum* for October 6 (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 152); H. Löbbel, *Der Stifter des Carthauser-Ordens, der heilige Bruno aus Köln* (Knopfler, *Kirchengeschichtlicher Studien*, Band 5); F. A. Lefébvre, *Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux*.

² Gregory VII. was an austere idealist and reformer, sincere in his lofty aim for the Church; but his policy of exaltation of the papacy into a world power with suzerainty over all temporal kings savours of the spirit of those very princes of his own age, even though their abuses of lay investiture might seem to give him just ground for some of his claims.

³ Though found in some Carthusian MSS., the tale is worthless, considering the silence of writers who knew Bruno and the early Chartreux. Cf. Dom André Wilmart, *La Chronique des premiers Chartreux* (*Revue Mabillon*, 1926, 2^e série, No. 22, pp. 78, 130).

or not of the noble family of Hartefaust (*de duro pugno*), as a later, and also a Carthusian, tradition claims, at any rate he was of no mean birth. That he was brought up by the members of the collegiate church of St. Cunibert in that city is likely, for he afterwards held a canonry there. But no trustworthy evidence exists to verify the story that he studied at Paris either at the beginning of his career or later; nor, indeed, does it appear that he ever went to Paris. Rheims, in his time a chief centre of learning, can certainly claim him as her *alumnus*, for here he studied philosophy, theology, and even poetry. He returned to Cologne upon completing his theological studies to receive ordination from his own bishop. He left behind him a brilliant reputation. When therefore, in 1057, Herman, who had directed the schools at Rheims, betook himself to the cloister, Gervais, the Archbishop of Rheims, called on Bruno, young as he was, to fill the empty post. Bestowing on him a prebend in the cathedral, he appointed him rector, or master of the schools. Gervais died in 1067, and through simoniacal dealings with the venal Philip I., Manasses de Gournay got himself advanced to his place. So secular minded was the new occupant of the see, that the saying is attributed to him that "Rheims would be a good archbishopric if masses had not to be sung there." Under him, perhaps by his nomination, Master Bruno, if not in 1073, certainly in 1076, held the chancellorship of the cathedral. But between him and Manasses there was much discord, for no honest chancellor could countenance the doings of a chief who seized ecclesiastical property to which he had no personal right, and who made traffic out of spiritual things. Finally, the conduct of the archbishop became sufficiently scandalous to cause Bruno and some of his fellow dignitaries to accuse him before Hugh of Die, the papal legate. In consequence, Manasses was summoned by the latter to a council at Autun in 1077, in order to clear himself of the charges, and upon his non-appearance was suspended from his office. Meanwhile, Master Bruno and the other canons who had accused him had prudently withdrawn to the protection of Count Ebal at Rouci-sur-l'Aisne. After the council Manasses tried to intercept and seize them on their return thither, and failing in this attempt caused their dwellings in Rheims to be destroyed, and sold their prebends.

A conversation to which Bruno referred long afterwards

in a letter written from Calabria to Raoul le Verd, then provost of Rheims, seems to belong to this period. Here at Rouci, probably, was "Adam's house" with the little garden adjacent, where Master Bruno, Raoul le Verd, Fulk le Borgne, or the One-eyed (*Monoculus*), discussed the perishable riches of this world and the perennial joys of the other. Manasses, consecrated to the service of God, was shamelessly betaking himself to the service of Mammon. What more natural than that these ardent men, harassed too by the archbishop's enmity, should have turned their thoughts by way of contrast to those who forsake all to give a stricter devotion to their Lord? The three friends vowed to become monks. But Fulk le Borgne was one of those whom the chapter of Rheims chose to send to Rome on matters relating to their archbishop, and he was long in coming back; and the zeal of Raoul grew cold. Bruno himself either was not at once ready to fulfil his intention, or was forced by circumstances to wait; honour perhaps demanded that he should face the counter-accusations which Manasses made against him. The archbishop meanwhile appealed to the Roman Curia, and the pope, deceived, maybe, by his representations, reversed the sentence of deprivation passed by the legate, upon the promise of Manasses to employ the treasure of the see for its proper purpose, the benefit and honour of the Church. Most of the canons made peace with Manasses, but Bruno, knowing the man's character too well, gave up his post, and returned to his native land, where for a while he devoted himself to evangelising his own countrymen.

The papal decision naturally only confirmed Manasses in his evil courses, with the consequence that in 1080 he was finally deposed. Bruno now went back to Rheims, welcomed alike by clergy and people. The legate, Hugh Die, would have preferred that he should have been promoted to the vacant see, instead of the unsatisfactory Helinand, Bishop of Laon, who became Archbishop of Rheims, whether owing to Bruno's decision to decline that high charge, or whether owing to the royal favour which he, Helinand, had purchased. Once more Bruno saw sitting on the archiepiscopal throne an unfit shepherd who had mounted it not without suspicion of simony.¹ The prevalent

¹ For the character of Helinand see Guibert de Nogent, *Vita*, lib. iii., in *Collection des textes pour servir à l'Étude de l'Histoire*, Paris, 1907, pp. 108, 131, 132.

worldliness of the clergy of the age, of which this was the second flagrant example within his own experience, might well cause disgust for the ordinary ecclesiastical life to a deeply religious and honest spirit. No one can impute disappointed ambition to the man who later reluctantly quitted his solitude at La Chartreuse to place himself at the papal command as counsellor by the side of his old pupil Urban II., and who, still later, having refused the offered archbishopric of Reggio, died in his other hermitage at Squillace. He had for his disappointment reasons of another sort. The deposition of Manasses would have afforded an opportunity for the reform of the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese of Rheims by an able and upright successor; the appointment of Helinand was the loss of the opportunity which might well grieve him. Be that as it may, about this time he finally decided to carry out his former purpose to enter religion.

Leaving Rheims in company of some like-minded friends, he went to Molesme in the diocese of Langres. There St. Robert, formerly a Benedictine monk, was presiding over the group of hermits whom he had transferred thither from the forest of Collan in the same diocese. St. Robert, the future founder of the Cistercian Order, was an adept instructor for the new-comers in the monastic life. Perhaps he was considering already the reform of his hermit-monks, for presumably it was with his consent, since they had placed themselves under him, that after a while Bruno and two of his companions, Peter le Franc (later third prior of the Grande Chartreuse), and Lambert (later prior of Bruno's Calabrian foundation), retired to Sèche-Fontaine, some distance from Molesme, in order to lead a more contemplative life. Here Bruno seems to have developed a more independent scheme of religious life, and as disciples came to him to have more definitely turned to the ideals of the Egyptian and Eastern hermits and cœnobites. By advice, it is said,¹ of Seguin, abbot of the Benedictine monastery

¹ H. Löbbel, *op. cit.*, and the Abbé Lefévre, in *Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux*. The Abbé (vol. i., p. 59) says: "D'après un savant Chartreux, Saint Bruno quitta Sèche-Fontaine sur le conseil du célèbre Abbé de la Chaise-Dieu, Seguin, avec lequel il avait eu des rapports suivis lorsque ce dernier vint passer quelques années à Rheims pour établir la réforme dans l'Abbaye de St. Nicaise," giving the authority in a footnote—Marlot, *Historia*, tom. i., p. 162. Now Marlot (*Metropolis Remensis Historia*, i., p. 618, ed. 1666) states that Seguin, Abbot of

of Chaise-Dieu, who gave them letters of introduction, he and six companions betook themselves to a former novice of that abbey, Hugh de Chateau-neuf, Bishop of Grenoble.

Hugh had not yet completed three years in his see, though it was the fourth since his consecration, because he had made a twelve-month trial of monastic life at Chaise-Dieu. Indeed, he could not long have returned to his episcopal duties, when Master Bruno, renowned both for his piety and learning, the very image, as it were, of dignity, seriousness and full maturity, appeared before him. His six companions were Master Landuin, a theologian of Lucca, after Bruno's departure Prior of La Chartreuse; Stephen de Bourg and Stephen de Die, two canons of St. Ruf near Avignon, who desiring to take up the solitary life with their superior's consent had joined him; Hugh, whom they called the Chaplain, because he was the only one of them who performed the office of priest; and two laymen, such as the Carthusians afterwards called converses, Andrew and Guarin. They explained to the bishop that they were seeking a fit place for a hermitage, and not having as yet found one, hope and the odour of his saintly conversation had drawn them to him. Hugh received them graciously, and with reverence, for he had had a dream not long before of a dwelling-place of God's honour being built in a certain spot whither seven stars had led him among the mountains. Hugh must have known the spot—perhaps by its wild grandeur his own soul sometime may have been lifted to adoration of the invisible Beauty; without hesitation, on observing that there were seven strangers, and connecting them with the seven stars, he guided them to the place of his dream, the solitude of La Chartreuse. To his life's end he remained the friend of them and of the succeeding inhabitants of that mountain desert, treating them always, not as their lord and bishop, but as a comrade and humble brother. In fact, his companion in the cell which he occupied on his visits to them used to complain that the bishop insisted on doing the lowliest offices as if he were a

Chaise-Dieu, or another of his name, with twelve monks, came to Rheims to carry out the reform of the religious of St. Nicaise, giving the marginal date 1090, when Bruno was far away in Italy. Cf. also Marlot's French *Histoire de la Ville, Cité et Université de Rheims* (ed. 1843), iii., p. 323. But Bruno and Seguin may have met at Rheims or elsewhere before Seguin was occupied with the abbey of St. Nicaise.

servant. So enamoured did Hugh become of existence with these solitaries that Master Bruno had to compel him to go back to attend to his own flock. Since continuance with them would be neglect of his charge, the bishop thought that at least poverty and humility of a sort might be allowed to him as to them; he would have sold all his equipage, and dividing the proceeds among the poor have gone about preaching on foot. Neither to this would Bruno consent. To make himself singular among the other bishops might savour of pride, and the roughness and unevenness of the roads made it unfeasible.¹

The way which Bishop Hugh led the new candidates for the eremitic life was northwards from Grenoble towards the Alps, according to tradition along Corenc, by the Col de Porte towards La Cluse. Where in the long ascent the two saints, Bruno and his guide, rested by a rock, later was erected a chapel bearing Hugh's name. After passing the stream of Guiersmort and climbing a steep mountain-side they arrived at a plateau surrounded by barren rocks and sombre fir forests, the valleys of the Rhône and Isère being visible through two narrow defiles. Here at 3,136 feet above sea-level they built themselves wooden huts at a little distance apart, one hut for two men, and a chapel of solid masonry.²

It was about the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, 1084, when Bruno and his six followers settled at La Chartreuse. In July, Bishop Hugh issued a letter to the clergy and laity of the diocese of Grenoble on behalf of the new-comers, to ensure peace and quiet for them, forbidding the entrance of women or armed men to their territories, and prohibiting fishing, hunting, or fowling within their grounds, or the driving of flocks through them. The soil, however, on which their dwellings stood and the future monastery was to be built, was not free for them to take. Certain persons had rights there—among them Seguin, Abbot of Chaise-Dieu. But these, deciding to exchange goods temporal for goods celestial, doubtless at Bishop Hugh's suggestion, and persuaded perhaps by the devotion of the soli-

¹ *Vita S. Hugonis Episc. Gratianapolitani*, by Guigo I., Prior of La Chartreuse (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 769-770).

² *La Grande Chartreuse par un Chartreux* (1898), pp. 29-30. While these buildings were being erected, according to a tradition of the country, Bruno and his brethren retired to the village of St. Pierre.

taries who had already begun to build there, renounced their rights in a charter,¹ which by way of publication was read before St. Hugh and his synod at Grenoble on the 5th Ides of December,² the fourth feria in the second week of Advent in 1084. Next year their church, which was their only building of stone, was consecrated.

Five years of devotion and study of the Holy Scriptures, and probably of the writings of the Fathers and later theologians, passed—Bruno himself is supposed at this period, if not to have wholly written, to have completed his commentary on the Psalms, having previously, at Rheims very likely, composed a commentary on the Pauline Epistles—and then this small band of solitaries were deprived of their head.³ Bruno in about the year 1090 received a summons from his former pupil Otto de Lagery, now Pope Urban II., to come to aid him as counsellor. His companions, evidently by this time increased in number, were dismayed. In spite of his earnest wish, they declared that they would not stay in the solitude without him. Though they loved him, his authority was not sufficient to force them to remain, which is evidence that as yet they were bound by no vow of stability, or of obedience. So, not wishing it to pass to secular uses, he made over the Chartreuse to Seguin, Abbot of Chaise-Dieu, and with most of the brethren in his wake, betook himself to Rome. Tradition says that his followers occupied the baths of Diocletian there; but the old eremitic life was impossible, and finally yielding to persuasion, some of them returned to Dauphiné. Bruno sought the pope's influence on their behalf for the restoration of their mountain home. At the solicitation of Urban at Bruno's request, Abbot Seguin ceded to Landuin as their present superior, and to them and their successors, all their former territory by a deed dated the 18th October, 1090.

A few of the men from his French foundation, however, remained with Bruno in Rome. Two or three years later,

¹ The boundaries of the land renounced by the benefactors of the monks are given in the charter, for which see Lefébvre, *op. cit.*, vol. ii., p. 390.

² Either the wrong date as to the month was inserted in the charter or the wrong year, for the 5th Ides of December (the 9th) did not fall on the fourth feria of the second week in Advent until 1086 (Lefébvre, *op. cit.*, i., p. 77).

³ For St. Bruno's extant works see Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 152 and 153.

after declining the bishopric of Reggio, he obtained permission to withdraw into the solitude which he loved, and they accompanied him. Whether he had also at that time Italian followers who would not go to France, or for other reasons, he went to Calabria. In that province he had a friend in the Count Roger, son of the Norman Robert Guiscard, and with his aid he founded there near Squillace two new colonies of hermits on similar lines to that of La Chartreuse, the one known as La Torre, and the other as St. Stephen-in-the-Wood. He and Lanvin, a monk from his first foundation, directed them both; possibly also Lambert, one of his former companions at Sèche-Fontaine, was with him now, since he succeeded Lanvin as Prior of St. Stephen's.

Peter the Venerable of Cluny, the friend of Guigo I., the fifth prior of La Chartreuse, mentions Landuin as co-founder with Bruno of the Carthusian "profession," yet something seems to have been lacking in him as the new superior; he may have wanted Bruno's force of character, or, severe as he was on himself, he may have been too austere, or untactful, in governing others. Be that as it may, the community fell into discouragement, and apparently began to perceive the need, which had not existed under Bruno, of a more definite religious rule. Landuin was dispatched to Italy to confer with their "patriarch" on the common life, if not to persuade him to return to them. Bruno received him lovingly, but there was no question of his returning to preside over his former sons. On the contrary, he himself desired to retain Landuin, he alleged, because of his grievous and frequent infirmities, but really, perhaps, because he doubted his fitness to continue in the priorate of La Chartreuse. Landuin's protestations, with sighs and tears, that he loved the brethren there with "perfect charity" suggest that his old superior may have hinted at some want of sympathy on his part. Yet, after Landuin's declaration that without them he could find no healthfulness, or joy or use in anything, he could do nothing else than send him back with a letter of encouragement to the community, in which he expressed his desire to visit them. Neither Bruno nor Landuin ever saw La Chartreuse again. On his journey back Landuin fell in with some adherents of Guibert, the anti-pope Clement III.; on his refusal to acknowledge him he was ill-treated and thrown

into prison, where he died. The lay-brother who had accompanied him managed to escape. Two years later,¹ on the 6th October, 1101, death overtook Bruno also.

The lay-brother, having eluded the anti-papal clutches, brought Bruno's letter safely to La Chartreuse. According to some accounts,² he carried with it detailed notes, or an outline of a rule, which sometimes goes by the name of "The Testament of St. Bruno." If this was really the case, it is singular that Bruno, in writing to the community, made no mention of having given any directions to Landuin. In this letter he bids the monks rejoice that they have escaped shipwreck in the world, and have arrived at a haven of peace. He tells the lay-brothers how their prior's report of them has gladdened him; "and we rejoice," he continues, "that, though you are ignorant of letters, Almighty God has written with His own Finger upon your hearts not only love but knowledge of His holy law. For since you observe with all care and zeal true obedience which is the fulfilment of God's commandments and the key and seal of the whole of spiritual discipline, which can never be without much humility and notable patience, along with a pure love of God and true charity, it is clear that you are very wisely gathering the very fruit, most sweet and profitable of divine scripture." He urges them to "avoid like the pest that diseased flock of lay-brothers (*laici*) who carry about little scrolls (*i.e.*, of Scripture, presumably), muttering what they neither understand nor love, which they contradict in word and deed, who, idle and given to gadding about, detract from the good and religious, thinking themselves praiseworthy for slandering those that should have been praised, men to whom obedience and all discipline is odious." Then he begs the brotherhood to watch over Landuin, who was apparently in bad health; if he will not accede to their desires, and prefers to endanger his health and his life rather than omit any austerity of bodily discipline, he is to be rebuked; he may act thus, fearing that some of them will take advantage of him as an example of less courage, or fervour, but of this Bruno thinks there is no risk; and he

¹ The letter to the Chartreuse was dated 9th September, 1099 (Lefébvre, *op. cit.*, i., p. 139; and Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 152, col. 418).

² Lefébvre, *op. cit.*, i., p. 172, but see our next chapter for full quotation.

empowers them to compel him reverently to that which is for his good.

The letter evidences a vague common discipline existing with a permitted individualism, and shows that the obedience of both monks and lay-brothers was more or less voluntary and not obligatory owing to an initial vow. It gives no hint that Bruno and Landuin had formulated any more definite rule. The fact was that the settlement of Bruno and his first followers at La Chartreuse was an experiment; any proposal entertained by them of a regular observance was in its cradle—to use the expression of a seventeenth-century prior of La Grande Chartreuse¹—and they were not dreaming that from their inconsiderable purpose there was to grow, as it were, a river from a very small spring. Their lack of a definite name for themselves, moreover, is in keeping with the lack of a definite rule. Now, and for long afterwards, they called themselves merely “Christ’s poor men”; in the preliminary greeting in a letter written years later to the monks of Cluny they name themselves “Christ’s poor men who dwell in the desert of the Chartreuse for love of the Name of Jesus.”² An experimental religious life, albeit ordered, is not ready for a written code. It necessarily follows certain customs; yet even these may be altered.

A picture of the way of life of the early Chartreux is given by Guibert de Nogent, who may have visited them during the priorate of Landuin, or of Landuin’s successors, Peter le Franc or de Bethune (1100-1101) and John a Tuscan (1101-1109).³ After mentioning the church near the top of the mountain, he says, “There are thirteen monks, having indeed a cloister, sufficiently fit for cœnobitic custom, but not dwelling together like others cloisterwise. For they all have cells of their own round the cloister, in which they work, sleep and eat. On Sunday they receive their food from the dispenser, to wit, bread and vegetable, which, their only pottage, is cooked by each of them in his own quarters. Water, however, for drinking as for other uses, they have by means of a conduit from the fountain, which

¹ Dom Innocent Le Masson; see his commentary on the *Consuetudines* of Guigo I. in *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 637.

² Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 189, supplement to the correspondence of Peter the Venerable, epist. xix.

³ For these dates see Dom A. Wilmart, *La Chronique des premiers Chartreux*, p. 141.

goes to the cells of all, and through certain holes passes into each of their little houses. Fish and cheese they use on Sundays and high festivals, fish, I should say, not that they buy it for themselves, but as they might receive it from any kind-hearted men. As for gold and silver church ornaments they have none, save a silver chalice; and in the church itself they meet not at the wonted hours as we, yet at certain hours; Mass, unless I am mistaken, they hear on Sundays and solemn days. They almost never speak, for if anything necessary is wanted, it is got by a sign. If they ever drink wine, it is so diluted (*adeo corruptum*) that it has no strength and no taste for those using it, and to an ordinary man it would be scarcely better than water. They are clad in hair-shirts next to the skin, and the rest of their garments are very mean. They live under a prior; the Bishop of Grenoble, a very religious man, fills the place of abbot or supervisor (*provisor*). Whereas they abase themselves in every kind of poverty, they are amassing a very rich library; forsooth the less they abound in the supply of material bread, so much the more they labour painfully for the food that perishes not." Guibert relates how in that very year in which he wrote the Count of Nevers having visited them, and pitying their poverty, sent them some rich plate, which they declined, and how instead he changed his gift to ox-hides and parchments, which he could not help knowing were necessities for them. He says that they cultivated their land little but grazed many sheep; that "within that mountain" there were dwellings for over twenty lay-men who worked under the monks, meaning probably a few farm servants besides the lay-brothers or converses of the fixed number of seventeen, according to their written customs of some years later.¹

The fifth prior of the Chartreuse may be considered as the second patriarch of the Carthusians. This was Guigo I., Guigues du Pin, also surnamed du Chastel, perhaps because he was born in the castle of St. Romain in the diocese of Valence. After having been Dean of the church of Grenoble for a while, he retired to La Chartreuse in 1107, and three years later was elected to fill the office of prior. The choice of so young a man was amply justified, for under him "Christ's poor men" so increased, that he was able to send

¹ Guibert, *Vita*, lib. i. (*Collection des Textes pour servir à l'Étude de l'Histoire*, Paris, 1902), pp. 33-34.

out six colonies into other parts of France, the Chartreuses of Portes in the diocese of Lyons, of Durbon in the diocese of Gap, of Sylve-bénite in the diocese of Vienne in Dauphiné, of Meyriat in the diocese of Lyons, of Escouges in the diocese of Grenoble, and of Mont-rioux in the diocese of Marseilles, all founded between 1115 and 1117.

The spirit in which Guigo entered upon his office is reflected in his Meditations; these are not devotional, but consist mostly of terse moral remarks; their tone suggests that they were written as much for a check on himself as for the guidance of the conduct of others. Judging by the last quotation which we shall make from them, they seem to belong to the early years of his priorate. The wise young superior perceives the trials and disappointments of his post; he warns himself that praise profits not the person praised, but the person who praises the holiness which pleases him in another, and who is thereby drawn upwards by it. He bethinks himself that neither blessings nor curses, good turns nor ill turns done to one by another, really matter, but the spirit in which they are taken. "For regard is always to be had as to what is going on in thine own mind, not whether others do well or ill, but what thou makest out of their deeds, how, to wit, thou usest their kind or bad actions. . . . Nothing that is done to thee can hurt thee in the world to come unless thy mind be moved to anger, hate, sullenness, or timorousness." There were some in the community inevitably who had his disapproval; he says to himself, "Be such a one towards all as the Truth hath been towards thee. Such as thou art He hath sustained and loved thee, that He may make thee better; so such as they are, do thou sustain and love them, that thou mayest make them better. . . . Look to it lest on account of man's work thou despise the work of God. For man's work is homicide, adultery and the like; God's work indeed is the man himself. . . . Every one who loves good men, necessarily should love bad men, because never otherwise may they be good." "If thou toleratest thyself, unclean as thou art, why not someone else?" Compassion must be used towards all, for vice hurts a brother himself more than any one else, and therefore he is to be pitied. The prior warns himself that not according to the progress of his subjects, but according to his own aim and endeavour is to be his reward, whether they advance or not. "Thy aim," he tells himself, "is not to be that thy

lords, to whose service thou hast been deputed by their Father, that is the Lord thy God, should do what thou wishest, but what is for their good. For thou oughtest to incline thyself to their utility, not them to thy will, because, not that thou mightest preside over them, but that thou mightest profit them, were they committed to thee; like as the sick man is given to the doctor, not that he should domineer over him, but that he should heal him. . . . Prepare thyself to dwell with bad men with an incorrupt mind which is angelical. For what glory is there in doing this with saints?" Then in a later passage he says, "Behold, none other is thine office than it was before thou wast made prior. For with desires and prayers and affection thou usest to do what now thou hast begun to do in deed—that is to do good unto men."¹

To this humble religious ruler in 1114, Godefroy, Bishop of Amiens, wearied with the troubles of his diocese, came as a postulant. Guigo gave him a cell, but the bishop was recalled to his see by the Council of Soissons in 1115.

A contemporary picture of Carthusian life under Guigo is drawn by his friend Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny. He describes how Master Bruno of Cologne and Master Landuin had founded a remarkably holy monastic profession. How, as an antidote to pride, the members of it clothe themselves in garments so very mean that they are repulsive even to look at, in quantity scanty, in quality rough and dirty. "Yet," he continues, "even in a sordid habit, the devil can attack them, but this they guard against with the utmost care. As a check to cupidity, the root of all evils, and to avarice, they have fixed certain boundaries, according to the fertility or sterility of their grounds, larger or smaller, round their cells, outside which, even if the whole world were offered to them, not even so much space as a man's foot would occupy would they accept. Also, for the same reason, they have appointed a limit to the number of their animals and herds, their oxen, asses, sheep, and goats. And so that it should not be necessary to add more land,

¹ *Guigonis I. Carthusiæ Majoris Prioris V. Meditationes*, cap. xiii., xv., and xvii. (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 601 *seq.*). For a confirmation of the assignment of authorship of these meditations to Guigo I. see Dom A. Wilmart, *Les Écrits spirituels des deux Guiges*, in *la Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, tom. v. (Janvier-Avril, 1924).

or to increase their possessions, they have decreed there shall be forever in their monasteries only twelve monks, with the thirteenth, the prior, and eighteen converses, and a few hired servants (*mercenarii*). Moreover, to tame the beast (*jumentum*) of their body and to subdue the law of their members, they always chafe their flesh with harsh hair shirts, and afflict, emaciate, and dry up their bodies with continual and severe fasts. Hence they always use bread made with bran, and wine so watered that it deserves not to be called wine. The whole and the sick also abstain forever from eating flesh. Fish they never buy, but accept when by chance it is given in charity. On Sunday and the fifth feria (Thursday) only do they allow cheese or eggs to be eaten. On the third feria (Tuesday) and Saturday they use either cooked vegetables or herbs; every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday they are content with bread only and water. One meal a day they eat always, except during the octaves of Christmas, of Easter, of Pentecost, on the feasts of the Epiphany, the Presentation" and certain other red-letter days which he mentions. "Except on these occasions, all of them in the manner of the Egyptian monks inhabit separate cells perpetually, where in silence, reading, prayer, and manual labour they pass their existence. In these same cells they perform the duty to God of the regular hours, that is prime, terce, sext, none, compline, being warned by the church bell. For vespers and matins they all meet together in church. And there, not perfunctorily, as some, but with eyes very intently set on the ground, their hearts fixed on heaven, they pray, return thanks to God, and show their whole man within and without, in dress, voice, and face intent on this. On the festal days above mentioned, they eat twice, and, then in the manner of monks living not in their cells, but together; not only do they sing all the regular hours in church, but also after sext and after vespers, they eat together in the refectory, no one in good health being excepted. On these days only, copying the ancient hermits, lest they should be hindered from other sacred works, albeit inferior, they offer the health-giving Sacrifice to Almighty God for their own and the world's welfare. . . . On the days on which vegetable food is allowed to them, they prepare and cook it for themselves according to measure, this being a precept of the eremitic institution, when they do not have a meal in common

in the refectory but alone in their cells. Wine at no time do they take before or after table. He who is thirsty may drink water between meals."¹

There is a slight savour of good-natured sarcasm as to the poverty deemed necessary by the Chartreux in the Latin original of the foregoing passage, but Peter was a devoted friend of Prior Guigo, whom he admired, and as he told St. Bernard, addressed frequently in his letters by the honoured name of "Father." This too respectful title, as he thought, the ever humble Guigo deprecated in returning thanks for a crucifix sent by Peter to the Chartreux; "It is enough," he wrote, "and more than enough, if he who is not worthy of the name of servant is called brother, or friend, or son."²

Abbot Peter says nothing of the library mentioned by Guibert de Nogent, but as a matter of fact he was helping to increase it. In the letter to the prior and brethren at La Chartreuse, in which he tells them that he is sending this very crucifix, he says that he is also sending the works for which they asked him,³ the lives of SS. Nazianzen and Chrysostom and the epistle of St. Ambrose against Symmachus, the pagan præfect who demanded of the emperors, in the name of the senate, that idolatry should be brought back into the city. The treatise of St. Hilary on the Psalms he does not send them, because he finds that the copy of the monks of Cluny is as corrupt as theirs; if they want it, such as it is, let them ask for it again and he will send it. "Prosper against Cassian, as you know," he continues, "we have not, but have sent for it to St. Jean d'Angely in Aquitaine. . . . And do you send us, if you please, the larger volume of the holy father Augustine which almost at the beginning contains his letters to St. Jerome, and those of St. Jerome to him. For a great part of ours when it was in one of our obediences⁴ was accidentally devoured by a bear." Guigo, it may be observed, was an authority on St. Jerome's letters; he busied himself at one time in collecting that Father's epistles scattered in various manuscripts into one

¹ Abridged from Peter's work *De Miraculis*, lib. ii., cap. xxviii., which leads up to cap. xxix., wherein he relates the visit of a troop of demons to a Carthusian brother in his cell.

² Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 594.

³ *Ibid.*, tom. 189, col. 103, epist. xxiv.

⁴ An "obedience" may mean a cell, or an office belonging to a monastery, or some regular duty or charge, for the convent.

codex, purging the text from errors and interpolations.¹ The books which went from Cluny to the Chartreux and from them to Cluny were presumably loans on both sides for the purpose of copying; Abbot Peter, on another occasion, in sending the books of St. Ambrose to Hugo I., the successor of Guigo, asks them to return bonds for the books by the bearer.²

Peter the Venerable, the mutual friend, might be the unnamed "worthy man" by whom it came about that St. Bernard was received into the hearts of Guigo and his convent. The Abbot of Clairvaux is said to have visited the Chartreux about 1125; he had endeavoured to go to them before, when in their parts, but was prevented by unfavourable circumstances, he wrote to them. In another letter to them—a long discourse on charity—he calls Guigo "the dearest among friends," but he alludes to no visit, and there are only these two epistles extant out of any correspondence between them.³ It does not appear that there was the same intimacy between them as between the Abbot of Cluny and the Prior of the Chartreuse. When in 1132, owing to a great storm, a terrible disaster befell the mountain hermitage, it was from Peter that the word of comfort and encouragement came, upon the news of the sudden "diminution of their apostolic number."

This disaster occurred in January of that year; an avalanche, during a violent wind, descended on La Chartreuse, overwhelming all the cells save one, and burying under the ruins six monks and a novice. On the twelfth day after, Arduin, a Lorrainer, one of the victims, was extricated still alive, in his senses and with a clear memory. They carried him into the cloister, and he was able to speak a few words of wonderful sweetness and graciousness. He was confessed and given the last unction, and according to their custom was kissed by his brethren; then "after such a fasting, sated with the food of the Body and Blood of the Lord," he passed very calmly to his rest.⁴ To fill up the

¹ See the letter to the brethren of the Durbon Chartreuse, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 593.

² *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 189, col. 371, epist. 38.

³ Gasquet, *Some Letters of St. Bernard* (1904), Nos. iv. and xlv.

⁴ Labbe, *Bibliotheca* (Paris, 1657), ii., p. 639: *De institutionibus Ordinis Cartusiensis*, ex codice S. Remigii Remensis. See also *Letters of Peter the Venerable*, lib. ii., epist. xii. His expression the "apostolic number" is of course an allusion to that of our Lord and his twelve apostles.

places of his dead sons, Guigo withdrew some of the monks from the Chartreuse of Portes. The monastery was hopelessly destroyed; he erected another, it is said on the site of the extant buildings, but again of wood, with the consequence that in later years it not infrequently suffered from fire.

In 1131 the old friend of the community, St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, was growing too senile for his office; he did not live to hear of the destruction of the dwellings which he had helped the original Chartreux to build, for he died in the previous spring. Upon his being placed "among the saints and elect to be honoured," Guigo, at the desire of Pope Innocent II., wrote a short life of this prelate.¹

The closing years of Guigo were sad. Here was the death of their ancient patron, followed by the domestic catastrophe, and abroad beyond the great mountains a Church in schism—through the prior's influence the Carthusians sided against the anti-pope—and churchmen in high places given over to pride and voluptuousness, the two enemies of the times as he said. "Oh, anguish!" he cried, in pain of soul, in a letter to Cardinal Aymeric, "today by the supreme pontiffs, and throughout the whole world after the example of the apostolic see, brother is armed against brother, that is, Christian against Christian, with the funds belonging to sacred purposes; and in such triumphs the Church rejoices, and after these doings with a conscience utterly blood-stained they go on to the Divine Sacrifice. . . ." Guigo² passed from so troubled a world in 1136.

¹ Letter of Innocent III. to Guigo in *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 761. The Life of St. Hugh of Grenoble is in the same volume of Migne.

² The authorities on Guigo I. are Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 581-783, and Lefévre, *op. cit.*

CHAPTER II

THE CUSTOMS OF PRIOR GUIGO I.

FOR the Calabrian foundations of Bruno a few regulations have been preserved as emanating from himself; these only relate to silence and the diet of his anchorites and cœnobites there.¹ For his original solitude at La Chartreuse there are none at all directly traceable to him. There is, indeed, the alleged "Testament of St. Bruno," consisting of the supposed notes given to Landuin, and brought home by the lay-brother; this passes also under the name of "Ordinances of St. Bruno and Landuin."² The purport of these, according to one authority, is merely that the Gospel, interpreted catholically as in the writings of the doctors of the Church, was to be the rule of all the Chartreux, and that the austerity of the constitutions and customs followed by their fathers (meaning presumably the Egyptian and Eastern hermits), might no more be changed than the law of nature itself.³ But such general directions are not equivalent to ordinances, and it is fairly certain that for many years the Chartreux had no written rule. An oral tradition, strengthened latterly by a vow of stability and obedience, maintained them in settled customs.

When, however, under Guigues du Pin—or to call him by the better-known Latin form of his name, Guigo—the congregation at La Chartreuse had so increased as to be sending out colonies into other parts of France, a written customary became necessary, if these new communities, situated at a distance from one another and from the parent

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 1,149-1,152. *Magistri Lamberti Carthusiensis domus Squillacensis prioris Statuta*. Master Lambert apparently drew up these few "statutes," but quotes Bruno as his authority.

² "Ordinationes quæ vulgo sub nomine S. Brunonis et Landvini circumferentur," seem to have been printed by Tromby in *Storia del Patriarca S. Brunone*, tom. ii., appendix, but I have not been able to obtain access to this work.

³ Lefébvre, *Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux*, tom. i., p. 172.

house, were to continue the same observance as that of Bruno and his disciples. Therefore at the urgent request of the Priors of Portes, St. Sulpice, and Meyriat, supported by the authority of the aged Bishop of Grenoble, Bruno's friend St. Hugh, about the year 1128, Guigo I. made a compilation of the customs used at La Grande Chartreuse, as it must now be designated to distinguish it from its offshoots. For a while he had shrunk from the task, as he says in the prologue, because apart from hesitation due to modesty, he believed that "either in the letters of St. Jerome, or in the Rule of St. Benedict, or in other authentic writings," was contained almost everything which they were wont to do at La Chartreuse as religious.¹

Eremitic monachism had existed in France from early times. In the last half of the fourth century at Ligugé, near Poitiers, St. Martin held a kind of school for asceticism, whose numbers at one time amounted to about eighty hermits bound together apparently by no rule, but by their common aim, and free to come or leave at their own will.² In the south, in the Isle of Lerins, the more famous foundation of St. Honorat fostered both a cœnobitic and an eremitic life, the latter here being regarded as a promotion from the former. The limit of this monastery was the sea; but those of the inmates who desired it, or who were considered by the abbot to be sufficiently advanced, were allowed to go further into the solitudes of the island, and while still remaining under his guidance, to make for themselves little hermitages, separated from the main group of religious, with whom they no longer mingled save for the recitation of the Divine Office.³ Other eremitic ideals and methods were to be gleaned from the *Institutions of the Cœnobia* and *Conferences* of John Cassian, Honorat's contemporary. Unlike St. Benedict, who, in spite of his following Cassian as to parts of his Rule, was of opinion that cœnobites were the best sort of monks, Cassian himself (to judge by the general tenor of his works, if not by his actual words) held the same view as the Egyptian religious, of whom he wrote that the

¹ *Guigonis I. Carthusiæ Majoris Prioris V. Consuetudines*, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 635 seq.

² That is to say, there is no mention of a vow in the description of the "monastery" in the *Life of St. Martin*, by Sulpitius Severus (chap. x.). See *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. ii., pp. 8-9.

³ A Malnory, *Saint Césaire Evêque d'Arles* (*Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 103, Paris, 1894), pp. 12, 247, and 249.

cœnobitic was the inferior and preparatory for the eremitic life. Guigo I. probably included those of Cassian when he spoke of "other authentic writings." Under Boson, prior of the Grande Chartreuse, in a defence of the Carthusian Order addressed to Clement V. about 1313, Cassian was actually claimed as an authority for the Carthusian customs¹ which at that time were being hostilely criticised.

Bruno himself at Sèche-Fontaine was with hermit-monks. The idea of an actual combination, the simultaneous practice, of the cœnobitic and eremitic systems did not originate with him, for it is found in the earlier years of his century. About 1012, St. Romuald began his attempt to re-introduce into the west at Camaldoli, on the Tuscan Apennines, the monachism of the Egyptian and Syrian hermits, and in 1038 St. John Gualbert founded the monastery at Vallombrosa; in both these institutions there was a mingling of the cœnobitic and eremitic life. Bruno may have become acquainted with these communities when in Italy, but no suggestion is intended here that he owed anything to either, at any rate with regard to his French foundation. But any monasteries instituted after the rules or recorded customs of the Egyptian and Eastern solitaries, as these three congregations—for in their early stages they were nothing more—the Camaldolese, the Vallombrosan, and the Carthusian, professedly were, must perforce have features in common. We find the severe discipline of vigils, fasts, and daily abstinences, and silence and seclusion, practised by all the three, and the residence in separate huts or cells, and the system of converses or lay-brothers, necessary on account of the strict enclosure of the monks, in the case of the Camaldolese and the Chartreux.

The words of Prior Guigo I. on the origin of the customs written down by him amount in effect to hardly more than this, that the first Carthusians drew their inspiration as to the eremitic side of their life from St. Jerome, and as to the

¹ The details of Carthusian observance are there said to be "aut de regula Beati Benedicti, aut de epistolis beati Jeronomi, aut de collationibus Patrum seu de vitis Patrum, vel eciam de libris Cassiani et aliorum sanctorum doctorum ecclesie, qui vitam cenobiticam vel heremiticam antiquitus servaverunt" (Bodleian MS. 549, f. 84). It may be noted that the Carthusian mystic Dionysius exstasticus or seraphicus (Leuwis de Ryckel) paraphrased and expurgated from semi-Pelagianism some of Cassian's writings (see Bp. E. C. S. Gibson, *Prolegomena to Cassian's works in Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. ii.).

cœnobitic from St. Benedict, and as to details from the latter and from any other source, Eastern or Western, where they found anything to their purpose. Jerome, the advocate of austerity as to vigil, diet, and dress, of poverty, squalor, neglect of person, and sanctified dirt, must have afforded many a hint for their harsh asceticism. His dislike to the magnificent churches of his day appears in more than one of his letters; besides his objection, that while their walls were of glowing marble, their ceilings glittering with gold, and their altars studded with jewels, yet to the choice of Christ's ministers no heed was paid, he stated that "our Lord by His poverty has consecrated the poverty of His house."¹ His idea on this matter seems certainly to have been adopted at La Chartreuse; for Guigo wrote: "Ornaments of gold or silver, except the chalice and reed by which we take the Lord's Blood, we do not have in the church; hangings (*pallia*) and carpets we have given up."² Even three hundred years later the heads of the Carthusian Order tried to maintain the holy poverty of the Lord's house in all their convents.

The opinion, at one time not uncommon, that the Carthusian Order sprang from the Benedictine is scarcely supported by the fact that but a comparatively small number of the customs of Guigo I. can be more or less directly traced to St. Benedict's rule. To say, however, as does Dom Cuthbert Butler,³ that "the whole Carthusian conception, idea, and spirit" is "quite different from the Benedictine," is not altogether true, at least with regard to the early Chartreux, and it is to be remembered that their customs are the basis of Carthusian observance to this day. There is, in the first place, Guigo's own affirmation that they did borrow from St. Benedict, and in the second, not wholly unimportant passages in his Customs (to be noticed fully below) which, if not direct quotations from it, have their close parallel in St. Benedict's Rule. Further, if the Benedictine life was intended to be, and in a measure is, contemplative,⁴ how then could the Carthusian "spirit" help being partly at one with the Benedictine? Like St. Gregory,

¹ Letter to Nepotian in 394; cf. also his letter to Demetrias in 414 (Nos. lii. and cxxx. in the edition of Jerome's Letters in *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. vi.).

² *Guigonis Consuetudines*, cap. xl.

³ In his article on the Carthusian Order in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

⁴ Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Benedictine Monachism* (ed. 1919), pp. 93-110.

the Carthusians recognise that "in the contemplative [life] we are by no means able to keep our minds on the stretch"; "through the gaze of contemplation" they did indeed "stay themselves from active life," yet they did also "go and return" in that, and acknowledging the mental strain, "they let themselves out in action," and busied themselves on works within their enclosure in order to recruit their strength for soaring above themselves in contemplation.¹ In fact, like the Benedictines, they had one appointed space of time in winter, and two in summer for manual tasks. They did not labour in the fields, but they "made books" so that, as Prior Guigo expressly says, "since we cannot do so by the mouth, we may preach the word of God with our hands." Also they bound the books, and tools were to be allowed to any monk who knew any other art or craft. At a later period gardens to which they themselves might attend adjoined their cells.² Moreover, as to their conception of the monastery, certainly under Guigo's priorate, though not in Bruno's lifetime, the Chartreux were approximating that of St. Benedict; they now realised the expediency of the vow of stability (residence in the place of profession) and of obedience, and adopted its very form, and even much of the ritual of the monk's profession, from his Rule. Henceforward, their communities were permanent families, as were those of the Benedictines.

The celebration of the Divine Office, "the worthier part,"³ as Guigo called it, held as prominent a place in the life of the Carthusians as in that of the Benedictines; indeed, in the Customs it seems to hold at least quite as large a place as private prayer and meditation which were such important occupations among the early solitaries; though this might be found otherwise if it were possible to work out an accurate time-table of the Carthusian day at that period.

¹ *Benedictine Monachism*, pp. 96 and 98, passages from the Homilies and Morals of St. Gregory, who is there quoted as a Benedictine and an exponent of the contemplative life of his Order.

² For some reason Dom C. Butler ignores the Carthusian manual labour (*ibid.*, p. 95). Had he studied their customs and statutes, and had he taken the trouble to read the little treatise *Liber de Quadripartito Exercitio Cellæ*, written by a Carthusian for the Prior of Witham charterhouse and his monks, he would have seen that the proper Carthusian attitude towards manual labour was that of the Egyptian monks and his own St. Benedict, both of whom are directly quoted on the subject in this treatise (cap. xxxvi).

³ Prologue to the Customs.

The Carthusian solitaries sang only the nocturnal part of the office and vespers in common in church; the other hours were said in their cells, with the obvious purpose of maintaining the individual seclusion considered necessary for undisturbed contemplation. Herein is the difference between the two Orders. Carthusian monachism is purely contemplative, and its method strictly ascetic. Benedictine monachism is active as well as contemplative, and its method less rigorously ascetic. In the latter good works, preaching, teaching, charity, hospitality, may legitimately have their part, and even a certain amount of outside intercourse may be permitted. But the contemplative Carthusian regards all these things as a hindrance and an unlawful interruption, or at best as an unbecoming calling back from heaven to earth of the spirit vowed, as it were, to attendance in the heavenly courts. Hence, on the subjects of the poor and almsgiving, Guigo I. wrote: "To the secular poor we give bread, or anything else that our means or good-will suggest; but rarely do we receive one of them under our roof, but rather send him to be housed in the town. For it was not for the temporal cure of other folk's bodies, but for the eternal welfare of our own souls, that we took refuge in the retirement of this desert. And, therefore, it is not to be wondered at, if we show more familiarity and comfort to those who come hither for their souls' sake than for that of their bodies. Otherwise not in such rough and remote and wellnigh inaccessible places (to which whoever comes for the sake of bodily solace, he suffers more of labour than he gets of remedy), but rather in the public streets surely long since ought we to have settled ourselves down."¹ Then with an appeal to the Lord's defence of Mary against Martha's troubling, he added: "Am I, leaving behind me my cell, my cloister, forgetful of my purpose, for the sake of vagrants (*gyrovagari*) to make myself a vagrant, for the sake of a scrip-bearer (*paltonarius*) a scrip-bearer, and for the sake of receiving and feeding secular persons a secular? Let them themselves rather go as they have begun, let them go round the world, lest if I go, their number be increased by me."¹ To those inquiring what, then, the Carthusians

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. xx., *De pauperibus et eleemosynis*. "Paltonarius" was a name for various persons wearing wallets or scrips into which to put anything collected, whether the collecting was *ex officio*, as in the case of a bridge-keeper collecting toll, or for personal gain as in the case

did with their superfluities, the answer was that there were poor religious congregations more deserving than these secular vagrants, and plenty of poor in the neighbouring towns, to whom any little surplus could be sent rather than to be distributed to a crowd at their own gates. "But," said Guigo, "anyone who knew the expenses of this house would not inquire what we do with superfluities, but would rather be surprised that we are not in want."

So, too, Carthusian hospitality was very restricted. Women under no circumstances were allowed within their bounds, because "neither the wise man, nor the prophet, nor the judge, nor the host (Abraham?), nor the sons of God, nor the very first man formed by the hands of God, could elude the blandishments and deceits of women." As to men, secular guests were not forbidden, but there was naturally a preference for religious, or at least ecclesiastics. All comers were received at the lower house, the lay-brothers' quarters, by the procurator, who kissed them if they were ordinary folk, and if they arrived about the hour of sext, and it happened not to be a chief fast, dined with them, being on their account released from abstinence. Those whom he judged worthy, he might send to the upper house to the prior, and there they might sleep, and even be brought into the choir of the monks' church if they were religious, and not wanderers (*gyrovagari*) or fugitives from some monastery, or lay-persons. A bishop or an abbot was received with a profound reverence and genuflexion, and of course conducted to the prior's quarters, and occupied the prior's seat in church and elsewhere. A guest bishop gave the benedictions, but a guest abbot had to be content with the sole honour of the prior's seat, the blessing being given as usual, unless a bishop were present, by the priest of the week (*sacerdos hebdomadarius*). No guests might expect to have their horses housed as well as their persons, and for these accommodation in bedding and food was only such as the monks provided for themselves. This was not to be imputed to "vicious avarice," but to the position of their monastery in a barren mountain desert, beyond whose confines they possessed neither lands nor rents, and within

of beggars. "Paltener" or "Pautener," etc., in English, had a rather opprobrious meaning, and perhaps here Guigo means an idle beggar, or perhaps an authorised beggar for some monastery. Cf. Ducange and *New English Dictionary*.

whose territory the pasturage was so sparse that they were under the necessity of sending even their own beasts, their mules and sheep, outside for the winter. Guigo, moreover, deprecated a frequent hospitality, for he dreaded lest the cost should compel the adoption of that "very dangerous custom" of wandering about begging, which he regretted to observe growing up among many whose pious labours and holy conversation in Christ were otherwise praiseworthy, and it would hardly expedite the guests spiritually if the expense of their entertainment forced the solitaries "to decline to evil."¹

The Customs of Guigo show that the outline of the life of the early Chartreux drawn by Peter the Venerable of Cluny was fairly accurate. They are contained in eighty chapters, devoted to the three subjects of the Divine Office, life in the upper, and life in the lower house.

The Carthusian polity consisted of two bodies of religious, both subject to the same prior and to the decrees of the same chapter, but each leading its own existence. The one body consisted of the solitaries or choir-monks (not all priests, in Guigo's time),² living in the upper house, and the other of the lay-brothers or converses, dwelling in the lower house. The houses were so designated with regard to their respective positions on the mountain, and not with regard to any difference in social rank of the inmates. To have esteemed the converses to be of a lower order or class than the monks would not have accorded with Carthusian ideas of humility, nor, as to class, would it have been strictly true; for though the converses would often be drawn from the rustic population of the neighbourhood, yet the solitaries themselves were not always men of good birth, or highly educated ecclesiastics, like Bruno, Landuin, and Guigo I., since they were prepared to receive craftsmen who would need, not writing materials, but tools, for the hours of manual labour in the cells. Vocation to them was more important than class. The life of the choir-monk may be described as mainly passed in prayer, and that of the converses in the scarcely less devout labour of the temporal business of the community. Each

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. x., xviii., xix., xxi., and xxxvi.

² See below. The prior elect is to be a priest, or one to be promoted to the priesthood, which being mentioned as a requisite qualification, implies that only some of the monks were in holy orders.

group had its own church; on certain occasions, however, those of the lay-brothers who could be spared from work went to the church of the upper house. The supervision of both houses belonged to the prior, of the upper immediately, and of the lower mediately through a procurator, except during the week which he spent with his sons below, when his intercourse with them must have been more direct.

After the death and burial of a prior, a three days' fast was appointed for all the community, and in addition to the morning and evening offices in church, the psalm *Ad Te levavi* was recited in common by the monks, prostrate on the benches, followed by *Kyrie*, *Paternoster*, and the suffrages *Salvos fac servos tuos*, *Mitte eis auxilium de sancto*, *Nihil proficiat inimicus in eis*, and the prayer *Pretende Domine*. On the fifth day after mass of the Holy Spirit celebrated before the convent, the monks assembled in chapter, and chose one of the elder and "better" in counsel out of their number, either a priest or one to be promoted to the priesthood, and then setting him in the place of the deceased prior, treated the whole day as a festival, partaking of two meals in the refectory, unless this election happened during one of the chief fasts. The prior, though he ought to do good in word and life to all, according to Guigo, as having the charge of all, was nevertheless to show especially to the monks out of whom he was chosen an example of the practice of quiet and stability (here meaning steadfastness), and other matters pertaining to their profession. Four weeks he passed in his cell like the rest of the solitaries, and the fifth he spent with the lay-brothers, appointing someone to discharge his office in the upper house in his absence.¹ In Advent and Lent, however, he abstained from this visitation, for the sake of a stricter guard over himself, unless compelled by some great necessity or utility; at other times not for anybody was he to pass up and down from one house to the other for any slight reason. He was not to go outside the bounds of the "desert." His seat, wherever it was, and his clothing, differed in nothing as to worthiness or costliness from those of the other monks, nor did he wear anything to distinguish him as prior. A moderate obeisance was made to him by the brother who read the lesson, or by any of them passing before him, and when he came to any, they rose up. At

¹ In the later charterhouses he had a permanent official called the vicar.

Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, and at the profession of a monk, he sang the high mass; "which," says Guigo, "we write about, lest any person in future wish to set up his horn, or celebrate his name with any glory or eminence."¹ Clearly the Carthusian prior was to be, like St. Benedict's abbot, the father of a family, and as such only, superior to the rest of his brothers. The monks were nevertheless strictly to obey him. If any one wished to take on himself any extra exercise by way of abstinence, vigil, or other discipline not belonging to their institution, he must inform the prior, and obtain his approval. If, on the other hand, the prior saw good to grant to any brother a special pittance in food or relaxation in sleep or anything else, or to impose something hard or grievous to be borne, they might not oppose him because he stood in the place of God towards them, "for although many and divers are the things which we observe, yet it is through the one and only good of obedience that we hope to obtain the fruit of all hereafter," is Guigo's warning.² In weighty affairs, presumably such as might concern the whole community directly or indirectly, counsel was to be sought of the brethren. "If anything great or serious is to be dealt with," the prior orders all the monks to meet together. "And then when all have spoken freely what they think, that which he considers is the better and the more right, without any exception of persons he follows."³ This "custom," though not recorded in the very same words, has an evident origin in the Benedictine Rule (cap. iii.).⁴ The clause in this as to all being summoned to the council, "because the Lord often reveals to a younger member what is best," is omitted, but is included in Guigo's meaning by his words "all the monks" and "without exception of persons," from which it can certainly be inferred that the prior was to take advice even of a junior

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. xv.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xxxv.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. xxxvii.

⁴ "Whenever any weighty matters have to be transacted in the monastery let the abbot call together all the community, and himself propose the matter for discussion. After hearing the advice of the brethren, let him consider it in his own mind and then do what he shall judge most expedient. We ordain that all must be called to the council, because the Lord often reveals to a younger member what is best. And let the brethren give their advice with all humble subjection and presume not stiffly to defend their own opinion" (*The Rule of St. Benedict*, in the translation edited for *The King's Classics* by Cardinal Gasquet).

if it seemed good. And another thing was to be observed "as most useful and right," "that no one presume," continues Guigo, paraphrasing another passage of St. Benedict,¹ "contentiously to defend the opinion of another person or his own, lest (be it far from us) the good of the counsel be turned into discord and passion." In slighter or more ordinary matters the prior is content with his own counsel and that of the maturer men, he adds, again following St. Benedict.² After the precedent of the Benedictine abbot,³ the Carthusian prior, lest through being overburdened with the care and anxiety of temporal things he attend less to the spiritual, was to depute to every of the obediences brethren to whose faithfulness he might securely trust them, but this may be an accidental similarity of practical advice due to the common circumstances of the offices of abbot and prior.

One such "obedience" among the Carthusians was the office of kitchener. This last was a rather important person, for he not only presided in the kitchen, but also acted as steward, or housekeeper, for the whole of the upper community. He was also the door-keeper; if beggars came he had to send them to the lower house. A solitary might receive no visitor in his cell without the prior's permission, and anyone importunate in attempting to enter he must direct to the kitchener, by words if he could not understand the head-shakings; otherwise he must not speak to him, even if he were his own brother. The kitchener had care of the houses and things in general belonging to the common use; but through the boundary of his kitchen, that is the door leading into it, no one unless ordered was allowed to pass. He dispensed to the brethren the measure of wine and food required for private consumption in their cells, but he was not to remain and talk, except in the case of sickness.⁴

The general career of a Carthusian solitary may be traced from the Customs; the later capitular statutes did little to

¹ Cap. lix. "Special care must be taken that under no pretext one monk presume to defend or uphold another in a monastery, even though they may be very near akin. In no way whatsoever let monks dare do this, because from it an occasion of the gravest scandal may arise."

² Cap. iii. "If anything of less moment has to be done in the monastery let the abbot take advice of the seniors only."

³ Cf. St. Benedict, cap. xxxii.

⁴ *Consuetudines*, cap. xxx.

alter it. The postulant for the "holy warfare" must be twenty years of age at least, for children and youths, because by them, according to Guigo, great spiritual and even bodily dangers had befallen monasteries, were not received at La Chartreuse.¹ On his arrival the life in all its repulsiveness (*vilitas*) and harshness was set before him; if he still declared himself, "for the words of the Lord's lips" ready to keep the hard ways, then he was to be persuaded to be reconciled according to the Gospel with every one who had anything against him, or if he had defrauded anyone to make restitution, at any rate simply, unless he could do it fourfold like Zacchæus. Then, since the community was only of a certain number dependent on the number of cells erected, these having but one inmate each, a term was given him before his actual admittance.² If he returned at the appointed date, after a suppliant request to the convent, he was put on trial for at least a year, but upon promise that if he could not, or would not, continue in his purpose, he would not return to the world, but betake himself to some other kind of religion which he could bear.³ If he died during his probation, having conducted himself praiseworthy, everything was to be done for him as for a professed monk wearing the sacred habit. Upon admission he was introduced to his cell, a senior being deputed to visit him at fit hours to give him necessary instruction for a week or more, for he was not to be introduced suddenly to the full severity of the Carthusian institution, but brought to it gradually. He had at that time licence to talk to the kitcheners sometimes, and the prior often visited him. Towards the end of his probation, if he seemed a likely subject for the Carthusian régime, and had been meanwhile sedulous in asking the "mercy" (*misericordia*)⁴ of being professed, a date was named for his reception. On the given day, after another humble request for the mercy in chapter, leave was granted him to withdraw, or to dis-

¹ *Ibid.*, cap. xxvii. That is, they often proved unfit subjects for monasticism, and bad monks were a scandal to their house.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xxii. As to the number of the community coinciding with that of the cells, cf. Dom Innocent le Masson's commentary on the Customs, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 683.

³ The word "religion" is here used in the monastic sense. This conditional promise does not stand in the later statutes.

⁴ *Misericordia* was the word used for any favour granted by his prior or by the general chapter to a Carthusian.

tribute his goods, which had been reserved during his probation, to whom and how he liked. If he persevered in knocking, having chosen the latter alternative, the desired assent was given, and then he, or another for him, if he did not know how, wrote the profession.¹

The wording of the Carthusian profession runs in the Benedictine formula, with the dedication of the Chartreuse added to it :

I, brother N., promise stability and obedience, and the conversion of my manners before God and his saints and the rest of this desert, which is built to the honour of God and of the ever Blessed Virgin Mary and Blessed John Baptist, in the presence of Dom N., the prior.

The stability promised or vowed meant, besides stability of place, or permanent residence in the house of profession, stability of condition as Carthusian monk, so that if called, for instance, to the office of bishop, he ought still to observe Carthusian rule so far as might be consonant with that office.² Like St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, he would endeavour even in sickness to keep Carthusian abstinence, he would continue to wear the hair-shirt, and at the last would expire on a cross of ashes. The obedience was that simple, implicit obedience which was above rule because it was of the essence of rule, for the Carthusian monk was to recognise that his prior was in his relations to him in the place of God.³ The conversion of manners meant the submission of his whole manhood to the Carthusian discipline which was intended to lead him to the highest aspirations and to their fulfilment.

The prior himself sang the high mass at which a profession was made. After the offertory the novice, bowed down at the altar step, repeated three times, and the choir after him,

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. xxii.

² Dom Innocent le Masson, commentary on the words "Promitto stabilitatem" (*Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 685-688). From this, the Carthusian interpretation of stability was closely akin to the Benedictine meaning of that term. Cf. Dom C. Butler, *Benedictine Monachism*, pp. 123-134.

³ The Carthusians, in omitting the words "secundum regulam" originally ending the Benedictine form of vow, seem to have strengthened the authority of the prior, or later of the prior and chapter general, as if obedience lay not necessarily only within the limits of their recognised Customs, which a few years after Guigo's death came to have the force of a definite rule.

the verse *Suscipe me Domine, secundum eloquium tuum et vivam, et non confundas me ab exspectatione mea*. After the third repetition followed *Gloria Patri, Kyrie*, and *Pater noster*, while kneeling before each monk the novice said, "Pray for me, father." When he had gone back to his former place and suppliant attitude, the priest turning towards him said, *Salvum fac servum tuum, Mitte ei, Esto ei, Domine vobiscum*. Next, having first blessed it as it lay on the step in front of the novice, the priest took the cowl or outer garment of the monk, and put it on him with the hood drawn back. Thus clad the novice, proceeding to the corner of the altar, read his profession distinctly in the hearing of all, and having kissed the altar laid it thereon. Lastly, the novice being again bowed at his feet, the priest uttered a benedictory prayer over him.¹

From the time of his profession the Carthusian had to realise that he was now become "alien" to everything of this world; henceforth he was to have power over nothing, not even over himself, without the prior's licence; and if he failed in the obedience so necessary to all living by rule, and especially where the rule was unusually strict and difficult, his efforts might be not only so much labour lost, but also he might incur damnation, in Guigo's opinion. Personal property, of course, he now had none, and gifts from outside he might not receive.² The venerable prior says: "If a garment or anything of the sort shall be sent by any friend or relative to any one of us, lay-brother or monk, it is not given to him, but to another rather, lest he should seem to have it as his own."³

The new monk now took his place in the congregation, where precedence went according to the date of profession, unless the prior saw good to order it otherwise. As to his cell, in which the greater part of his life was to be spent, the Customs do not show that at this period it was divided into small apartments as was the case afterwards; its furniture and the utensils and clothes allowed to him were such as belonged to poverty and humility. For his bed he had

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. xxiii.-xxv. The form of blessing of the cowl and prayer over the novice are both given in these, but for brevity's sake omitted here.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xxv.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. lix. This is clearly taken from St. Benedict's Rule, cap. liv.: "If anything is sent to a monk from his parents, he shall not venture to receive it unless the abbot first be told. If he order it to be accepted he may appoint the person to whom it shall be given," etc.

straw, a felt cloth, a cushion, a covering of coarsest sheepskin, and a coverlet of rustic cloth. His wardrobe consisted of two hair-shirts, two tunics, two pilches, one worse and one better, likewise two cowls, three pairs of breeches (*caligarum*), four pairs of socks, skins, a hood (*cappa*), shoes for night and day, and grease to smear them, two loin-cloths and a girdle, all of coarse hemp; and he was not to care about the texture, colour, or coarseness of the things, whether for the bed or for his personal wear.¹ For the repair of his garments he had two needles, thread and scissors, and as well as a comb "for his head," a razor with a grindstone and thong of leather for sharpening it. Since he would have to do his own cooking and to eat at home as a rule, there were also allowed a few necessary pots and pans and platters with provision for fire and an axe for chopping wood. "Let not him who reads this," says Guigo, "either laugh or reprove us, unless he have perchance first lived in a cell for a longer time amid such snow and horrible cold." Means of manual occupation were also supplied; for writing, a desk, pens, chalk, two pumices, two inkhorns, a scalpel, for scraping the parchment two knives or razors, a pointer (*punctorium*), an awl, lead, a rule, a ruler, tablets, and a pencil; if he could not write he was taught how to do so, or if that was impossible, the tools of whatever art or craft which he knew were given to him. Further, he received two books to read from the convent aumbrey, and was bidden take care that they were not soiled with smoke or dust or other dirt. "Books forsooth," says the Venerable Guigo as if he loved them, "we wish to be kept very carefully as the everlasting food of our souls, and most industriously to be made, so that since we cannot do so by the mouth, we may preach the word of God with our hands. For so many books that we write, it seems to us that we make so many publishers of the truth, hoping for reward from the Lord for all those who by them shall be corrected from error, or advanced in Catholic truth, for all those also who shall

¹ The pilches and skins were needed at that altitude, but were not a part of the wardrobe of later Carthusians living in warmer climates. Monastic night-shoes, or boots, were "probably fur-lined, cloth protectors for the feet" worn against the cold in the unwarmed church and to render the foot-fall inaudible during the silence from compline till prime (Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, p. 112). Prior Guigo does not mention the colour of the cowl. It was of coarse undyed serge or cloth, at a later period perhaps actually white, or bleached for them.

be pricked in conscience as to their sins and vices, or kindled to the desire of the heavenly country.”¹

The solitary was not to make excuses for leaving his cell² at other than the appointed times, for he should consider it as necessary to his health and life as water is to fishes or the sheepcote to sheep. Should he, however, lack bread, wine, water, or fire, through his own or another’s neglect, or should he hear an unwonted noise, or clamour, or if there was danger of fire, he might come out to get what was required, and give or seek help, and even break silence, if the greatness of the peril demanded it. He must not speak with those who passed his door, unless in the prior’s presence or by his command; but if he were engaged in the emendation or binding of books or some such work, he might talk to the other monks similarly occupied.³ If the silence, the solitude, and the confinement of the life became too much for him and he fled, or if for some reason he were expelled, and yet “led by repentance” afterwards returned, upon promise of amendment of his “perversity,” or of the vice for which he had been expelled, the prior dealt with his case by the common counsel, and if the number of the community, which may have altered in the culprit’s absence, allowed of it, and if the general counsel was agreeable, he might be received back, though he would be put in the last place, like one newly professed, to prove his humility. If the counsel was against him, licence would be given to him “to go home to any other religion, in which he could save his soul.”⁴ Later Carthusian discipline required a prison in every charterhouse for the recalcitrant and fugitives, if they should be caught.

The Carthusian’s day may be said to have begun in the middle of the night. Except at Christmas and certain other feasts and in the weeks of Easter and Whitsuntide, he would be roused by a bell or other signal about eleven o’clock for vigils, which consisted of fifty psalms, or less, according to the length of the night, not too hurriedly re-

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. xxviii.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xxxi.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. xxxii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. lxxvii. Cf. the Benedictine Rule, cap. xxix.: “If the brother who through his own bad conduct leaves, or is expelled from the monastery, shall desire to return, he must first promise full amendment of the fault for which he left it. He may then be received back to the lowest place that by his humility he may be tried.” Guigo, like St. Benedict, does not define the vice or fault which merited expulsion.

peated, followed by matins of the Blessed Virgin. Then a second bell summoned him and the other monks to church, where prone on the benches, the prior, or anyone whom he appointed, leading, they thrice said the Lord's prayer and the rest of the night office, rising to sing the psalms. This nocturnal office after the Carthusian rite being very long, with the vigils taking about four hours,¹ would be over scarcely before three o'clock. After a short interval, sufficient for the recitation of the seven penitential psalms, during which they might remain in choir or not, at dawn or just before it, matin lauds, or matins, as Guigo indifferently calls the next office, followed. This ended, the monks returned to their cells, not, however, to their beds, but to await with private prayer the hour of prime. In Lent, so that they might have more time for this private devotion, prime was put off until sunrise, and from November till Lent on days when a chapter was held until it was light enough to read in a book, and in summer until the sun was actually illuminating the tops of the mountains, which Dom Innocent Le Masson states to be five o'clock at the summer solstice.² Thus the interval between matins (lauds) and prime varied considerably in length. In fact, the timetable for the whole of the Divine Office varied according to the season of the year, except perhaps with regard to the vigils and nocturns, for it was regulated by the sunrise; thus from October until Lent the bell³ rang for terce (for prime had then been said earlier) when the sun was lighting the summits of the mountains. The space from prime till terce in winter and from matins (lauds) until prime in summer was given to spiritual exercises, and from prime till terce in summer, and from terce till sext in winter, to manual works, which works, says Guigo, "we will to be interspersed with short prayers." In winter sext and none, and in summer terce and sext, were said close together, at intervals sufficient for "two offices of St. Mary." At whatever hour sext was over, the monks dined, and then

¹ Commentary on the *Consuetudines* by Dom I. le Masson (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 999).

² Commentary (as above), col. 700. In making this rough timetable, I have relied on Dom Le Masson's statement as to the duration of nocturns and vigils, and as to the sunrise. Guigo himself mentions no precise hours of the day for the offices.

³ The word used is *signum*; a bell, or knocking or other signal may be meant.

had a siesta in the summer, longer or shorter according to the day's length. Somewhere in the afternoon none was said, followed by manual work, which again was to be mingled with pious ejaculations and prayers.¹ Then came vespers, like the nocturnal office sung in church, and after it, spiritual exercises until compline, which was said in the cells usually. As they began the Divine Office, so they ended it with the Lord's prayer said thrice. After compline they went to bed, and Guigo urges that great care be taken that the hours appointed for rest should be really devoted to sleep, so as to obtain proper wakefulness at other times. Since compline was put off until it was no longer possible to read, the Carthusian day in winter ended early, and the monks would get plenty of rest before being aroused for vigils, but in summer, as above mentioned, a siesta in the afternoon was considered necessary.² Such was the course of an ordinary week-day.

On Sundays and festivals things were somewhat differently arranged. On Saturday evening and on the vigils of such feasts on which neither chapter was held nor mass said, the monks met in the cloister for "recordation," that is, apparently, the appointment of the lections for the following day; and here it may be noted that the lections attached to the offices and those read in the refectory were so arranged that the whole Bible was read in the course of the year. On Saturdays, too, the monks made their confessions to the prior, or to anyone whom he appointed. On Sunday, after prime, the chapter was held; when this was over the monks returned to their cells for a space devoted to spiritual exercises, except any priest or priests among them, who unless prevented by reasonable cause must remain to celebrate mass. The conventual mass, at which both monks and lay-brothers were present, was sung later, terce following immediately upon it. Then the monks, carrying away with them holy water, returned to their cells for a short interval ended by sext in church. After sext they dined in the refectory. On leaving the refectory, if it were a Sunday of the winter, they forthwith said none, but if one between the feast of the Purification and Easter, there was an interval

¹ Cf. Cassian, *Institutes*, iii., cap. ii.: "Manual labour is incessantly practised by them [the Egyptian monks] in their cells . . . with it at every moment they mingle suffrages and prayers."

² *Consuetudines*, cap. xxix.

from dinner till none to be given to reading or devotion, and in summer the same interval to be given to the siesta. After none they met in the cloister, and were allowed to break silence "to converse on useful subjects"; then, too, they had the opportunity of asking and receiving from the sacrist ink, parchment, pens, chalk, and books to read or to transcribe, and from the kitchener vegetables, salt, or other necessary. After vespers in church came supper, for on Sundays and festivals the monks had two meals. After supper, having each received a "tort" (a small cake, or roll of bread) as a pious reminder that they were "Christ's Beggars," they sought their cells to end the day with compline there.¹

As to their fasts and abstinences,² the Carthusians from the 13th of September to Easter, solemn festivals excepted, ate only once a day, but after Easter, on the third and fifth feria (Tuesday and Wednesday) they had two meals. On the Monday, Wednesday, and Friday they existed on bread, not of the finest white flour, and water and salt if they liked it; on the Tuesday and Thursday and Saturday, on vegetables which they cooked themselves, and wine from the kitchen, cheese or something else more dainty being also allowed on Thursday. At supper or dinner, when they ate but once, they had raw herbs, or fruit, if there were any. Of cheese, fish, or eggs, or extra things, which they called "pittances," they made but one meal, returning what was over. Wine always tempered with water they drank only at dinner or supper. Remnants of bread or wine were returned on Saturday. At meals in the refectory, cheese or "other such pittance" was added to the vegetarian dish allowed, and at supper fruit or raw herbs. In Advent, they ate neither cheese nor eggs. This meagreness of diet was, however, modified when they were bled. Bleeding,³ their sole medical remedy, as a rule, save the cautery, had its regularly appointed times, viz., after the octaves of Easter, the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, in the second week of September, the week before Advent and the week before Quinquagesima, for those to whom it was deemed necessary. The patients, so to call them, had two meals on three successive days, and the food was of better quality; on the first day they were permitted to talk a little, and after

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. vii. and ix.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xxxiii. and xxxiv.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. xxxix.

dinner to drink wine, but in their own cells, for mutual entertainment was never allowed. On these three days they remained in bed in the early morning, and on two received even three eggs for supper from the kitchener. Shaving, although one of the regular "utensils" of the cell was a "razor for the head," seems to have been done by the monks for one another in silence at six times yearly, on the vigils of Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption, All Saints, and of Christmas, and at the beginning of a fast.¹

A sick monk might be sent by the prior to the lower house, for such reasons as to relieve insupportable tedium, or to quiet some dangerous temptation caused by the malady; but the invalid was to avoid meddling, through curiosity, with the business of the house, nor was he to speak to strangers there, nor to the converses, save only such as the prior or the dispenser (probably another name for the procurator) deputed for his edification or comfort.² In his chapter on the care of the sick is the only passage of the Customs in which Guigo directly refers to St. Benedict as his authority. Though benignity and mercy is to be shown especially to the sick and those placed in temptation, yet the sick themselves, according to the word of St. Benedict, he says, "are admonished to heed the more diligently lest they sadden those waiting on them by asking for superfluous or impossible things, or perchance by murmuring." With a possible reference to the Benedictine direction that baths as often as expedient were to be granted to the sick brethren, which would have been difficult luxuries at La Chartreuse, Guigo added: "Mindful of the purpose taken up by them, they (the sick) should bethink that, as they when well ought to differ from healthy secular men, so when sick they ought from the secular sick, nor ask for those things in deserts which are hardly to be found in towns."³ Guibert de Nogent stated that the Chartreux did not buy fish; but they made an exception in the case of sickness, according to Guigo, if it were necessary, and if they had none at hand, and if presumably it were impossible to catch any in their own mountain torrent, which at some seasons afforded a plentiful supply.⁴

When a monk or converse was sick unto death, and the

¹ *Ibid.*, cap. ix.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xvii.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. xxxviii. Cf. St. Benedict's Rule, cap. xxxvi.

⁴ Dom Le Masson, Commentary (*Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 715).

end was near, he was visited by the whole convent. One of the priests gave him after his confession absolution, and administered extreme unction, after which, having been kissed by all as one starting on a journey, he was communicated.¹ At the actual passing,² upon warning from those in attendance, every one, unless the Divine Office were being celebrated in church, was to hurry to him. Then the prior, or some one appointed by him, aided by two or three of the others, laid the dying man on the consecrated ashes, and there was said a litany longer or shorter as circumstances permitted, with Paternoster and suffrages, and penitential psalms, followed by the psalter, or so much of it as could be gone through while the dead body was being washed and clad in the garments of a monk or converse as the case might be, and then laid on a bier. When all was ready, after other suffrages and prayers, the body was carried into the church, where the interrupted psalmody was continued. Two psalters³ were to be said for the deceased, one in church and one in the cells with genuflection. If there was time to celebrate mass first, he was to be buried on the same day; if not, on the morrow, the body being watched at night by the monks and lay-brothers. For thirty days after the burial a daily, but not conventual, mass was said for him, and his name was set in the martyrology, the same being done for a deceased converse as for a monk, and on the anniversary of his death a conventual mass was celebrated. On the day of the burial the brethren were not obliged to keep their cells, and "for the grace of consolation" had two meals together, unless it were a chief fast. For benefactors and the faithful departed there was a weekly mass before prime in summer, and after it in winter. Prior Guigo excuses the rarity of masses at La Chartreuse by the especial zeal of the solitaries for silence and solitude.⁴

The latter were so exclusive in every sense that they allowed no one to be buried within their cemetery, whether he had died within their bounds or without, unless he had been of their "purpose," or a monk of another "religion"

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. xii. We omit the liturgical details of the visitation of the sick, and death-bed, and burial.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xiii.

³ This, and the reciting of psalms round the dead body in church, was later known as the *monachatus*, a privilege sometimes granted by the chapter general to seculars.

⁴ *Consuetudines*, cap. xiv.

whose community could not, or neglected to, carry his body away, but in this case the name of the deceased was not set in their martyrology, nor was his anniversary to be kept.¹

Life in the lower house, though the lay-brothers all had their separate cells, was more cœnobitic than in the upper. One of the monks was appointed to preside over the converses; he was given the title of procurator,² and was in relation to them in the stead of the prior, to whom he was answerable, and whose licence must be sought in all important affairs. It was *vice* the prior that he received guests on arrival and judged whether they should be sent on to the quarters of the monks. He had the general management of the monastery's temporal business as well as the rule of the lower house. Busy as his office kept him, the procurator, as often as he could, according to Prior Guigo's advice, was to have recourse to his cell, "as to a very safe and peaceful port, that by reading, prayer, and meditation, he might both settle the troublous emotions of his mind arising from the care and course of outward things, and lay up something

¹ *Ibid.*, cap. xli., 2-3. Guigo in this chapter adds a hit against those who having been well feasted at some time were ready to give masses to their departed benefactor or his relations, a custom not only detrimental to abstinence, but causing "venal prayers."

² Of this word in the sense of steward, treasurer, or administrator of an establishment, or estates, whether belonging to religious or secular persons, there were the two forms "procuratour" and "proctour" or "procter" in concurrent use in old English. Where Wiclif calls the steward of the vineyard "procuratour," Bishop Pecocke in the same text (St. Matt. xx. 8) calls him "proctour." In sixteenth-century papers relating to the charterhouses, their chief officer is called the proctor. More than a hundred years later Sir John Evelyn mentions in his Diary a sermon of the "procurator of the Carmelites" on 26th March, 1645. For this monastic officer was by no means peculiar to the Carthusians, though with them, being the right-hand man of the prior, and ruler, under him, of the lay members of the community, he held a post of special importance. With the Minorites he seems to have been merely the head of the begging department of the Franciscan convents, his duty being to receive and record eleemosinary gifts (Prof. A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History*, pp. 34, 41-44). The form "proctor" has a more English appearance, but is apt to be misleading when used to designate the manager of a monastery's temporal concerns, because the Carthusian and other Orders employed proctors of another sort also—namely, persons to answer for them, or to look after their interests in the Roman Curia and elsewhere. Therefore to avoid any possible confusion, the form "procurator" is used in these pages to denote the Carthusian officer instead of "proctor" (now, indeed, obsolete in that sense, according to the *New English Dictionary*).

wholesome in the privacy of his own breast, which he might fetch out sweetly and wisely to the brothers in chapter; for the more often did they need frequent preaching the less they knew of letters." But if the procurator were to be found negligent or wasteful, or contumacious, and frequently corrupt without amendment, he was to be deposed, and set to keep his cell, so that though incapable of working out the salvation of others, he might at least work out his own.¹

At a given signal the lay-brothers rose for matins (lauds?), and at a second went into their chapel or church,² where, if the procurator or another of the clerk-monks temporarily in his place were present, the Divine Office was said as in the monks' church, and he was to be imitated by them in the genuflections and bodily movements.³ In the case of absence of both, the converses themselves made up, or rather substituted, the offices by a regulated repetition of the Lord's Prayer. For instance, at the matins of a feast of twelve lections, prone on the benches, they said Paternoster once with great attention; then erect, they repeated it six times, each of the six repetitions being ended with *Gloria Patri*; then sitting down, they said it twenty-two times, and rising again six times with supplication (*cum supplicatione*) and *Gloria Patri*; then, continuing to stand, another twenty-two times; finally they said it once for a collect. After matins they went to their private devotion, some formula in their mother-tongue being taught to them for this. From October until Easter they did not go back to bed after this, but filled up the time until prime in some quiet occupation, such as sewing their garments, or greasing their shoes, and if nothing needed doing, then in prayer as much as they were able. From Easter until October, since during the day their labour prevented a siesta, they went to bed until prime at sunrise. For their office of prime, they began with *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini*, etc., then said Paternoster thrice with genuflection, or supplication according to the season,⁴ and *Gloria Patri*, adding a fourth Paternoster for a collect. In this manner also they performed the other

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. xvi.

² Guigo calls it both *capella* and *ecclesia*. Where he speaks of matins he often means what was later called lauds; here he may mean the whole of the early morning service.

³ *Consuetudines*, cap. xlii.

⁴ "Cum *Gloria Patri* et venia, vel supplicatione secundum tempus."

hours.¹ After compline they went to bed, and whether they could sleep or not, were to make no noise.² If their "prelate," the priest-monk who was over them, generally the procurator, were absent, one of their own seniors presided at the offices, and in their works also, unless any special person had been appointed to a particular obedience. To their prelate they might speak upon asking his permission by a sign, but with chance comers they must not converse, though they might return a salutation by a nod of the head, or show the way when asked. When they were in one obedience they might not talk with the brother or brothers of another obedience. Their silence, however, was not to be sullen; if they chanced to meet, they were to be mutually willing with friendly alacrity to make room on the path, the younger always giving place to the elder, but it was to be in silence. Also "after the example of the very reverend and most dear to God, the Cistercians," among whom neither monks nor lay-brothers spoke at meal-times, they were to be silent while they ate. In case of sudden death or fire or other necessity, silence might be broken.³

The Customs⁴ mention among the "obediences" those of the baker and shoemaker, the reeve (*præpositurus agriculturæ*) and the master of the shepherds, who is warned against unnecessary gossiping in the buying and selling connected with his duties, and against oaths, and lying and deceit too often prevalent in commercial dealings. The head shepherd and his fellows had charge of the grange, and of the house where cheese was made, and of the cheesemaking. The brothers engaged in pastoral charge had to go outside the boundary of La Chartreuse with the flocks when sent to winter pasturage, but must avoid going to those dangerous places, the towns, employing their hired boy to go to the mill for them, to get their bread baked, and to buy their wine. On account of their continuous work and frequent hardship in their duties, the shepherds were allowed extra wine on Tuesday and on Saturday, and

¹ In the later charterhouses, where there was but one church for monks and converses alike, this mechanical sort of office of the lay-brothers was done away with, for they attended the services performed by the monks in the common church (Dom le Masson in *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 724).

² *Consuetudines*, cap. xlii. and xliii.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. xlv.-xlv., lv., and lxxii., 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. xlvi.-l., lxi.-lxiv.

were given two small pilches made out of two sheep-skins to wear in the open in winter. Silence was enjoined on them while milking, but is not mentioned for other times. Then there was the lay-brother who had charge of the pack-horses or mules, who on his errands outside the bounds was not to lie on a cushioned bed (*in culcitra*), nor demand anything but a roof, and who was forbidden to carry messages from without or from within, save by order of prior or procurator, or to bring back any secular news. There was a converse told off for care of the garden, and another for keeping the bridge, who was to speak to no one unless his shaking of his head proved insufficient to deter would-be intruders. And most important of all, there was the kitchener, who besides dispensing food and other necessities to them, had to prepare their meals while they were at work; he acted as the general housekeeper and chapel-keeper, and looked after the tools; if anything was lost, he had to acknowledge himself at fault prostrate before the procurator, to whom he was answerable in all his duties. Probably the diet¹ of the converses was much that of a hard-working French peasant of the time, regulated by the ecclesiastical fasts, but on Friday always they had to be content with bread and water and salt. When they were bled,² which for them was four times a year, they, like the monks, were permitted some relaxation as to food and wine and conversation. The brother who was not bled was to have the same relaxation as the patients on these occasions, apparently to avoid singularity, or any suggestion of superior asceticism in his case. The converses were to be shaved as often as the monks, and in addition must wash their heads, in which operations they were to be willing to help one another.

For dress the lay-brother had three³ tunics, three pairs of breeches (*caligarum*), two pairs of stockings, shoes for night and day, a pilch, skins, a cloak, a hood, woollen mittens, two lumbar, and two girdles or belts; some of these garments were renewed in November, the old ones being then returned; the skins and pilches dealt out to the lay-brothers were second-hand ones returned from the monks. For a bed he had straw, a felt cloth, a cushion and coverlet. When the converses went to the upper house, they slept in

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. li.-liiii.

² *Ibid.*, cap. liv.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. lxxii.

a common dormitory, where there were beds for them, pilches, and night shoes. In their own cells they had also a few domestic utensils and tools.¹

The reception and profession of a converse novice was on the same lines as the reception and profession of a monk, or clerk, as Guigo calls him to distinguish him from the lay-brother; but his vow was drawn up in a different form, emphasising his condition, once professed, of being under a permanent yoke of servitude:

I, brother N., promise obedience and conversion of my manners, and perseverance all the days of my life in this desert, before God and his saints, and the rest of this desert² which is built to the honour of God and St. John the Baptist, for the fear of the Lord Jesus Christ and the remedy of my soul, in the presence of Dom N., the prior. So that, if at any time I shall ever have attempted to flee or go away, the servants of God who shall be here may demand me with the full authority of their right, and with force and violence recall me to their service.

The words were stringent enough, yet lest he should fail to realise his full servitude, Guigo adds that the converse after taking the vow was to know that he possessed nothing now, without the prior's leave, not even the staff on which he leaned in going along the steep paths, nor was he himself his own any more.³

The separation of the converses from the solitaries was due to the complete separation of their buildings. Whether this was according to the original intention of St. Bruno and his immediate disciples for the purpose of securing greater seclusion and quiet to the monks, or whether it was simply caused by some local inconvenience of the site at La Chartreuse for building both quarters in proximity, the arrangement was reproduced in the early chartreuses on the Continent,⁴ and in England in the charterhouse at Witham, and, according to a probably reliable tradition, in that at Hinton in Somerset, though not in the later English foundations of the Order. The reduction of the two establishments to one house, and the consequent pro-

¹ *Ibid.*, cap. lvii.

² The desert (*eremus*) of the Carthusians probably included the monastic buildings and the grounds to the outer boundary wall.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. lxxiii.-lxxv.

⁴ Cf. Dom le Masson's note on *Consuetudines*, cap. xvi., *De procuratore domus inferioris* (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 667).

pinquity of the clerical and lay members, though still living in different quarters of it, would tend to produce that solidarity in the Carthusian communities, most amply illustrated in the last years of the London charterhouse by the common devotion there of monks and lay-brothers alike to their Order and to the faith as assimilated through that Order in the days of bitter trouble under the Tudor governments. In Prior Guigo's time there were few occasions of contact between the monks and converses. The latter had the week's visitation now and then from the common head of both, the prior, and when one of them died, the same religious services were done for him, novice or professed, as for a monk. On ordinary days they had their own offices in their own church or chapel. On Sundays some of them were present at the conventual mass in the upper church, their place there being outside the choir as lay men;¹ those of them not present, from the beginning of the Lenten fast until Easter, after none were to say Paternoster prostrate thrice for mass.² On the vigil of a solemn day, on which the monks held a chapter, half of the converses, if their obediences allowed it, when the work was done, went in the evening to the upper house to hear matins and the rest of the sacred office there; they carried up with them provisions obtained from their own kitchen, but slept that night in the common dormitory provided for them among the monks' buildings; after the chapter in the morning the prior, or someone deputed by him, preached to them. From compline of the evening of their arrival until prime, and from the time of the chapter until none, they had to remain silent, but how they were to occupy themselves after their sermon Guigo does not mention. To the kitchen or his assistant, however, they might speak on necessary matters. They descended again to hear vespers conducted by the monk appointed to them in their own chapel.³ Those who did not go up on chapter days, so far as their obediences did not hinder, kept their cells, to devote the space between terce and sext to prayer, for which, considering that they were uneducated men, it may be supposed that they were properly instructed.⁴ In Advent and Quinquagesima the

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. vii., 5. The same arrangement was maintained when there was but one church; the converses were separated from the monks by the choir-screen.

² *Ibid.*, cap. lxvii.

³ *Ibid.* cap. xlii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. lxx.

lay-brothers received discipline weekly, and those who were not "at home" said Paternoster seven times with genuflections (*cum veniis*).¹ On Ash Wednesday they received ashes in their own chapel from the procurator, the absentees saying the Lord's Prayer three times with genuflection.² Those of them who could be spared seem to have spent Holy Week with the monks; with these at the Maundy in the chapter house, they had their feet washed by the prior or his deputy, and on Good Friday they helped the priest wash the church, and were present at the Adoration of the Cross.³ Those who remained below⁴ after dinner on the Thursday went to the kitchen, and their senior washed their feet; wine was given to them, which, having drunk, they withdrew. On Good Friday they went to their church, and said Paternoster once for the Church, once for the pope, for bishops and all in sacred orders, for the emperor, for catechumens, for all afflicted and in peril, for Jews and heathen, with genuflection each time, except during that for the Jews. Then the Cross being offered to them by the kitchener (their "prelate" would naturally be attending the service in the upper church), they reverently kissed it, saying *Adoramus Te Christe, et benedicimus Tibi quia, etc.*, or Paternoster once if they did not know the words.⁵ On Easter day all the lay-brothers made their communion in the upper church, those whose obediences permitted it, at the mass between matins (lauds) and prime, otherwise at high mass with the whole convent. On the Thursday following all the converses returned to their own quarters.⁶

As to the size of the community at La Grande Chartreuse in Guigo's time, it was small, as were probably its earlier offshoots in France and England and elsewhere. The monks were thirteen, not, he says, that they were always as many, nor were as many at the moment of his writing, but that was the number appointed according to the house's

¹ *Ibid.*, cap. lxxv. Quinquagesima is here apparently the whole Lenten fast.

² *Ibid.*, cap. lxxvi.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. iv., 22, 27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. lxxviii. and lxxix.

⁵ The monotonous use of the Lord's Prayer enjoined on the converses reaches its limit in cap. lxxi.: "For one recently deceased they owe three hundred Lord's Prayers, of which they render the half with genuflections, and on every anniversary nine, with as many genuflections" (*veniis*).

⁶ *Consuetudines*, cap. iv., 29, 30, 31.

capacity for supporting them, though whether the novices were included in his reckoning is not clear. The converses were similarly nominally sixteen, but owing to the feebleness and senility of some, they might be more, as new ones had to be accepted to supply the lacking work of the others. In fact, the early Chartreux determined to be self-supporting; by the cultivation of their own lands and by their flocks, and by a rigid humility, or rather poverty, in living and dress, they reckoned that they could maintain this comparatively small number without resorting to "the hateful business" of wandering about begging.¹ Guigo's abhorrence of anything like a spirit of cupidity—to which indeed begging is only too liable—and his love of sober poverty caused him in one passage² to forget that he professed to be recording customs, and to make a rule or enactment: "Cutting off all occasions of cupidity from us and from our posterity, as far we can by God's help, by the decree of this present writing we ordain that the inhabitants of this place shall possess nothing at all beyond the bounds of their desert—that is, not fields, nor vineyards, nor gardens, nor churches, nor cemeteries, nor oblations, nor tenths, nor anything whatsoever."

Such was the austere but simple monachism which Henry II. introduced into England, when he settled a colony of Chartreux in Selwood Forest, for in the years between Prior Guigo's death and the foundation of the first English charterhouse it had scarcely changed.

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. lxxviii. and lxxix. In later times a charterhouse might contain as many as forty-five monks (with presumably a proportionate increase in the number of converses), but the normal number was thirteen, including the prior, and sometimes even as few as eight or nine.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xli., 1.

CHAPTER III

THE CHARTREUX AT WITHAM

ON the Continent, the foundation of chartreuse after chartreuse within the hundred years of St. Bruno's death was doubtless partially due to reaction against the spirit of violence and self-seeking, luxury and greed, existing no less in the Church than in the State, the prevalent simony alone being a sign of the common temper of ecclesiastics. In England, however, it was otherwise. The Order gained a footing here very gradually. The commutation of a personal act of penance led in the first place to the foundation of the earliest charterhouse, and personal deeds of piety nearly forty years later to that of the second; then, after another barren hundred years, individual devotion at various dates put into being seven more English Carthusian communities.

The murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury (if the tradition of the Order is correct) supplied the origin of the first English charterhouse. The earliest certain date of any relations of Henry II. with the Carthusians is the year 1165. When Thomas à Becket betook himself in 1164 to Pope Alexander III., then in France, some of his supporters thought it best to quit England also. Among these was John of Salisbury, who sought the hospitality of the chartreuse of Mont-Dieu, in the diocese of Rheims. On leaving he wrote a letter to Engelbert, prior of the chartreuse of Val St. Pierre in the diocese of Soissons, to explain the cause of his exile.¹ He told him how, on account of his siding with the archbishop and the Church, the king, being unjustly offended, had proscribed himself and his brother as to their goods, wherefore being without resources, friends, or arms, he was thrown on their patronage; he begged the prior and his brethren to pray that the scourge might be removed from the Church, desiring the solace of their prayers also for himself and his brother and fellow refugees, for he despaired of human aid; he implored them

¹ Dom Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*, ii., sub anno 1164.

to offer up intercessions for the King of England that the Lord would recall him from oppressing the Church. John's letter, or the substance of it, may have been passed on to the Grande Chartreuse, for in 1165 the Carthusians wrote thence to Henry II., warning him of the possible wrath of God, and remonstrating with him on his ecclesiastical policy. "It is reported from east and west," they said, "that you are afflicting the churches of your kingdom intolerably, and exact from them unheard-of and unwonted things, which if the ancient kings did demand, nevertheless they ought not to have demanded them. It may be, however, that in your time, since God has given you much wisdom, such affliction may be somehow endurable, but perchance after your death there will be such reigning who will devour the Church open-mouthed, and hardened like Pharaoh, will say, 'I know not the Lord,' and will not let Israel go." They implored him for the honour of his name not to leave an example of oppression, but, on the contrary, to look with pity upon holy Church, which almost everywhere was being trampled under foot, and to give her the consolation of his royal protection.¹ Their words had no effect. In 1168 the pope chose the "religious and God-fearing man" Basil, the then prior of the Grande Chartreuse, and Anthelm, a former prior and now Bishop of Bellay, to be bearers of a letter to Henry urging him to make peace with the archbishop. Simon, Prior of Mont-Dieu, and Engelbert, Prior of Val St. Pierre, were also employed by him in the same cause.² The murder of Thomas à Becket in 1170 ended these fruitless endeavours to pacify a quarrel in which neither antagonist would give way. In July, 1174, Henry did public penance at Canterbury⁴ for the officious act of his courtiers in ridding him of the archbishop, having previously sworn, as a condition of his reconciliation with the Church, to take the Cross and go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. But the rebellion of his sons and other affairs prevented the fulfilment of his vow, wherefore the condition was commuted to the erection of religious houses. Considering the occupation of the Carthusian priors in the

¹ *Materials for the Life of St. Thomas à Becket*, ed. by J. C. Robertson (*Rolls Series of Chronicles and Memorials*), vol. vi., p. 165.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 394-395.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 438, 488, 490, 496, 502, 507, 518, 520, 529

⁴ *Dictionary of National Biography*, art. Henry II.

attempted mediations between the king and the archbishop, there is a not unnatural tradition of the Order that two of these foundations were the chartreuse at Liget, near Loches in the diocese of Tours, and the charterhouse at Witham in the diocese of Wells.¹

The Carthusian annalist Dom Le Couteulx, writing about two hundred years ago, says that according to the king's wish, the prior of the Grande Chartreuse in 1178, after Henry's return to London in July, dispatched a monk named Narbert and two converses, Gerard, a very religious man, and Ainard, whose worth had been well proved in a long life now run into its hundredth year. Brother Ainard had indeed been employed before on similar missions for the establishment of new communities, for though illiterate, he was a man of strong personality. Once on a time the authorities at the Grande Chartreuse having sent him into Spain on the business of a new foundation there, he became attached to two hermits living in the vicinity; during an inroad of the Saracens these men were, with other people, carried off prisoners. Importuning his prior with entreaties and tears, he gained licence to go to Africa to seek out his "very dear hermits"; after he had found them, he somehow won over their captors to release them without ransom. On another occasion, after some talk with some of the Albigensian heretics, being greatly scandalised at their views of the Church's sacraments, he stirred up some of the neighbouring nobles to take up arms against them, for apparently at times this uneducated lay-brother was awe-inspiring.² St. Hugh's biographer, who probably met him at Witham, describes him as a reverend personage with snow-white hair, grave of speech, but with something of the divine gleaming in his eyes, terrible to the unworthy, yet capable of being very merry and gentle. But in spite of having received the Carthusian habit in his youth he had not learnt perfect obedience. His superiors decided to send

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*, ii., pp. 449-452. Some accounts put the foundation at Liget as far back as 1153, but a persistent tradition of the Order assigns the origin of it to the king's penance for the murder of Becket.

² This was probably after the Council of Tours, where stringent decrees were passed against the heretics of Southern France known as Albigenses, as to whose repulsive tenets and practice reference may be had to S. R. Maitland, *Facts and Documents illustrative of the History of the Ancient Albigenses and Waldenses* (1832).

him into Denmark to assist in another new plantation there. For some reason the old man had conceived an unconquerable dislike to the Danes; he was not concerned as to the toilsome journey, but he feared the inhabitants as if they were barbarians of savage unknown manners. On hearing the decision he signed himself with the cross and said, "From Denmark deliver us, O Lord," for he was fond of using scriptural language. He threw himself at the prior's feet begging in vain to be excused from the odious mission. But the prior was determined that the brethren should have the benefit of Brother Ainard's experience. Then he cast himself at the feet of the monks assembled in chapter, entreating them with tears to intercede for him, for though he knew he would have to expiate his disobedience, he declared once and for all that while he dwelt in this mortal body to Denmark he would not go. The answer of the seniors was expulsion from the Chartreuse. It was the worst season, the time of dense mist, icy and snow-laden blasts, but discipline must be maintained. Ill clad, ill shod, suffering from hunger and cold, the aged converse tramped away for miles and miles to other houses of the Order, beseeching their intercession for his restoration. At length, laden with deprecatory letters from the other priors, he returned one night to the Grande Chartreuse. The porter would neither admit him nor allow him to shelter under the porch, so that he was compelled to lie out in the snow. Ainard, knowing the rules of the house, did not take this amiss; the indomitable old converse only said jokingly, "Really, dearest brother, if this night you had been a bean between my teeth chattering for cold, even against my will I should have munched you thoroughly into bits." Ainard was re-admitted, and instead of being sent to Denmark, was ordered to go to England.¹

Narbert with his companions—presumably others besides the two lay-brothers—on his way to England visited the chartreuse of Portes, and obtained there the promise of the insertion of his name after death in the martyrology of that house, as related in a note, unfortunately without date, in an old copy of Guigo's Customs.² After crossing the Channel, there must have been some preliminaries to be gone through

¹ *Magna Vita S. Hugonis* (*Rolls Series of Chronicles*, etc.), pp. 212-216.

² Le Couteulx, *Annales*, ii., p. 456. Did Narbert go to pick up the monk Albert, St. Hugh's successor at Witham? for he was one of the first set of religious there, and he came from Portes.

before the Chartreux went down to the remote royal vill in Somerset which the king had assigned to them, so that their arrival at Witham may have been quite at the end of 1178. The earliest record mentioning the Carthusians here is the account of Robert de Beauchamp for the year 1179-80 of the ferm of the counties of Dorset and Somerset, of which an item is £10 to the "brothers of the Order of Chartuse dwelling in the vill of Witham which William FitzJohn had" by the king's writ.¹ FitzJohn might be now otherwise compensated, or he may have recently died leaving the estate at the king's disposal, but the fact that this payment of £10 was made to him during the twelvemonth Michaelmas, 1178, to Michaelmas, 1179, makes it doubtful whether the monks arrived on the spot before 1179. Be that so or not, Henry was certainly careless as to the well-being of these foreign religious whom he planted down among the Wessex folk without compensating the latter, either land-holders or serfs, for any loss they might suffer from the property passing into other hands.² Naturally the old inhabitants regarded the new-comers with jealousy, and any difficulties arising must have been increased by imperfect acquaintance of the language on both sides, French or English. Narbert was not a fit man for the task before him; used to solitude, he grew bewildered and oppressed by the business of construction, and neither he nor his companions could get accustomed to the manners of the natives, to the unwonted food, and to the continual friction with their strange neighbours. He was allowed to return, or was recalled, to the Grande Chartreuse, and after deliberation his superiors considered it wiser to appoint him to another charge, and to put someone else in his stead at Witham.³ This second prior is probably Hamon, Prior of Witham, who with "R. procurator thereof" (doubtless Robert, procurator for a while and later prior), and with Walter, Prior of Buckland, witnessed a grant to Bruton Priory by the Bishop of Bath, Reginald FitzJocelin.⁴ Whoever he was, he too wearied of the task, and died soon after his coming.

¹ *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II.*, p. 106 (the references to the Pipe Rolls here and below are to the printed copies of the Rolls issued by the Pipe Roll Society).

² *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, pp. 68-69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

⁴ *Bruton Cartulary (Somerset Record Society, vol. viii.)*, No. 130. FitzJocelin's dates are 1174-1191, and the only unknown prior of that period is the second who preceded Hugh of Avalon.

The brethren left behind knew not how to proceed, and the king himself feared that he might have to give up his project. Meanwhile the Grande Chartreuse had for years past been training a monk, the odour of whose sanctity, spiced as it was with holy wisdom, had spread beyond the limits of the mountain "desert," Hugh of Avalon, to whose existence the Count of Maurienne called Henry's attention. "You will find in this one man," he told him, "along with all other virtues, whatever long-suffering and sweetness, whatever greatness of soul and courtesy could be found in any human being. No one could think him unpleasant as a neighbour. No one will shun him as a foreigner, no one will regard him as anything but a fellow-citizen, a familiar, a brother, an intimate friend, for he looks on all mankind as part of his own flesh, embracing all men with unique charity." Following the count's urgent advice, Henry sent Reginald surnamed the Lombard (FitzJocelin), Bishop of Bath, and other persons to the Grande Chartreuse, with the result that very reluctantly the authorities consented to dispatch Hugh to England.¹ If, as has been suggested,² Bishop Reginald went on this errand to the Grande Chartreuse on his way back from the Lateran Council held 5th-19th March, 1179, it may well have been the autumn before he arrived there, since there is nothing to show the date of his return to this country.

Hugh is stated by his biographer to have travelled with the embassy, to have been graciously received by the king, and dismissed "with honour" to Witham.³ One authority supposes him to have crossed in 1179 in time to obtain an interview with Henry before the latter sailed from England in 1180, and thinks that the entries on the roll of the Norman Exchequer for the twelvemonth Michaelmas, 1179, to Michaelmas, 1180, relate to his journey.⁴ If this view is correct, the new prior, accompanied by other brothers, was conducted by Reinald, the king's clerk, who perhaps had been told off for that charge by the bishop, stopped at Caen and was entertained there at the king's cost for 100s., and

¹ *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, pp. 52-55, 63-66.

² By Father Thurston, S.J., in his translation of the *Vie de St. Hughes, par un Religieux de la Grande Chartreuse*.

³ *Magna Vita*, p. 66.

⁴ J. A. Robinson, "The Foundation Charter of Witham Charterhouse" (*Somerset Archeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*, vol. lxiv., 1918, p. 11).

embarked at Barfleur, 20s. out of the provostship (*præpositura*) of that harbour being spent on the passage.¹ But this is to allow a somewhat short period for Prior Narbert—who, according to the Carthusian annalist, did not start until after midsummer in 1178—to attempt to settle, to grow tired of the business and return home, and for a second prior, after deliberation, to have been sent, and to become likewise wearied out and to die. To accept these entries as relating to the first band of Carthusians is against Carthusian tradition, but there is no reason why the “*fratres de Certosa*” mentioned therein should not be the second prior and his companions. So, too, the entries of the contemporary Pipe Roll, 1179-80, may belong to the period before St. Hugh’s arrival, for both Narbert and Hamon would need money and clothing for themselves and their associates and their prospective building. On this roll, besides the £10 already mentioned from the vill of Witham, there is a sum of £40 out of the ferm of Cornwall delivered to Ralph FitzStephen, by writ of Ranulf de Glanvill, towards the work of the “brothers of Chartuse” dwelling at Witham, and out of that of Southampton £13 6s. 8d. to buy clothes for them.² The Carthusians themselves seem to prefer the date 1180 for Hugh’s appointment to the charge of Witham, for shortly after his departure (*paulo post beati viri in Angliam discessus*) Guigo II., Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, having thereby lost his help as procurator, resigned, and the year of his resignation is known to be 1180.³

Hugh found the brothers living in a wood, not far from the then royal vill of Witham, in cells constructed of logs and enclosed by a mean earthwork and pales. The site had not even yet been marked out for the permanent buildings, the greater church and cells and cloister for the monks, and the lesser church with the cells and offices of the converses and the guest-house. No sort of compensation or provision had hitherto been made for those of the inhabitants who would suffer loss by the erection of the monastery. The new prior therefore in the first place summoned the discontented neighbours and bade them choose whether they would have land in other royal manors on the same condition as that

¹ T. Stapleton, *Rotulus Scaccarii Normanniæ*, vol. i., pp. 37 and 56.

² *Pipe Roll 26 Henry II.*, pp. 96, 106, 131.

³ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, ii., p. 472, and information sent to me by Dom V. M. Doreau from Carthusian archives.

which they would have to vacate at Witham, or be freed from servitude in order to settle wherever they might wish. When applying to the king on their behalf he also insisted that they must have pecuniary compensation. The royal astonishment was great when he further begged for the old materials of the houses from which they were ejected, considering that Henry was about to build a monastery for him and his companions. Hugh said that it did not become the royal majesty to inquire into the petty detail as to why he required the old stuff. The king acceded to his desire, and the prior gave the materials to the ousted natives.¹ Of the serfs who were transferred to other manors, or to whom freedom was given, we believe that there is no record. But among those who were compensated for their former property at Witham were Gilbert de Norfolk and Geoffrey de Wandstrow, to both of whom Henry granted lands in North Curry, instead of those of which he had dispossessed them in bestowing Witham on the monks. The charters of the two grants have some of the same witnesses; that to Gilbert de Norfolk, preserved in a Wells register (R. III., f. 81*b*), is dated at Waltham; that to Geoffrey de Wandstrow is witnessed by, among others, Geoffrey the chancellor, son of the king, and Walter de Coutances, Archdeacon of Oxford, both of whom attested Henry's will at Waltham on 22nd February, 1182; thus the likely date of the two charters of compensation is that of the royal will.² The new estate of Gilbert de Norfolk was to be held of Gilbert Malet, but erroneously in the Pipe Rolls is said to be held of Henry de Newmarch like that given to Geoffrey de Wandstrow.³ Years later Ralph Malet held lands in the hundred of North Curry worth £8 a year of the gift of King Henry, father of King John, in exchange for his land at "Witteham."⁴

The prior and convent of Bruton had had a chapel with lands and tenements in the manor of Witham, the tithes whereof in consequence belonged to them; moreover they had "by ancient custom the feeding of their beasts in the same manor without number, and quittance of herbage, and sufficient fuel for their fire in the king's demesne woods,

¹ *Magna Vita*, lib. ii., cap. v.

² J. A. Robinson, as above.

³ *Athelney Chartulary* (*Somerset Record Society*, vol. xiv.), p. 164; *Pipe Rolls 28-30 Henry II.*; J. A. Robinson (as before), pp. 11-12.

⁴ *Testa de Neville*, p. 162 *b*.

from the dead wood, and a log annually." In recompense of this chapel at Witham and the rights of grazing and fuel, the king granted the church of South Petherton with like rights in the wood of Bryncombe to Bruton Priory.¹ If, like the Prior and Leprous Sisters of Maiden Bradley, who had pasture rights in the king's demesnewood at Witham,² persons having interests within the metes of the ground granted to the Chartreux neglected to put in their claim within two and a half years of the founding of the Charterhouse, according to the royal proclamation throughout the counties of Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts, it was not the fault of St. Hugh that they suffered.

These just compensations being made or promised, Hugh was free to consider the necessities of his charge. Some of the difficulties of his two predecessors, doubtless, had arisen from the king's remissness in not forwarding funds, for the new prior found the workmen clamorous for their wages. Twice he sent up from Witham a deputation of the brethren to represent matters to Henry, with the sole result of empty promises. Lay-brother Gerard, a man of noble birth and fiery temperament, expostulated with his prior for patiently suffering the royal dilatoriness. Why did he not go up himself and threaten Henry that they would return to their own country? Did not Hugh perceive how the king was putting a slight upon their whole Order? Finally Hugh did go to court accompanied by the converses Gerard and Ainard. Henry, as before, gave them nothing but promises, and Gerard, in spite of his prior's previous warning, poured forth an invective against the king. He told him that he at any rate would go back to the Alpine rocks rather than stop and haggle with a man so fond of his money, declaring that neither Christ nor any good Christian would care to share that with such a one. A burst of ill temper was scarcely likely to influence Henry. Remaining silent a while after Gerard's words, and then turning to Hugh, he asked, "Now, good man, what art thou thinking? Art thou also minded to go away and leave our kingdom to us?" Hugh answered meekly, "I do not so much despair of you, my lord. Rather do I pity you for your hindrances and occupations which prevent the healthful care of your soul. You are busy. When God will, you will continue

¹ *Bruton Cartulary*, No. 381.

² *Monasticon*, vi., part i., app. ii. (Maiden Bradley Priory).

what you have well begun." The quiet, half sarcastic reply pleased the king. Embracing the prior, he cried, "By the safety of my soul, while I live thou shalt not quit my kingdom."¹

After this interview, the necessary supplies were granted, as various entries on the Pipe Rolls for the next few years testify. In 1180-81 Ralph FitzStephen paid by royal writ out of the "census" of the forest of Shirwood, £20 towards the building of the brethren's houses at Witham on the view of Elias de Maissi and Walkelin of Bradley, both men of the neighbourhood, and also 54s. out of the same tax of the forest of "Chepeham" (Chippenham, Wilts) for the same purpose. Next year they received £20 out of the ferm of Somerset and Dorset for their works, and another £10 by royal writ "for seed to sow the land of the brethren of Chartuse." Also from the manors of the then vacant abbey of Glastonbury they had £80 towards their living and £60 towards their works, and by writ of Ranulph de Glanvill £10 to buy them cloth, Lincolnshire supplying them with 27s. for nine ells of "blanchet" for their use. The roll of the next year records £30 given to the brethren from the ferm of Devon towards their living and works, and 10 marks from Southamptonshire to buy them cloth. In the following year they had £50 from Berkshire and £50 from Dorset and Somerset. In 1184-85 they only had 40s. remitted out of their pasture of Cedreford, which they were also excused in subsequent years. In 1185-86, out of the ferm of the estates of the abbey of Abingdon £30, by writ of Ranulph de Glanvill, was paid towards the work which the king had ordered to be done at Witham, and the sheriff of Wilts by a royal writ supplied from Littleton £20 to the brethren of "Chartuse" for buying cloth, and towards gathering their hay and corn, hired labour probably being necessary owing to the small number as yet of lay-brothers in the new community. After St. Hugh had been called to the see of Lincoln, they had by the king's writ a hundred "cranochs" of corn price 42s. 6d., and by writs of Ranulph de Glanvill 100 marks were given to Ralph FitzStephen for the building of the church of Witham, and 10 marks to buy cloth for the brothers of Witham.²

¹ *Magna Vita*, lib. ii., cap. vi.

² *Pipe Rolls* 27-33 *Henry II.* "Fratres" means as a rule at this period the "brethren"—that is, the monks of whom the one "father" was the

A memorandum of the grant of the church of South Petherton to Bruton Priory, to which reference has been made above, gives the date of the founding of Witham charterhouse thus: "In the year of grace 1181, Dominical letter D, in the seventeenth pascal feast, being the nones of April in the second year after leap year, the eleventh from the passion of St. Thomas, Pope Alexander ruling the holy Roman Church, in the twenty-second of his pontificate, the venerable father Baldwin, presiding over the church of Canterbury, and Reginald called Ytalicus, being Bishop of Bath, Ralph de Clanvile, then Chief Justice of England, Geoffrey FitzPeter, then Justice of the Forest, by the illustrious King Henry II., in the year of his age forty-nine, and of his reign twenty-eight, the house of the Carthusian Order in the desert (*eremus*) of Witham was newly founded." The royal charter of the foundation is simply dated "at Marlborough"; it is known that Henry was there on 6th January, 1182, which, according to the computation of those days, would be 1181; thus, if the Bruton memorandum is taken as a guide, the charter to the first Carthusian community in England may perhaps be assigned to 6th January, 1182. Passing over the inaccuracies of the Bruton scribe (for instance, in the twenty-eighth year of Henry II. the pope was Lucius III., then at the beginning of his short pontificate, and not Alexander III. in the twenty-second of his pontificate), his words "was founded" may bear here the very ordinary sense "had its foundations laid," or was set going as an institution; the date given by him, 1181, would then be in agreement with the possible fact that the first grant from the various sources of the royal treasury in 1179 enabled the monks and their workmen to have made such definite way by the spring of 1181 that the charterhouse might by that time be said to be founded. The Pipe Roll for Michaelmas, 1180, to Michaelmas, 1181, however, mentions a payment of £20 for the work at Witham "by the view" of Elyas de Maissi and Walkelin of Bradley. This looks as if the two Somerset men had been employed, either by the king or the Chartreux, to "view"—that is, survey—the ground where the solid foundations were to be laid, and as if on the

prior for the time being. The Carthusians in England, owing to their so calling one another "frater" have been called "friars," which they were not, at any rate of the Franciscan sort; but the converses were also called "fratres"—that is, "fratres conversi or laici."

presentation of their report FitzStephen, one of the royal chamberlains,¹ paid the sums mentioned from the "census" of the forests of Shirwood and Chippenham, as part of the estimated cost. Considering this business-like entry on the roll, the time when the foundations of the permanent erections were actually dug may well have been between the end of 1181 and the spring of 1182 (modern style). Now the entries on the Pipe Rolls show that the building at Witham was going on from 1180 or 1181 to about 1184, the church at any rate not being finished until 1186, or 1187 even. The charter's language denotes completion; the king says, "Know ye that I have built the house, etc., in my demesne of Witteham," using the perfect infinitive "construxisse." Noting this point, and the evidence of these rolls of the Exchequer, we venture to question the date 6th January, 1182, though assigned to the charter by no less an authority than the Dean of Wells² on the strength of the Bruton memorandum largely. We prefer that assigned by Mr. Eyton in his *Itinerary of Henry II.* (p. 271)—i.e., September, 1186. But without certain proof this is a matter on which it is impossible to dogmatise.

The charter mentions no expiatory purpose in Henry's foundation; the king says that he has built the house for the welfare of his soul and the souls of his ancestors and successors in honour of St. Mary, St. John the Baptist, and All Saints, in his demesne of Witham. The boundaries of the land given to the "Brothers serving God there" are minutely set forth. The monks are to hold the property with the free customs belonging to a charterhouse both with regard to the election of the prior and all others. The king realised the nature of these religious whom he was introducing into his realm, and besides the more usual clauses in grants to pious uses, freeing them from Dane-geld and other taxes, he declares them to be quit of every pecuniary demand, and from all exaction and vexation and mundane disturbance; they are to be free and quiet throughout his whole land on this side and beyond sea; and he forbids the foresters or their

¹ He is called "Camerarius" in *Pipe Roll 30 Henry II.*, p. 53.

² *The Foundation Charter of Witham Charterhouse*, pp. 8-9. Dr. Robinson produces nothing against Mr. Eyton's date, but judges the evidence to be in favour of 1182. Even if the Chartreux had begun operations at Witham and were well on with them in 1182, it was not a matter of necessity that the king should have granted the charter at once.

ministers to molest them by passing in and out of their boundaries.¹

In one passage St. Hugh's biographer implies that the whole of the monastery at Witham was erected during his priorate.² Certainly the house of the lay-brothers, the collection of dwellings and offices so called, if intended for permanency, was not constructed of durable materials. The only stone structure there was the church with its glass windows, probably the chapel which, before the coming of the Chartreux, had been served from Bruton Priory, and doubtless used by the villagers as their parish church. There is no record of the destruction of this chapel, and it has been thought that St. Hugh turned it into that for the converses, pulling off the wooden roof, and vaulting it with stone instead, the walls being strengthened by another thickness of stone in order to support the greater weight of the new roof. The present parish church of the modern village of Witham Friary is identified by some authorities with the church or chapel of the lay-brothers.³ At the west end of their church, along with other domestic buildings, was the kitchen made of wattle, and about six or seven feet from it the guest-house with a roof of shingles; the cells of the converses situated round about were of wood. During Hugh's last visit to Witham before his death, the kitchen was burnt to the ground.⁴ The incident proved the wisdom of his oft-repeated admonition to build it of stone, and shows that the building was not completed under his priorate, for this was a matter he could then have controlled himself. As to the quarters of the monks, we have no details; from the Pipe Rolls of the year 1186-87 it is evident that their church was not finished until after Hugh became Bishop of Lincoln. The Metrical Life of St. Hugh states that it also was of stone, and mentions bases and columns, as if it had aisles; if the description of it therein given is true, and not a poetic fiction, it strengthens the hypothesis that the present parish church was that of the converses, for it is in

¹ The original charter is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Wells.

² *Magna Vita*, p. 82.

³ *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, IV. xxv. 2; *Somerset Archaeological Society Proceedings* for 1893, in a paper on *Witham* by Rev. J. T. Westropp; *Magna Vita S. Hugonis (Rolls Series)*, preface, p. xxiii.

⁴ *Magna Vita*, p. 219.

*plan but a simple oblong without aisles, ending in an apse at the east end.¹

The third prior of the new Chartreuse was a personification of the Carthusian ideal. In his case there had been no turning from the world, for he had never belonged to it. The Carthusian system was for him but an ampler satisfaction of a devout, constant aspiration, a completer opportunity and means of the religious servitude in which he had lived from childhood. He became literally enamoured of Carthusian monachism, and embracing it, became steeped in the spirit of the early Chartreux. The dates of St. Hugh's life are uncertain, even that of his consecration to the see of Lincoln having been questioned ; but he was certainly a man of mature years when he came to England.² His father, William de Avalon, a gentleman, or perhaps noble, of Dauphiné, widowed some time before, entered a house of regular canons at Villarbenoit dependent on the cathedral of Grenoble, taking his motherless boy, Hugh, then but eight years old, with him. There along with other noble youths he attended the school under the canons, and the boy, already grave by nature, must have grown still more serious, for his tutor on seeing him merry with his school-fellows pulled him up with the rebuke, " Little Hugh, little Hugh, I am bringing thee up for Christ. Joking is not for thee." After being ordained deacon in his nineteenth year, Hugh having distinguished himself by his earnest preaching was given the charge of the cell of St. Maximin. Some time during his diaconate his prior took him to the Grande Chartreuse. The place caught his religious imagination ; it was so remote from earthly disquietude ; almost above the clouds, it should be near heaven ; one might be solely occupied with the things of God there, and in this the rich abundance of books in the library would help. The inhabitants of that solitude dwelt in separate houses, but were associates in purpose ; they mortified the flesh, but their spirits were serene and free, their countenances cheerful, and their speech pure. The young deacon aspired to join them. He was allowed to speak to one of the seniors of the community, " one formerly

¹ *Magna Vita*, preface, p. xxiii.

² For the possible dates of his birth see *Magna Vita*, preface, pp. xvii.-xviii. The authority for the following pages on St. Hugh's life in France and at Witham is the *Magna Vita* (*Rolls Series*) unless otherwise stated.

of great name in the world." The monk looked at the slender youth, and according to the direction of Guigo I., laid before the aspirant all the harshness of the life. He tried to frighten him by telling him that these men dwelling among rocks were harder than any stone, knowing pity neither for themselves, nor for their fellows, and that the hair-shirt would eat away his flesh to the very bones. From other of the monks he got encouragement, however.

When his prior heard of Hugh's predilection for the Carthusian solitude, he bitterly regretted having taken him thither. "The Chartreuse has seized thee and has altogether taken possession of thee. We are holding thee with difficulty by the body, yet all the while thy heart is not ours," he lamented. Hugh, overcome by his sorrow, promised to remain with him until he died. But the call of the mountain desert was too strong; as if impelled, he broke his promise, and fled to the Grande Chartreuse, and was received as a novice by Basil, the prior. He was introduced into a cell; there after the common lot of the "athletes of Christ," many a wrestling bout he had with the tempter, and many a buffet he had to take from "the angel of Satan," who was ready to meet him as soon as he put his foot over the threshold of his little dwelling. Serenity would come to him, however, in sacred study, to which he devoted much time both in the day and in the night, thoroughly imbuing himself with the scriptures like the other Chartreux. The very lay-brothers, even at that period, though unlettered, had received such good oral teaching that they would at once perceive any error made by a reader in church, and mark their notice of it by a cough. Besides his studies, Hugh was also occupied with the care of an aged monk, who was too feeble to quit his cell, and who apparently had been appointed for his instruction in Carthusian ways. This old man, while rebuking the deacon-novice, on the occasion of an ordination, for his very natural presumption in wishing to be advanced to the priesthood, yet prophesied that not only would he soon be a priest, but thereafter a bishop. When he had attained his heart's desire, the young saint's ministrations at the altar were singularly devout; it seemed, says his biographer, who likely enough saw him celebrating mass in after years, as if in handling the sacred species he touched his visible Lord and Saviour, and as if he were veritably singing with the Bride in Canticles, "My Beloved is mine, and I am His." Hugh

in his own practice as a Carthusian monk was austere and severe in self-discipline. He was wont to pray much, lying prone on the ground, and his rigid fasts finally told on his health, his inclination to corpulence in middle age being the result of a disordered digestion. Hugh was procurator when the English king's request reached the Grande Chartreuse; in that office he had shown such capacity that he had become the right-hand man of the aged prior Guigo II., who, moreover, loved him as his own soul. "As the Lord liveth," he declared, "never shall there go out of my mouth the word commanding him to desert me in my old age, and to widow the Chartreuse of his very sweet and necessary presence." Many others of the community also disliked parting with him. One of them, however, Bovo (himself later Prior of Witham), warned them that they could not keep such a man for long like a light hidden under a bushel, for it seemed to him already that Hugh's virtues were those of a bishop rather than of a monk. Hugh himself was reluctant to leave his beloved solitude. Finally their diocesan, the Bishop of Grenoble, whom the royal messengers had brought with them, successfully used his authority and persuasion with both prior and procurator.¹ He called on the latter to imitate the only-begotten Son of the Most High, Who for the salvation of many deigned to go forth from the most exalted secrecy of His Godhead to public intercourse with man, and then commanded him to take on himself the charge at Witham. Hugh at the bishop's feet entreated for release in vain; unable to move him, he had to consent to go. So, having received the kiss of peace from his brethren, he departed with the royal embassy, and after a gracious interview with the King of England, was brought with honour to Witham, where the few remaining brothers received him joyfully as an angel of the Lord.

The determination of St. Hugh to establish the new settlement of Chartreux in righteousness has been related above. His priorate was short, but long enough to leave a sound and holy tradition to his successors. As a governor he was doubtless firm, and though just, he could be severe on occasions—when bishop he would box a defaulting servant's ears. Lack of sympathy, on the other hand, cannot be supposed in a man who knew how to deal with Henry II.,

¹ At that date the Chartreux were still under the supervision of the Bishop of Grenoble.

and at the same time loved and was beloved by children and wild birds. For the community his life was an open book from which all might learn. His very existence was one long prayer; even in sleep he was heard to murmur "Amen," as if his heart were still waking toward the heavenly Spouse whom his soul so ardently loved. On feast days, when he ate with the other monks in the refectory, "he used to have his eyes on the table, his hands at his plate, his ears toward the book, and his heart toward God," says his biographer, referring, of course, to the lection read during the meal. In his own cell he read and ate at the same time; to his very plain and scanty food one "most precious condiment," the word of God, was never lacking. The Holy Scriptures, he said, were to be used as pleasures and riches in time of peace, as arrows or arms in preparation for war, as food in hunger, and medicine in languor, especially for those leading the solitary life. At Witham at first there was an insufficient library. Hugh, mentioning the need of the house in this respect to the king, received a present of 10 marks to buy skins to be used in transcribing, and also the promise of a Bible. Some while after his return the royal gift of a very beautiful Bible arrived. Later, when entertaining a monk at Winchester, Hugh learnt that it was a copy which the monks of St. Swithin's had recently completed for their own use, and how, on Henry's demand of it, their prior, whether he would or not, had been obliged to give it up and to accept the promise of a gift instead of it. Hugh, of course, insisted on returning the precious volume, his sweet nature and the "fulness of his charity" gladdening the Winchester monks as well as the restoration of their book.

On one point Hugh's practice was not in accordance with the admonition of Guigo I. as to a strict observance of the hours of rest; for if awaked by any chance, unless he fell asleep again directly, he would arise from his bed and pray. That might have been because he felt himself waked for a purpose, and it was his wont to do, and to bid others do, whatever time and place demanded.

The Carthusians as an Order were of comparatively recent institution, and certainly in England they were a novelty; curiosity, and the odour of their sanctity perhaps, drew men of all sorts to visit the solitaries. They found them living under such eminently spiritual discipline that some of them became aspirants for the Carthusian habit. In spite of Prior

Hugh's caution in admitting persons to profession, these postulants did not prove always satisfactory monks. There were Master Alexander of Lewes, a secular canon, efficient enough in the "quadrivium,"¹ but not an expert in the Gospel, and Andrew, sometime sacrist of Muchelney, who, instigated by the old serpent, raged against Hugh with "viperous tooth." Alexander openly accused him of having seduced them into a horrible place, an empty solitude, inhabited only by wild animals. Alone, without comfort, languishing with accidie,² he complained, they saw nobody day after day, their vision being bound by the walls which enclosed them. Moreover he appears to have ventilated his discontent to his former fellow-student, Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath; but from him he received no encouragement of his recalcitrancy. The archdeacon wrote to him a letter of remonstrance too long to be quoted here in full. After many reproaches, he asked him "Why by your quibbling do you deprive the holy and glorious Carthusian Order of its reputation? . . . There verily you might have found the place of penitence, the secret of solitude, peace of mind, the mystery of contemplation, joy in the Holy Spirit. . . . But abhorring the heavenly manna, and sighing for the flesh pots you long for a house which might satisfy your desire for a more delicate and indulgent treatment." One of Master Alexander's complaints against the Order was that the Carthusians did not celebrate mass every day (a fact which he could not help knowing before he took the vows on profession), and under colour of devotion, or rather superstition the archdeacon said, he designed to leave it. Peter therefore reminded him that St. Benedict, the father of monks, the very institutor of the sacred order, did not even reach the grade of a priest; that not Paul, the first hermit, nor Anthony, not the Apostles Peter and Paul, nor others whose praise is in the Gospel, are read of as daily immolating the Victim of our health; that frequency begets contempt, and reverence increases by the rarity of the Sacrament. The archdeacon perceived the specious and somewhat treacherous conduct

¹ The ordinary mediæval university course, including arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music; the arts, grammar, rhetoric and logic, being the "trivium."

² Accidie, or *acedia*, was a sullen gloom, with an element of spiritual sloth in it, leading to grudging, despair, and torpor; it was the special "enemy" against which the solitary must be on his guard (*cf.* Cassian, *Collationes*, lib. v., cap. ix.).

of one who, having taken the vows, sought to malign the order of his profession by way of furnishing an apology for his own instability, and warned him lest the Lord should say to him, "The hand of him that betrayeth Me is with Me on the Table." However, even this pretext had been done away. "Fraternal charity," wrote Peter, meaning presumably St. Hugh, or perhaps the superiors in France, "has permitted you to offer the Sacrifice with special devotion daily."¹ Alexander had, then, now no excuse for "declining life." He should consider that on quitting the charterhouse he would be leaving Jerusalem for Babylon. The Grande Chartreuse, according to Peter of Blois, was situated upon the mountains that it might be the dwelling of angels rather than men; although in a "land of horror" and vast solitude, it was renowned for its observance of religion and order. For it was of God's planting, a vine-tree of the Lord of Hosts, spreading its offshoots even across the sea into England. "It annoyed your prior to treat you less familiarly and gently, and you conceived pride out of his humility. He would have acted more prudently had he been harsher towards you," continued the archdeacon; he asked how it came about that Alexander was withdrawing from a place to which he was bound by a vow of religion, a chain of stability. What was lacking to him among the Carthusians? Was it the unwonted ease after his one-time arduous studies that made him unstable? He suggested as a tolerable alternative that Alexander might enter the Cistercian Order; but, finally, after saying that if there was anything severe or bitter in Carthusian life love would alleviate it, and charity sweeten it, he warned his friend that to go to a house of laxer life might be to build for himself a house in hell.²

St. Hugh, however, was anxious for his young community; he feared lest the conduct of Alexander and Andrew might prove a scandal to the weak, and to recent converses, and therefore decided to let the two unstable men depart. Andrew returned, with somewhat diminished reputation, to his former monastery at Muchelney. Master Alexander indeed repented, and after Hugh became bishop, implored

¹ That is, licence was given to Alexander to celebrate a daily "private mass." Cf. Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*, ii., p. 521.

² This letter is No. 86 in *The Correspondence of Peter of Blois*, ed. by J. A. Giles.

his permission to go back to Witham, even asking Hugh's biographer, Brother Adam, to intercede for him; his entreaties were fruitless, and he finally entered the Cluniac abbey of Reading. Hugh was, in fact, inflexible as to the re-admission of recalcitrant monks, not out of harshness, but because he thought them fitter for other sorts of monastic profession, where the discipline of active life might be for their welfare; like Guigo I., if he saw fit, he would give a deserter licence to go to some other religious house in which he could save his soul. Indeed the question inevitably arises whether either Guigo or Hugh would have approved of the later Carthusian prison for such cases.

Unlike Master Alexander, Hugh of Avalon was of opinion that by his vow on profession at the Grande Chartreuse he had irrevocably pledged himself to the Carthusian life. It was but natural, therefore, that he should not recognise the call to a more onerous, if more dignified, government than the ruling of "Christ's poor men of Witham" to be the call of the Church. It was not until he had received the commands of the prior and chapter of the Grande Chartreuse to bend his shoulders humbly to the Lord's yoke that he consented to accept the charge of the see of Lincoln. He made devout preparation for his consecration, and on his departure from the nursling community which he had grown to love, still regarding himself as one of those very "poor men," he rode off on a horse whose trappings were the skins and coarse blankets in which after Carthusian custom he had been wont to wrap himself by night or day. He was consecrated in London on 21st September, and installed in the cathedral of Lincoln on 29th September, 1186.

The episcopal career of St. Hugh¹ is not to the purpose of this book, yet it must be noted that, bishop of an important see though he was, he fulfilled his vow of stability even in that high and busy office, remaining in habit of mind, and practice so far as might be, a Carthusian until the day of his death. This is evidenced by his abstemious diet, though to fit him for his active episcopal duties he found it necessary to improve its quality: by his sedate cheerfulness at table: by his institution of regular lections of Holy Scripture at dinner, so that besides the passions of martyrs and acts of saints and sermons, almost the whole of the Old and New

¹ Since these pages were written Dr. Woolley's book *St. Hugh of Lincoln* (S.P.C.K.) has appeared.

Testaments were read before him either then or at the night office, except the four Gospels, which he heard at other times : by his glad return twice a year to the silence and solitude at Witham, where, as on his last visit to the Grande Chartreuse, he always lived as one of the solitaries : by his devotion to the Divine Office, to recite which he would retire from a council, or from the judgment seat, and of which even in his last illness he would have no part omitted belonging to the night or the day : by his constant wearing of the hair-shirt : and by his directions to his attendants to lay him, clad in this and in the monastic tunic and cowl, to expire on the cross of ashes blessed for the purpose, according to Carthusian custom. One word must be added. Courageous as he may have been by nature—as a very young man he had not shrunk from the stern life at the Grande Chartreuse and had persevered in it—and sympathetic as he may have been, and of ready discernment, it was the Carthusian discipline, the Carthusian training in not mere self-denial, but in self-immolation, that developed the character of St. Hugh, and capacitated him to act when bishop, fearless of the wrath of kings, regardless of the possible loss of royal favour, and without respect of persons, not hesitating to rebuke a reprehensible practice even of the canonised Thomas à Becket, and to set his face without flinching against every wrong-doer of whatever rank. Nor had that training made him narrow in outlook. Greatly as he loved Carthusian monachism, he avowed that the kingdom of God would include not only monks and hermits and solitaries. At the last judgment, the Lord would by no means take a man to task for not having been a monk or a hermit, he said, but this rather would be the reproach to anyone rejected, that he had not been truly a Christian. If a man had not love, truth and chastity, he called himself a Christian in vain, for the name without the thing would do him more harm than good, because falsity in a professor of the truth is the more damnable. And this Carthusian saint could teach that married women might attain supernal blessedness along with the virgins and continent. So, too, unlike Bruno and Prior Guigo I., he did not shrink from kindly intercourse with women ; after the fashion of his contemporary prelates he permitted pious matrons and widows to sit at his table ; for, in his opinion, the honour of the Divine condescension in that the Lord deigned to be born of a woman belonged to all women ; they were indeed

the more bound to love God, but he remembered that, not to a man, but only to a woman was it granted to be "the parent of God."

A precious extract from a lost chronicle of the early years of the charterhouse of Witham (preserved in a manuscript volume of sermons of Adam the Carthusian, once belonging to the Carthusians of London)¹ tells us that by the authority from the chapter general Hugh, when bishop, still had charge of his late community. Albert, his successor, originally from the chartreuse of Portes, was one of the first set of Carthusians whom Henry II. had brought into England. He was a simple man, indifferently learned, regarding with the "happy Magdalene" the exercises of the cell, prayer and contemplation, to be the best part, to the neglect apparently of his active duties as prior. He was not popular; complaints that his "conversation" was not religious or devout enough for the honour of God, or for the welfare of his neighbours, reached the Bishop of Lincoln from monks and converses alike. Hugh therefore sent for him. His reply to the matters objected against him was not as satisfactory as could be wished, nor, being in surly mood, would he afford means to mitigate his sentence by giving a worthy answer. Naturally he was removed from the administration of the priory.

Bovo, that monk of the Grande Chartreuse who had foreseen Hugh's qualities for a bishopric, came next, probably, in the priorate of Witham.² He was evidently one of the elders of the head community; in witnessing an agreement to which Jancelin, then prior of the Grande Chartreuse, was a party in 1185, he signed first, Guigo II., the preceding prior, who had resigned upon Hugh's departure to England, signing after him.³ The date when he became superior of the monks in England is uncertain. Either under him or under his predecessor the Witham monastery sustained the loss by death of the converse Gerard, who, in spite of his rather impatient temper, was a quite estimable personage. According to Peter of Blois, in a passage on the patriarch Job, Gerard, though illiterate, had the knowledge of "life" and discipline written on his heart by the finger of God; the archdeacon wished that the learned men of Paris were like brother Gerard, who had the knowledge worth possessing,

¹ Now in possession of the Master of the modern London Charterhouse.

² *Magna Vita*, p. 60.

³ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, iii., p. 44.

and whose heart contained nothing but Jesus Christ.¹ The aged lay-brother Ainard could not have been long in following his companion, though incredibly reported to have lingered till his hundred and thirtieth year. On the other hand, under Prior Albert the community had been increased by the admission of Master Adam, late abbot of the Premonstrant canons of Dryburgh in Scotland, Robert Fitz-Henry, Prior of St. Swithin's, Winchester, Walter, Prior of Bath, and a young man named Theodore, a secular priest, or perhaps a canon.²

Master Adam was a learned theological and devotional writer. In Carthusian manuscripts he is naturally called Adam the Carthusian, but he is clearly identical with Adam the Premonstrant, called also Adam the Scot and Adam the Englishman (Adam Scotus or Anglicus), alleged on insufficient grounds to have been Abbot of Whithern. Very little is known of Adam the Premonstrant, and his biographers lose sight of him altogether about the time when the Abbot of Dryburgh must have joined the community at Witham.

At the end of the above-mentioned manuscript belonging to the London Charterhouse—its main contents are sermons of Adam Carthusianus—is an extract "on the life and conversation of Master Adam the Carthusian, according to what there is in the chronicle of the House of Witham." The author of the chronicle, or of that portion of it from which the extract was taken, declares that he himself was for ten years Master Adam's inseparable companion and fellow-inmate³ of his cell "in this our desert of Witham" (which suggests that there at first, as in early days at the Grande Chartreuse, two monks sometimes inhabited one cell), and that the information given by him as to the Premonstrant's origin and transfer of himself to the Carthusian Order he had from his own lips, or gathered from his writings.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58. Dom Le Couteulx places Gerard's death under the year 1187. Ainard, if the story given by St. Hugh's biographer (*Magna Vita*, p. 217) has any truth in it, must have died considerably later. Dom Le Couteulx is of opinion that Brother Adam confounded the converse Gerard with William, Count of Nivernais, some of whose characteristics he attributed to this lay-brother, whom he erroneously calls Count, and in one passage "Consul" of Nivernais. No Count Gerard of Nivernais is known to have existed. (*Cf.* preface to *Magna Vita*, p. lxvi.)

² Witham Chronicle fragment.

³ His actual words are "comes individuus et socius contubernalis in hac heremo nostra de Witham."

This Witham monk relates that Adam came from the borders between England and Scotland. The illustrious offspring of ordinary parents,¹ he was put by them to the study of letters. He was a sharp boy and quickly surpassed his companions of the same age, and as he grew older he fervently adhered to his studies. He was shrewd of judgment, wary and discreet in answering any propositions. After a while he perceived that many pursued wisdom not for her own sake, but on account of worldly honour and vain riches, and he came to dislike, or even to despise, his former occupations. Leaving his father's house, the young man betook himself to the canons of the Order of Prémontré at Dryburgh, under whose discipline he became an exemplary religious. After attaining the priesthood in his twenty-fifth year, he remained as humble and zealous as ever, and his praise was soon in all men's mouths. He was of middle height, handsome, nimble-witted, pleasant and merry in talk, and charming in manners, gifted with penetration, and with so happy a memory that he could recall without difficulty anything heard or learnt. In course of time, proving himself an excellent preacher, he was put to preach to others of that Order, and to the churches of their monasteries, preaching, it may be observed, having a large part in the Premonstrant system. But he was discreet in his sermons, taking care to cast no pearls before swine.

When the abbot of Dryburgh fell incurably ill, he and the whole convent unanimously elected Adam to his office. Adam, however, would only take on himself the administration of the monastery, declining the customary episcopal blessing, while his abbot lived, for he loved him much, and there were in the two but one heart and mind. Another source supplies the name of Girard, the second abbot of Dryburgh, ruling from 1177 and remaining in office certainly until 1184, in which year Pope Lucius III. granted a privilege to him.² In 1190 Richard, a later abbot of Dryburgh, witnessed a deed concerning the Abbey of Kelso.³ There is

¹ "Parentum mediocrum proles illustris."

² *Liber S. Mariæ de Dryburgh* (Bannatyne Club, 1847), Introduction, p. 88 (quoting *Chron. Mailros*), and p. 194 of text.

³ *Ibid.*, Introduction. Mr. John Spottiswoode, the editor, calls Richard *probably* the third abbot. It may be noted here that where St. Hugh's biographer speaks of Master Adam de Driburch, Dom Le Couteulx, apparently quoting a manuscript of the same Life of St. Hugh, calls the abbot "Magister Adam de Brabantia" (*Annales*, ii., p. 497).

time between those dates, 1184 and 1190, for a short abbacy of Adam. So good a fame of Adam, says the Witham monk, was carried to France by Premonstrant abbots returning from a general chapter held in England, that he was summoned to Prémontré, where he was honourably received and housed for a while. When accompanying the Abbot of Prémontré on a preaching tour through France, he visited the chartreuse of Val St. Pierre in the diocese of Lyons; the Order interested him as that of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, and because an English Premonstrant abbot named Roger, a very familiar friend of his, had entered the Chartreuse of Val-Dieu. At Val St. Pierre he fell in love with the Carthusian life, but he went back to Prémontré, for he dared not enter a chartreuse on that side the sea, on account of the probable opposition of the abbot and others there.

After his return to England, Adam went to the Bishop of Lincoln and begged him to help him to be received into Witham charterhouse. Then, St. Hugh having furnished him with letters to the prior and convent, he travelled to that monastery; there he was received with the kiss usually bestowed on guests, for at first he did not disclose the purpose of his coming. He preached before them on the text *Ecce elongavi fugiens et mansi in solitudine*; the sermon stirred his hearers to compunction, and so delighted one of them, a certain Master Eustace, a man who pretended to some knowledge, that he asked at its close that one of the brethren might make notes of it and commit it to memory on his recapitulation of it. This Adam very lovingly permitted. Then he showed the bishop's letters to them, and the brethren, rejoicing to have such a colleague, willingly granted his desire. His servants being sent home with the horses and his other belongings, save the clothes which he was wearing, and with a farewell message to his friends, he was received after the Carthusian manner. Scarcely had he been four or five months in his cell, when a messenger arrived unexpectedly with letters from the Abbot of Prémontré and the chapter general of that Order, threatening him with excommunication unless he returned to them within a year. Adam, alarmed and sorrowful, found speedy comfort in the presence of Bishop Hugh, who came down on one of his yearly visits to Witham, and was able to relieve his anxiety. Newhouse, the head Premonstratensian abbey in England, was in the diocese of Lincoln; that very year Hugh

attended a chapter there, and so enlightened the assembled abbots on the excellences of the eremitic life, supported as it was by Holy Scripture, and on the special merits of the Carthusian Order, that the Abbot of Prémontré and the chapter there dispatched a letter to the Prior of Witham. In this they told him that though they had tried to recall their sometime canon, now Brother Adam of his Order, because they believed that his great learning would be to the honour of theirs, yet at the request of their venerable father Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, and of the Abbot of Newhouse, they released him from his obedience to them. Henceforth Master Adam was free to advance in Carthusian discipline.

So devoted was Adam to the solitary life, that never save once, after the day of his entrance, did he go forth of the outer gate of the house of Witham. The only path he knew was that from his cell to the church. Nevertheless he could not hide himself; frequently great ecclesiastical personages would come to commend themselves to his prayers, or to receive the drops of heavenly dew from his lips. St. Hugh's biographer, too, relates how the bishop himself during his visits to Witham delighted to converse with Master Adam, and how like "twin silver trumpets gleaming with the brightness of heavenly eloquence" they would give each other mutual exhortations.¹

St. Hugh died on 16th November, 1200. In his last illness Robert, the procurator of Witham, had been sent to him to urge him to take some flesh food, and from the community's choice of him as an influential person it may be supposed that he was one of the first Chartreux brought into Somerset. Prior Bovo returned to the Grande Chartreuse after the death of the Bishop of Lincoln, and died there in 1201.² To his office Robert succeeded; he was probably the "Prior R." to whom Brother Adam addressed the preface of his biography of St. Hugh.

The Witham chronicler gives an account of a visit which his convent received in Prior Robert's time from Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury. The primate had gone to Glastonbury on the affairs of that monastery. Thither went Prior Robert to solicit the honour of his presence and his blessing for his enclosed brothers. The archbishop, probably guessing at other reasons behind the request, willingly

¹ *Magna Vita*, pp. 201-203.

² Le Couteulx, *Annales*, sub anno 1201.

consented. On arriving at Witham he was received at the lower house, where according to their means they administered to his wants. After the good cheer mixed with friendly talk, the procurator of the house, Randulph, a graceful and fluent speaker, took the opportunity to discuss with him a matter which had disturbed their peace, a quarrel concerning the customs of a pasture of theirs. Some time before certain foresters, bearing malignant hostility to the charter-house, had suggested to Hubert that these customs were unfit for religious, and to tell the truth might be deemed cruel and pernicious in the case of secular persons. Randulph represented to him how these customs, instituted in ancient times, had been observed from generation to generation, more to maintain the indemnity of the pasture than for any avarice or desire of lucre, and so discreetly did he argue that the archbishop became convinced that they were both permissible and reasonable, and blamed himself for having given credence to evil tale-bearers. Then the talk turned to Carthusian observances, and some of the archbishop's clerks, who had been with St. Hugh and had learnt much about Master Adam, told "their lord" of his excellent "conversation in Christ" and of his erudition. This led to the archbishop's promise to Prior Robert to hear mass on the morrow in the upper house, where he would see Adam. He went up early in the morning. On being introduced into the choir by the prior, it was a wonder to him to see the celebrant (who happened to be Robert, formerly Prior of Winchester) clad after Carthusian fashion in very simple vestments. Forthwith he had brought from his own chapel a precious chasuble worth 60s., and bade it to be offered at the altar and the priest to be vested in it. After mass Hubert entered the cloister with his attendants, and the prior pointed out to him Master Adam. The latter began by accusing himself. "Holy father," said he, "I am Adam the sinner, your holiness's servant." He had to preach before the archbishop. The archbishop had but a moderate amount of learning, but to make up for his deficiency he was wont to surround himself with wise men endowed with full literary knowledge. Some of these being now with him were much moved by Adam's sermon, and returned thanks to God, that Holy Church in such times should have such a light. The sermon over, the archbishop took the preacher by the hand, and leading him out, went with him to his cell; there he

confessed to him, and to Adam's astonishment put off his clothes, and "like Christ's little child," received from him the discipline of rods. He also asked Adam to compose for him something on the Lord's Prayer.

On returning to the cloister Archbishop Hubert, being admitted to their fraternity, commended himself to the prayers of the monks, promising to hold the house of Witham and for its sake the whole Order in especial honour, and bidding the prior apply to him in any difficulty. Then he blessed them all and departed. He never forgot his promise, and whenever the Prior of Witham went to him, though he were surrounded with great men, he would rise immediately, reverently salute and kiss him, and give him a place at table at his side, and have the prior's horse stabled with his own. Moreover, when Hubert had to cross the sea on the affairs of the kingdom, if the prior happened to be journeying to the Carthusian chapter general, he not only took him into the same ship with himself, but would sit with him alone in the cockboat in the stern, where they comforted one another with holy discourse.

As to Master Adam, he fell ill at last of a mortal malady, and for two years was tried, like gold, in the fire of suffering. His release came, after nearly twenty-four years at Witham, during the interdict laid on the kingdom by Innocent III. "on account of the venerable father Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the obstinacy of King John for seven years," says his fellow-monk, meaning probably the date 1212, or 1213, before John's absolution by the pope. On Palm Sunday Adam called to him all the monks with the Prior Robert de Caneford, and exhorting them to mutual charity bade them farewell. Weeping, the brethren kissed him and returned to their cells. On the Tuesday in Holy Week, being thought to be near to death by those ministering to him, he was laid on the blessed ashes, the convent as customarily being present, and without a groan he fell painlessly asleep in Christ. "To me, though unworthy," continues the Witham chronicler, "it was granted to wash his body, to sew it in cloths after the manner of the Order, to place it on the bier to bear it into church, to carry it to the grave and to lay it therein." He added, in case anyone should wish to know what Master Adam was like, that he was of middle height and sufficiently stout for his medium stature, of cheerful countenance, bald-headed, and very reverend

for his gracious manners, age, and white hair. The list which he gives of his friend's writings will be quoted in a later chapter.

Of the three other men who entered Witham charterhouse under Prior Albert, the young secular priest Theodore is unknown. Walter, the former Prior of Bath, did not become a permanent member of the convent. A visitor, a monk from Hyde, happening to find him there busy on culinary matters—presumably he was kitchener for the time—who erstwhile had been intent on the spiritual care of souls, mockingly addressed him in untranslatable Latin doggerel:

Domine pater,
Quod facis est Kere, Quod tractas kirewivere.

Whether the disrespectful jingle turned him from his purpose, or whether the life was uncongenial to him, he returned to Bath.¹

Robert FitzHenry, for three years previously Prior of St. Swithin's, Winchester, on the other hand, "cast himself down amongst the Carthusian sect at Witham" to stay. Brother Adam, St. Hugh's biographer, saw him there, an old man with snow-white head and kindly countenance, of sweet disposition, eloquent of tongue, and serene and gentle in spirit, and records how at the end of fifteen years in his Carthusian cell he migrated from this light to the brightness of eternal felicity. It was at his desire and that of Ralph, the sacrist of Winchester, that Adam wrote the life of the Bishop of Lincoln. Robert FitzHenry clearly had a proper sense of the value of contemporary evidence, for it was also at his wish that his sometime fellow-monk, Richard of Devizes, wrote his chronicle of the deeds of Richard I. This chronicler in a sarcastic, but not wholly unsympathetic, dedicatory letter, states that he went to Witham to see after what manner FitzHenry was living, and by "how much the Carthusian cell is more excellent and nearer heaven than the cloister at Winchester." He pretended to have found attractions there which might have been all-powerful, but for three companions. "They disapproved of my desire, and caused my fervour—I will not say my error—to grow cold," he told his former prior. The restriction would certainly have irked him, for he particularly noted that though each

¹ *Rolls Series of Chronicles, etc., Annales Monastici*, vol. ii. (*Annals of Winchester*), p. 68.

cell had its door, the inmate, if he put one foot over the threshold, must keep the other one within it. His remark on Carthusian hospitality was a little caustic. "Abounding in all temporal goods, having nothing yet possessing all things, being more merciful and more humane than all men, having the fullest charity towards one another, you halve the result of your charity by giving your guests *benedicite* without ministering to them." Another thing made him wonder. "You men," he said, "living apart from the world in secret and singly, you know all things that are done as they happen, and even have a foreknowledge of them before they come to pass."¹ Richard's observation was not altogether incorrect. It is a curious fact that, in spite of their "more than Pythagorean silence," as he called it, and of their avowed seclusion from the world, the Carthusian communities showed themselves at periods to have been fully aware of passing events; not only so, they occasionally actively participated in them, at any rate when the Church was concerned in them. For instance, they joined in the controversy between St. Bernard and Abelard, and the French priors were would-be peacemakers between Henry II. and Thomas à Becket, and later, members of their Order busied themselves in one capacity or other in the public, or temporal (or at least not spiritual) matters of the Great Schism.

The surname of the seventh prior of Witham, Robert de Caneford (mentioned as present at Master Adam's farewell), denotes his English nationality; his election implies that the community there had grown to something more than a colony of French Chartreux. Before continuing its history, it is necessary to trace the further development of the Carthusian Order and its rule during the years of the tardy increase in the foundations of charterhouses in England.

¹ *Rolls Series*. Richard of Devizes, *De rebus gestis Ricardi primi*.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARTHUSIAN ORDER

WHETHER Bruno, in retiring with his six companions to the "desert" of La Chartreuse, intended to found a new order of religious solitaries is not evident. The Carthusian author of the tract *De origine et veritate perfecte religionis*, written about 1313, has a passage¹ which suggests that the first Chartreux were avowedly restoring eremitic life, so tempered with cœnobitic elements as to fit it for their times, purposely to supply a defect in the existing monasticism. The Camaldolese, he acknowledges, after the custom of the fathers of the desert, spent five years in the cœnobium before they betook themselves to solitary cells in remote situations in the mountains; but they became so relaxed² that more passed from the cœnobium to rule churches with cure of souls in the world than to lead an anchoritic life, and their deserts were few in number. In other parts of the world, he declared, through wars, dissensions and schisms, Christians could scarcely in towns, not to mention hermitages and deserts, live in peace, the husbandman hardly daring to go into the fields to plough, or to gather in the harvests, unarmed; solitaries attempting to reside in a desert would have been despoiled of their books and clothes by robbers, and their purpose, if they had quitted a monastery, would have been misunderstood, on the one hand as a reflection on the cœnobites remaining there, on the other as a scandal if they themselves should prove unsatisfactory. Thus, according to him, eremitic life seemed likely to disappear altogether before the advent of the Carthusians. That Bruno himself had such a definite purpose as the restoration of anchoritism, even in modified form, is not, however, a claim to be supported by the lack of a rule given by him to his associates, and still less by the apparent looseness of discipline among them evinced by his letter sent back to them in response to Landuin's appeal. But this

¹ Bodley MS. 549, f. 50.

² Mitigations were introduced among the Camaldolese after St. Romuald's death in 1027.

much may be said : the seven men whom St. Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, introduced to the majestic solitude of La Chartreuse were moved by the same aspiration which was stirring churchmen here and there, especially in France, at the end of the eleventh century. Due to some wave of mysticism, rather than mere asceticism, this aspiration was towards a more strictly contemplative life than that afforded by the older Benedictinism ; it manifested itself in the attempted settlements of groups of hermits like that gathered at Molesme under St. Robert (afterwards the first founder of Cîteaux), and in the adoption of greater austerity and an actual poverty in monastic existence.

The fact is that when Bruno was called away to Italy, and for some while after his death, his followers remaining at La Chartreuse were but a congregation of religious men experimenting in a new "profession," as Peter the Venerable termed it. Single-hearted with the one aim to find a safe method of "living in the desert for the love of Christ," they were more concerned individually how to make a perfect response to what they considered a divine call, than to make a way for their fellow-men to follow their example. There were two stages in their experiment in monachism. During the first they were but a set of hermits, living in wooden huts solidly built after the manner of the *châlets* of Savoy or of the Alps, and erected at some distance apart, though occasionally one dwelling might serve for two men. The common centre of their life was the chapel, portions of the ancient walls whereof still existed in 1880.¹ They reached the second stage when they became cloistered monks, uniting the eremitic to the *cœnobitic* religious life. The slackness of discipline and the apparent absence of any binding vow at the time of Landuin's death in 1100 are hardly compatible with the usual idea of monastic enclosure. Nevertheless, their first regular monastery, including a chapter house and a covered gallery or cloister to which their separate cells had access, is alleged to have been built for them by Hugh, Bishop of Grenoble, while they were still under Bruno ; he, however, thought these buildings, simple as they were, "too sumptuous and almost useless."²

It is possible that Bruno's original intention was a monastery on the simpler lines of the ancient "*laura*" of Africa,

¹ *La Grande Chartreuse, par un Chartreux* (ed. of 1898), p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 33.

where, though the cells were within an enclosure, the inmates were free to come and go, and to visit another laura at a distance.¹ Perhaps neither he nor his followers wished to be cloistered in the later Western monastic fashion. Was Western practice urged, if not on Bruno, on his disciples by their diocesan Hugh and their other friend Seguin, Abbot of Chaise-Dieu? And it is not to be forgotten that St. Robert, with whom Bruno and their third prior, Pierre le Franc (or de Bethune), had lived at Molesme, had been at one time Abbot of St. Michel at Tonnerre, a house reformed from Cluny.² Was Cluniac persuasion, too, a cause that the Chartreux, while strongly disapproving of Cluniac pomp, chose a Western form of cœnobitism, when they decided to combine the common life with eremitism? When Guibert de Nogent and Peter the Venerable visited them, and by the date of the Customs of Guigo I., they had already passed from being simple hermits to being strictly enclosed monks.

When the fragrant odour of the holiness of the Chartreux spread through France and beyond, and attracted others to join them, a system more regular than that existing under Bruno and Landuin became almost a necessity. Since their estates were then only sufficient to support thirteen monks with the lay-brothers,³ they were obliged to plant offshoots in other districts. It was a movement of these new congregations, and not of the original convent at La Chartreuse, which was the first step towards the formation of a Carthusian Order. Evidently disapproving of the voluntaryism of the earlier years, they aimed at a unity in religious practice. Hence, as already related, Guigo I., the fifth prior, wrote down for them the customs of his own monastery.

Was the Abbot of Cluny in any way answerable for this beginning of centralisation among the Chartreux? Peter the Venerable told Eugenius III. that for thirty years before he came into office he had loved the Carthusians; not deterred by the wild, often snow-covered, mountains, where they lived, he often visited them.⁴ During an important

¹ Rev. J. O. Hannay, *Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism*, pp. 118-119.

² Rose Graham, *The Relation of Cluny to some other Movements of Monastic Reform, English Ecclesiastical Studies*, p. 14.

³ *Guigonis Consuetudines*, cap. lxxviii.

⁴ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 189, col. 412, 429.

period of the growth of the first monastery he was the friend of three successive priors, Guigo I., Anthelme, and Basil, of whom the last had been one of his own monks at Cluny. He probably was personally acquainted with some of the members of their new convents. He had the greatest admiration for their system. He seems even to have imitated it in an attempt to unite eremitic and cœnobitic existence; for he instituted groups of huts attached to chapels, where he placed his younger monks that they might concentrate the closer on their studies in the profounder rural silence.¹ If the Chartreux influenced Peter, Peter might well have influenced the Chartreux, especially when the increase of their convents might demand some form of common government. Did the priors of the younger Chartreuses consciously, with a view to the possible growth in the numbers of their communities, aim at a centralisation similar to that of the Cluniac Order when they required, evidently for the sake of establishing uniform observance, a compilation of the Customs obtaining at the Grande Chartreuse? Guigo I. himself could have had no objection to the new "plantations" (as the Carthusian offshoots were later named) having some liberty to develop on their own lines, for he had to be repeatedly asked, and even to be laid under command by the Bishop of Grenoble, before he complied with the desire of the other priors. Any attempt to make the Grande Chartreuse the central authority for all the congregations would be strengthened when, in 1133, Innocent II. approved the Customs of Guigo I., but though, as stated in his bull, his predecessors Calixtus II. and Honorius II. had also approved them, to call the Carthusians and their followers "the Sacred Eremitic Carthusian Order" was rather premature.² It was not until nine years later that they really attained the coherence of an Order.

Among those whom Guigo summoned to supply the loss in the numbers of his monastery after the fatal avalanche in 1132 was a young novice from the Chartreuse of Portes, Anthelme, late a canon of the cathedral of Bellay, and finally bishop of that see. Having made his profession at the

¹ J. W. Pignot, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny depuis la fondation de l'Abbaye jusqu'à la mort de Pierre le Vénérable*, tom. iii., pp. 467-476. This author adds that the "hermits of Cluny" were a mere accident in the history of that monastery, and probably ceased to exist after Peter's time.

For this bull taken from the archives of the chartreuse of Meyriat see Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Cartusiens.*, i., p. 375.

Grande Chartreuse, he filled the office of procurator under Guigo and his successor Hugh I., and on the resignation of the latter in 1139 was chosen prior. During his priorate there was much new building, and the church, begun and consecrated in 1132, was finished, and the foundations of the great cloister laid;¹ but neither he nor his monks were walling themselves off from the controversies of their day. Their partisanship with Anthelme's friend Bernard of Clairvaux against Abelard drew down on them a wrathful invective from Abelard's pupil Pierre Berenger of Poitiers. "You have lifted your bodies to the mountains," he said, "but your minds have remained in the valleys. . . . You abstain from the flesh of flocks, but without salt you devour the flesh of men. . . . What does it profit, brethren, to go forth into the desert, and while in the desert, to have hearts of Egyptians? The Chartreuse is not heaven. The Chartreuse is not paradise. As yet the Chartreuse is by the waters of Babylon. . . . In short, there is not one of you without grievous fault." Being apparently taken to task for his words, Berenger, who had withdrawn to the Cevennes to avoid the storm against Abelard's adherents, wrote to the Bishop of Mende to defend himself; but the friends of the solitaries could scarcely have been gratified by his still bitter words, "The holy Carthusian anchorites were gathering the rewards of righteousness, but they had a little worn-out sack, and I have taken care to stop a hole in it lest the flour of religion should come out of it. I wished to cut off in them the immoderate licence of tongue with which, like geometriicians, they were measuring the whole world."² The letter is interesting evidence that for all their seclusion the Carthusians were considered to be an influential body whose opinion was valuable to controversialists.

Conceivably Berenger's attack, which they must have deeply resented, was a factor in the decision of all the chartreuses to stand together, and to set up a closer adhesion among themselves. The Customs of Prior Guigo were available for all, but individual houses might as yet interpret or adapt them in different ways, which would have resulted finally in a wide diversity of practice. To prevent this, the

¹ Lefévre, *Saint Bruno et l'Ordre des Chartreux*, tom. ii. List of priors of the Grande Chartreuse, *La Grande Chartreuse, par un Chartreux*, p. 52.

² For this correspondence of Petrus Berengarius Scholasticus see Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 178, col. 1851 seq.

priors of Portes, Escouges, Durbon, and Arvières importuned Anthelme to allow a common chapter to be held at the Grande Chartreuse.¹ After consulting Hugh II., Bishop of Grenoble, formerly himself a Carthusian, and having his approval, Anthelme consented, on condition that to each prior full authority should be given by letters from his diocesan, to treat of the matters to be discussed in the chapter relating to the stability of their Order, as in view of the intended union of all the chartreuses it could now be called.

The four priors were wise in their aim at a closer unity with the Grande Chartreuse: isolation and independence had been the cause of the slackness of discipline and decay of religious observance in the monasteries before the introduction of the Cluniac reforms. But Anthelme was cautious; they had to beg him "with assiduous importunity" to hold the proposed "common chapter." Did he see defects in the Cluniac system of centralisation? Was it he who could reckon St. Bernard among his friends, or was it these heads of the junior chartreuses, who at this juncture turned from Cluny to Cîteaux for a pattern for the constitution of their Order?

About fifteen years after Bruno left Molesme to seek the securer solitudes of lofty mountains, St. Robert founded the monastery of Cîteaux. In 1099 the pope compelled him to return to Molesme, but his foundation, then but a twelve-month old, flourished under his successor Alberic. Stephen Harding, the third abbot, is justly considered the founder of the Cistercian Order. Under him the monks of Cîteaux had spread themselves into twelve houses; foreseeing a further increase, in 1119, aided by the counsel of the abbots of these new communities and the bishops of the dioceses where they were situated, he gave them their constitution, in what is known as the *Carta Caritatis*, and embodied for them in the *Liber Usuum* the usages and ceremonies observed in the mother house.² The Cistercian system maintained the autonomy of its monasteries while establishing a strong and effective authority, capable of promulgating laws and enforcing their respect; it set the just equilibrium between the central

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 1125 *seq.*, gives the statutes of the first chapter from a MS. of the chartreuse of Mont-Dieu, and col. 1123 has a prefatory note on the preliminary proceedings.

² W. A. P. Mason, *The Beginnings of the Cistercian Order* (*Royal Historical Society Transactions*, New Series, xix., pp. 167-207), p. 187; and J. T. Fowler, *Cistercian Statutes*, 1890.

power, the Abbot of Cîteaux, and the representation of the entire body of the Order in the general chapter, thus doing away with the evil of the Cluniac centralisation of power in one man's hands.¹ The whole Order was regarded as one family of which Cîteaux was the mother house, and its abbot father of all the other members. Under him were four filiations, or groups of monasteries, sprung from the four senior offshoots from Cîteaux, viz., La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond. Every monastery was to be visited yearly by the abbot of the larger house from which it was the offshoot, or by one of his fellow abbots. Cîteaux itself was visited yearly by the abbots of the four senior houses. All the abbots must come to the annual chapter general, unless prevented by sickness, except those of the more distant monasteries, for whose attendance the chapter general appointed a date. Any serious controversy among the abbots and the question of suspension of any of them from office was decided by that chapter; but mere diversity of opinion was to be reconciled by the Abbot of Cîteaux and those of saner counsel.²

For the general chapter held at regular intervals there was precedent in the practice of St. Pachomius and St. Basil, two of the most eminent of those monks of Egypt and the East from whom the Carthusians and the Cistercians alike claimed to have learnt much. Save on rare occasions, as that of the chapter at Aix-la-Chapelle to which St. Benedict of Aniane summoned the heads of the Benedictine houses in 817, it was not used by the Black Monks until after 1215. As the essential machinery of the organism of a religious Order it was of Cistercian origin.³ That it was a most effective instrument in monastic government came to be fully recognised by the ecclesiastical authorities. In 1215 the Fourth Council of Lateran ordered that all abbots and priors who had not been wont to hold such chapter were to hold a common chapter every three years, and this being an innovation were to call in two of the nearest Cistercian abbots at first to guide them in the proceedings, two of their own Order to be associated with them. It was further ordered that the chapter must appoint religious and circumspect persons to visit the religious houses under the

¹ Dom U. Berlière, *L'Ordre Monastique* (ed. 1924), pp. 170, 180.

² J. T. Fowler, *Cistercian Statutes*, Introduction.

³ Dom U. Berlière, *Mélanges d'Histoire Bénédictine*, Ser. 4, p. 53.

chapter. The Council's decree was to apply to the regular canons as well as to monks.¹ The White Canons had, however, long before, in 1129, at an assembly at Prémontré, agreed that after the example of the Cistercians they would hold a yearly general chapter, but their system of visitation was their own; they divided their Order into provinces, whereof the houses were to be visited by two abbots yearly appointed for the purpose.²

In 1142 Anthelme and his fellow Carthusian priors, without avowing any imitation of the Cistercians, though it cannot be doubted, likewise instituted a general chapter. The Carthusians and Cistercians were alike in their one purpose, to quit all things in order to seek God only. Both adopted poverty and simplicity in the religious life, and the Cistercians were little behind the Carthusians in severe asceticism as a means to the necessary purification of the soul preparatory to its ascents in contemplation.³ To the Carthusian solitary, grown weary or even desperate in the loneliness of his cell, it might seem scarcely a forsaking of his ideal to flee to Cîteaux or to Clairvaux; to the Cistercian it might seem but a higher sacrifice towards attaining the same ideal if he stole away to the Grande Chartreuse or to one of its daughter houses. Indeed, such occurrences led to a quarrel later, which, however, was pacified by the agreement made between the heads of either Order in 1195, that henceforth no Carthusian was to be received by the Cistercians without consent of his prior and community, and no Cistercian was to be received by the Carthusians without consent of his abbot and community. The two Orders almost certainly interacted upon one another, and none the less owing to a rivalry more or less friendly. It may be remembered that Guigo I. quoted the example of the Cistercians as an incentive to the Carthusian converses in the observance of the

¹ Hefele, *Histoire des Conciles* (trans. by Abbé Delarc, Paris, 1872), tom. viii., p. 129.

² Rose Graham, *op. cit.*, pp. 17, 18.

³ Mr. W. A. P. Mason (*Beginnings of the Cistercian Order*, p. 190) implies that the Cistercians introduced a new grade of religious in their "lay-monks called converse," employed for the working of their manors. But the Carthusians had converses or lay-brothers from the first, and so had the Vallombrosans (both older Orders than the Cistercian). The institution of converses was an obvious way out of the difficulty of cultivating their estates, when the monks of any Order were intended to devote themselves to contemplation and study.

custom of silence during meals.¹ So now there can be little doubt that the Carthusian priors followed the Cistercian precedent in adopting the common or general chapter as an instrument of government for their growing congregations.

But the Cistercian system as a whole did not commend itself to the Carthusians. Their Order was of slow growth, and when at last, about the middle of the thirteenth century, their constitution reached its final form, it was not on Cistercian pattern. The Order became as highly centralised as that of Cluny,² but its members safeguarded themselves by setting the centre of authority not in the hands of one man, the head of their mother house, but in the thoroughly representative body, the general chapter. The Cistercian constitution of 1119 allowed considerable power of government to its abbots, and respected the autonomy of even its daughter houses; moreover the senior abbeys, at any rate, were free to develop and to send out offshoots. Under the fully developed Carthusian system, on the contrary, the heads of houses, the local priors, became little more than officials of the general chapter, albeit they were elected by their own convents; though purely domestic matters best decided on the spot, such as relaxation in fasting for the infirm, or absolution in ordinary cases, might be left to their discretion. The Prior of the Grande Chartreuse himself, while he had always a primacy of honour over the other priors as the superior of the mother house, and as the perpetual president of the general chapter, at the same time, except as prior in his own monastery, had no greater power than they, apart from that chapter. Even his decisions made during the intervals of the yearly assembly with the counsel of the four priors appointed for the purpose might be overridden by the next general chapter. Each prior promised obedience to the general chapter and not to him. If the first set of capitular enactments, quoted below, seem to assign some

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. lv.

² There was a survival of the old autocracy of the Abbot of Cluny, even after the division of the Cluniac Order into provinces, for purposes of visitation, for he appointed the visitors, and every daughter-house had to pay yearly a sum called the "census" or "apport" in recognition of subjection to its mother house. There was no such payment among the Carthusians, except after disaster such as destruction of buildings by fire at the Grande Chartreuse, when contributions for repairs would be levied from every charterhouse in all the provinces of the Order.

amount of power to him, certainly after the Carthusian system of visitation was established in 1238¹ it was the power of the general chapter which predominated in Carthusian affairs.² For the Carthusians, like the canons of Prémontré, divided their Order for the purposes of visitation into provinces, and the visitors, two to each province, chosen out of the priors of the province, were but nominees of the general chapter, and as such answerable to it. As a legislative body, the power of the general chapter itself was kept in check by the rule that no ordinance was to become a statute until it had been passed by three successive general chapters.³

The first general chapter⁴ met on the feast of St. Luke, 1142. The first enactment was that all the houses must celebrate the Divine Office after one rite, and that all the customs of their "religion" were to be the same. The second virtually constituted the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse the general prior; it put into his hands the retention or the dismissal from office of any recalcitrant and incorrigible prior of another house. But in so doing he was to act with the advice of the general chapter; the prior substituted in the delinquent's place was to be selected from the brethren of the same house. The third forbade the prior or brothers of any chartreuse to change at their own will the rule thereof to another kind. The fourth forbade the erection and institution of any new chartreuse without the consent of the general chapter. The fifth laid down that the Grande Chartreuse, "which is the mother and nurse" of the others, might when necessary take as her prior any of the persons of the other houses, save their priors. The sixth enactment was that if any matter occurred in any house requiring an immediate settlement, the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, if he could not deal with the question alone, was to summon as many of the priors as seemed sufficient for a decision, and

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, under that year.

² The English charterhouses were not classed among the Alien Priors here, as they would doubtless have been if governed by the parent house of La Grande Chartreuse and not by the general chapter, which was composed of priors of all nationalities.

³ The proceedings at a general chapter and details as to the Carthusian manner of visitation will be found in Part II., Chapter V. of this book.

⁴ Le Couteulx, *Annales* (as above), sub anno 1142. The first general chapter has sometimes been said to have been held under Anthelme's successor, Prior Basil, and some of the MSS. of the customs and statutes attribute the origin of the general chapter to his time.

the said decision was to be held not otherwise than that of a general chapter. The last forbade either the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse or any of the priors to alter anything in the Divine Office, or in any of the institutions of their rule (*religio*), without the common counsel of the general chapter. After passing these statutes, to set them on a firm basis, each prior having kissed the hand of the Bishop¹ of Grenoble, took a vow to maintain them in the form: "I, brother Stephen, Prior of Meyriat, promise obedience to the common chapter," *i.e.* the general chapter.

In the next year a second "common" chapter met, and passed a few ritual directions. But, according to some authorities, it was not until the priorate of Basil, Anthelme's successor, that the general chapter became an annual institution of the Carthusians at which all the priors of their Order must be present.

The date 1145 is marked in Carthusian annals on account of the conversion of the abbey of St. André of Prébayon, in the diocese of Vaison, into a charterhouse for women, at the request of the inmates, who had hitherto been living under the rule of St. Cæsarius. This was the first of the few Carthusian nunneries extant at any time. There were no nuns of the Order in England, and therefore this book has no further concern with them.

The end of Anthelme's priorate was not happy. Upon the election of Natalis, a Carthusian of Portes, to the see of Grenoble in 1149, strife arose not only between his own and the other priors, but also within the monastery of the Grande Chartreuse. Apparently while some approved, others (although his predecessor, Hugh II., had likewise been a member of their Order) objected to a Carthusian quitting his solitude to attend to the secular business of an episcopal judgment seat, or to his becoming a party in possible litigation whether as plaintiff or defendant. Others were merely concerned about the fitness of the bishop-elect for his office.² To the

¹ The Carthusians at this date were still under episcopal surveillance. For this chapter and that of 1143 see Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 1125-1128.

² This much may be gathered from the letter of Peter the Venerable to Eugenius III. (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 189, col. 411); unfortunately he prudently abstained from writing the full details which he conveyed to the pope by the mouth of one of his monks. This long and characteristic letter of the Abbot of Cluny was translated by Dr. Maitland in *The Dark Ages* (ed. 1890), p. 435.

convent of the Grande Chartreuse the election to the see of Grenoble was of special importance because they were under the surveillance of that diocesan. For some reason Anthelme did not favour Natalis; but some of his monks were among his warmest partisans, and in opposition to their prior transgressed their rule by departing from the monastery to appeal to Rome. On their return Anthelme refused to receive them; but they had come back exultant with the approval of Eugenius III. Their action was not merely a breach of cloister; he saw in it further danger to Carthusian discipline, for their successful appeal would form a precedent for overriding the prior's authority on occasions of discontent, and the present papal encouragement amounted to papal maintenance of rebels. He resigned, perhaps not daring to oppose the pope otherwise. St. Bernard also took a grave view of the occurrence. In an indignant letter¹ of reproach to Eugenius he wrote: "The Carthusians have been put to confusion. They have been put to confusion and made to stagger like a drunken man, and all their wisdom has been well-nigh swallowed up. . . . From the first founding of the place and of the Order it has never been heard that anyone who went away was to be taken back without giving satisfaction. Those who did wrong in leaving have done worse in their return, inasmuch as they have added treachery to their misdoing. What do you think, holy father, that they are likely to do who went forth with transgression and came back in pride? . . . The prior is now no longer prior. 'When the wicked is lifted up, the poor is consumed.' He even wishes to leave the Order, for he cannot bear to see its destruction. And he would have left ere now, if he could have left alone. And the prior must be a good man, for I hear from good men that those on whose advice he leans are good. Do you not see, most gracious father, how you have been imposed on? . . . They came to you in sheep's clothing, and their sacred habit deceived you, for you are but a man." Then, urging the pope to withdraw his countenance from rebels, he added, "The zeal of the Lord will do this. And the prior will again be

¹ Letter cclxx. in *Works of St. Bernard* (trans. by Rev. S. J. Eales), vol. ii. The mention at the end of the letter of the death of the Abbot of Cîteaux, and of the succession to his place of Gosuin, fixes the date as 1151. For the quarrel between Anthelme and his monks see Le Couteulx, *Annales*, under that date, and Lefébvre (as above).

made prior, I hope, so that iniquity may not altogether boast itself; else (and this is no empty fear) the Order will no longer remain safe, if the prior be not restored to his office."

Anthelme, however, withdrew to the charterhouse of Portes, where next year he became prior. Two years later he returned to the Grande Chartreuse, only leaving it on his election to the see of Bellay in 1163. There seems to be an echo of his struggle to uphold the authority of the prior in two of the statutes of the general chapter held under his successor, Basil, one forbidding any house or person of the Order to obtain letters from the Roman court against the institutes of the common chapter, on pain of separation from the whole Order, and another that no house for its own or another's business should "presume to write to the person of the lord pope" without the counsel of the common chapter. Another disciplinary enactment of the same chapter was that no single house of the Order might remove its prior from office without consent of the general chapter; the case of a prior guilty of excesses and incorrigible after frequent admonition of the brethren was to be brought before the general chapter, and there decided. Yet another provided that any prior guilty by himself, or through a subject, of transgressing the institute of the chapter, his transgression being disclosed before the chapter, was after confession of his fault to leave the chapter house, and then bare-foot, having put off some of his garments, to return carrying the rods with which he was to receive discipline before the assembly, and in his own house he was to impose the like punishment upon any of his subjects guilty of the like fault.¹

Basil, formerly a monk of Cluny under Peter the Venerable, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse from 1151 to 1173, governed well, preserving the ideal Carthusian discipline and devotion. Under his presidency the general chapter, in order to maintain the primitive poverty of the houses, appointed that none

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, *Ordinis Cartusiensis, Statuta Antiqua*, col. 1127 *seq.*, No. 3. That these statutes belong to the time of Basil is shown by the reference to Peter, Abbot of Cluny (Basil's former superior when a monk there), as not yet dead, and to Ainricus (Henry of Blois), Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1171. For the connection of Basil and his monks with Cluny see letters 40 and 41 in lib. vi. and No. 19 of the supplement of the correspondence of Peter the Venerable in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 189.

were to have more than twenty-five hired servants, nor more than 1,200 sheep or goats, with twelve dogs, thirty-two oxen, twenty heifers, and six mules or pack-horses (*sagmarios*). About a hundred years later the Order obtained the formal permission of Pope Innocent IV. for each of their communities to possess as many as sixty cows.¹ Some while afterwards the ordinance of Basil's chapter was apparently growing obsolete. The reason was that they were no longer self-supporting, as was clearly intended by the early Chartreux, but had become dependant, partly at any rate, on the alms of the faithful ; when the generosity of benefactors was divided between them and the new mendicant or other Orders, some of the chartreuses found themselves with insufficient means. But innovations in Carthusian simplicity or poverty did not at that time please the reigning pope. Clement IV. (Guy Foulquois, formerly Bishop of Narbonne) took, indeed, much interest in the Order out of affectionate memory of his father, who had ended his days as a Carthusian monk ; therefore he was particularly anxious lest there should be any departure in its discipline, or from its ancient spirit of simplicity. He naturally looked to the Grande Chartreuse as the authority on the old ideals of the founders, who, he said, after the manner of eagles building their nest among ragged crags, dwelt on inaccessible rocks. He feared, indeed, that some of the members craftily under a hair-shirt, with a pretended compassion for the needs of others, were but satisfying their own will in seeking a relaxation from former strictness. In a long document, which reads like an exhortation, addressed to the prior and convent of the Grande Chartreuse, and to all the priors, brothers, and converses of the Carthusian Order, the pope sets forth that whereas the older generation of Carthusians had limited themselves in their possessions even to the number and sex of their animals, their spiritual sons now, pretending themselves to be moved by the poverty of some of their houses, and alleging that the whole Order was deprived of alms by the " poor and recent religious,"² had presumed, when diffinitors of the general chapter, to alter several of the old observances ; lately, for instance, they had laid down that each house might possess freely animals of all kinds, that *prebendarii* (servants having a prebend or livery of food or clothing) might be interred in

¹ Add. MS. 6060, f. 117.

² The Friars Minors and Preachers are evidently meant.

the conventual cemeteries, and that individual priors and convents might lease their lands and granges in perpetuity; other things they had added prejudicial to the known prerogatives of the Grande Chartreuse. Therefore he ordains that it is never lawful for the general chapter, or the diffinitors, to change anything in the ancient constitutions of the Order without the counsel and consent of the prior and monks of the Grande Chartreuse, and not even with their consent are such changes valid, unless, their consent lasting, they are confirmed by three successive chapters.

Exemption from payment of tithe by Pope Lucius III. in 1184, from payment of the twentieth assigned in aid of the Holy Land by Innocent IV. in 1254, and the exemptions from papal subsidies and from tithe on the produce of their estates lying within their boundaries and cultivated either by their own hands or at their expense, granted by Clement IV. himself,¹ scarcely implies the existence of wealth among the Carthusians.² That, on the whole, they preserved their pristine poverty for many years is evidenced by the remission by John XXII. in 1331 of all fruits and issues reserved to the Holy See during vacancies, in consequence of a petition from them stating that the Order had so scanty possessions and rents as hardly to afford the monks a livelihood, and the frequency of resignations caused frequent vacancies. A sign that the charterhouses were nevertheless increasing is the extension by Clement VI. of all privileges before granted to the Order to all the more recently erected houses.³

From the first, papal favour had not been wanting to St. Bruno and his followers, who had always loyally sided against the anti-popes, and Innocent II. had confirmed the Customs of Prior Guigo I. But it is from the time of Basil that we find the long series of papal confirmations,⁴

¹ *Privilegia*, f. 14 (edit. 1510). The bull is dated "Viterbii xi kal. Sept. Pontificatus nostri anno 4°." The scribe of the Beauvale Chartulary (Add. MS. 6060), f. 116, remarking very truly, "Istud privilegium est valde magnum" as to length, only troubled to copy the concluding portion of it relating to the consent of the prior and monks of the Grande Chartreuse being necessary to every enactment of the general chapter.

² Add. MS. 6060, ff. 113, 117, 116.

³ Add. MS. 6060, ff. 87, 118. John XXII. also gave them immunity from tithes.

⁴ The larger number of papal documents relating to the mother house especially and to the Carthusians in general, with the Customs of Guigo I.

protections, and privileges which helped the Carthusian congregations to assume and maintain a coherent integrity and unity necessary if they were to have status as a religious Order in the eyes of the world, ecclesiastical or lay. The extreme fluidity of their rule, which consisted of Guigo's collection of Customs with mitigations, or expansions and additions, ordained by their general chapters from time to time, gave their system an appearance of instability which probably was the cause of their frequent application to Rome for confirmations of new capitular institutions and statutes. Basil no doubt, in the first place, sought papal approval as a means of establishing the authority of the general chapter, and of upholding that of the prior, which in the case of the Grande Chartreuse had been flouted under his predecessor, Anthelme.

After the flight of Alexander III. into France in 1162, Basil secured from him a bull dated at Sens xv kal. May of that year, ratifying all the institutions for the observance of the Carthusian rule which had been made with the common consent of the chapter. Another of this pope's bulls confirmed their ordinances as to the appointment or deposition of their priors and controlling rebels of the Order. By a third bull addressed to Basil's successor, Guigo II., Alexander took the Grande Chartreuse and all the houses of their Order

and the three compilations of the Statutes of 1259, 1368, and 1509, were under the auspices of the then Prior of the Grande Chartreuse printed at Basle in 1510, the Bulls, or *Privilegia*, forming a section of the volume with separate pagination. The British Museum copy belonged in 1597 to the exiled English monks of the charterhouse of Shene Anglorum at Louvain. Of those papal privileges which were of a general character, or which, though addressed only to the prior and monks of the Grande Chartreuse, might concern the daughter houses, authenticated copies appear to have been sent to the priors in the various Carthusian provinces, probably for registration in the cartularies of their convents. Thus William, Bishop of Grenoble, Conservator of the Order, in 1314 dispatched a batch of bulls to the priors in England in a transcript sealed by himself and Aymon, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, and attested by himself at the foot of each page (P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 1/26). A whole section of the Beauvale Chartulary (British Museum Add. MS. 6060) consists of copies of bulls from the twelfth century to 1486, probably obtained in this way, though one of Pius II. in 1460 was taken from a transcript made at the request of Thomas Methley, prior of this charterhouse, and formally attested as a true copy by the Bishop of Grenoble. The popes as a rule in this cartulary are not specified, but *Privilegia* is a guide to their identification.

and their possessions under papal protection, securing them their boundaries inviolate, forbidding other religious to erect buildings or to acquire property within half a league of them, and threatening with excommunication any persons, ecclesiastic or lay, molesting them as to possessions or pastures. He wrote also to all archbishops, bishops, and prelates of churches within whose districts charterhouses might be situated to aid them against injury to their rights.¹

The most important of the papal documents issued in behalf of the Carthusians were those which related to the general chapter, and those which freed the Order from episcopal control, and enlarged the spiritual powers of their priors.

As to the general chapter, under Prior Basil it had been enacted that all matters brought before it were to be decided by the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse and eight diffinitors, of whom four were to be chosen from the priors present and four from the monks of the Grande Chartreuse. In 1250, however, an ordinance laid down that at the beginning of the chapter the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse should appoint two of the priors present and two of the monks of his own house to elect four other priors and four of the other monks of the Grande Chartreuse to be diffinitors with himself. This arrangement, considering the increased numbers of the Order, was somewhat unfair, and naturally aggrieved the other Carthusian convents who were represented by their prior only, for it placed the preponderating influence in the hands of the Grande Chartreuse. Discontent growing, an appeal was made to Innocent IV., who appointed John, Cardinal of St. Lawrence, to settle the matter. The cardinal decreed that the merely cloistral monks were not to be admitted at all as diffinitors of the general chapter, as had they powers as such, it would imply a lordship of the lesser over the greater. The pope confirmed his decree; therefore in the first general chapter held afterwards the diffinitors were only chosen from the priors. But the monks of the Chartreuse bitterly resented being thus cast out of the assembly, and dispatched, presumably with their prior's leave, Gilbert de Groyn, one of themselves, to carry their grievance to Rome. Upon Innocent's death the quarrel came as a legacy to Alexander IV. After the Cardinal of St. Lawrence had made another decree in accordance with a final agreement

¹ Add. MS. 6060, ff. 78, 112; *Privilegia* (ed. 1510), f. 1.

between the dissidents brought about through the mediation of the Archbishop of Vienne and Archbishop-elect of Lyons, certain of the Friars Preachers acting as arbiters, the pope wrote to the general chapter, perceiving that the Order might be wrecked by discord. He exhorted them on their obedience to the Apostolic See, now that the cardinal had terminated the dispute, to put from them "the infamy" of a schism, and to speak to one another again as was their wont in psalms and hymns. He appointed the two above-named prelates to see that the decree was carried out, and in October, 1256, the whole subject was closed by his ratification. By this settlement the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse first nominated, either from the monks of the Chartreuse or from the priors gathered in chapter, a discreet and fit person as elector of the diffinitors. Then five priors of the elder houses (*primarum domorum*) of the Order each singly nominated a single elector of diffinitors either from the priors or from the monks of the Grande Chartreuse. These five priors nominating the electors were to be changed yearly for another five, the same sequence of the charterhouses being kept so that each of their priors in turn had a nomination, the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse alone always retaining his right to nominate one elector every year. The six electors once chosen withdrew to a special place, where without any exception of persons, parties, or nationality they chose eight diffinitors either from the priors, including themselves, or from the monks of the Grande Chartreuse, and one of them in behalf of the others announced the result of the election to the rest of the chapter. The diffinitors elected had, together with the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, full power to enact or define ordinances for common observance. Whatever he and four or more of them decided was to be of force throughout the Order. Five or six diffinitors without the prior could ordain nothing of effect, but if seven or eight of them should ordain anything not approved by him, three arbitrators were to be chosen, one on his part, one on the part of the diffinitors, and the third on the part of the monks and the "college of priors," and the decision of these three on the matters in debate was to be final and as such inviolably respected throughout the Order.¹

The authority of the general chapter had already been

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, tom. iv., pp. 158 seq., and for the papal documents relating to the quarrel see *Privilegia*, f. 9^v seq.

strengthened by a bull of Clement III. in 1190 ; this forbade any of the Carthusian priors or brethren to appeal without consent of the chapter, and provided that when all the priors could not come to the yearly chapter, then whatever was done by the major part present was to be approved and irrefragably observed by the members of the Order.¹

Episcopal control in Carthusian affairs is not very evident. Guibert de Nogent found the early Chartreux under a prior, but with the Bishop of Grenoble acting as abbot. That they owed much to Hugh I., the then occupant of that see, both in counsel and practical help, was acknowledged by them. But had he possessed real abbatial authority over them, Guigo I. could hardly have failed to mention it in the Customs ; in these, on the contrary, he merely speaks of bishops along with abbots as casual guests, to be received with special reverence and to be given in church the prior's seat as the place of honour. If, however, the Bishop of Grenoble, like Hugh II., and some of his successors, happened to have been a Carthusian, he would naturally have had an intimate concern in the Order of which he was still reckoned a member, and might conceivably have exercised a closer surveillance, and his personal influence possibly would have been greater, than in the case of a diocesan not a Carthusian. It was because he was the diocesan of the monks that the messengers of Henry II. took the Bishop of Grenoble up with them to the Grande Chartreuse when they wished to get the convent's consent for the departure of Hugh of Avalon to England. Had he had capacity as abbot, he could have at once ordered Prior Guigo II. to let Hugh go, since he approved of his being sent to Witham ; but it was not until the old man refused to utter himself the command which so grieved him, and gave the responsibility to the bishop, that the latter used his influence or authority. "Thou art our bishop, thou art both our father and our brother," said Guigo to him, alluding to his double relationship to them as diocesan and as a Carthusian ; "if thou commandest, I do not resist." The bishop, it may also be observed, is not represented as addressing Hugh and the other Chartreux as "sons," but as "brothers."

That every bishop had the usual diocesan rights over any chartreuse situated in his diocese, until the popes freed the Order from episcopal control, cannot be doubted. He would

¹ Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 1/26, f. 2^v ; *Privilegia* f. 3^v.

have, for instance, the power to visit and correct serious abuses ; hence Anthelme's insistence on the demand of the other Carthusian priors for a general chapter to be held at the Grande Chartreuse, that they must each be furnished with letters from their archbishops or bishops, empowering the proposed assembly of priors to proceed to the correction of their monasteries. At the first general chapter Hugh II., Bishop of Grenoble, the diocesan of the Grande Chartreuse, was present. The kissing of his hand, which held a written copy of the capitular decrees,¹ by each prior as he promised obedience to the chapter, was perhaps, besides being a ceremony adding to the solemnity of the promise, a graceful acknowledgment of his spiritual jurisdiction over the mother house, which gave him the right to punish any of its members failing to live according to their rule. It seems that the Bishop of Grenoble was not necessarily present at a general chapter. In a manuscript attributing the origin of the general chapters to the time of Basil, a letter is given as from Geoffrey, then bishop of that see, handing over the Grande Chartreuse by his episcopal authority to the correction of that assembly ; it contains a clause threatening the house, or its prior or other person belonging to it, in case of disobedience to the chapter, with excommunication by both bishop and chapter.²

The first bull relating to episcopal intercourse with Carthusians was one of Pope Lucius III. in 1184, a clause whereof permitted them, if they could not get their own diocesan, to choose any bishop, for the consecration of their churches or altars, or for the ordination of their clerks. A second bull of the same pope limited their choice to a prelate from whom their own diocesan need not fear infringement of his rights through such an occasion.³

Celestine III. by a bull issued in 1192, besides affirming the privileges granted by his predecessors, prohibited any bishop or other person from compelling the Carthusians to attend synods, or to submit to secular judgment as to their property, or from going uncalled to their charterhouses for ordinations, or from interfering in the election of a prior, or from appointing or removing one against their statutes ; he declared sentences of excommunication to be void when

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 1127.

² Rawlinson MS. 422, p. ii., cap. ii., *De Origine Carthusiensis Capituli*.

³ *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 113.

promulgated against the inmates of their monasteries, or against even their hired servants (*mercenarii*), for not paying tithe, or for other cause for which they had an apostolic indult, or against would-be benefactors who helped them to labour when other folk kept holiday; and their monasteries in time of general interdict were not to be obliged to abstain from the divine offices.¹ Celestine, in a second bull of the same year, after confirming their institutions, liberated them yet further from episcopal control. Diocesans now might no longer prevent or mitigate discipline imposed according to their institutions on any delinquent brothers in their houses against the will of the prior and his chapter, nor, uncalled, interfere in the election of a prior, nor from the latter extort undue obedience, nor against the right of the prior dispose of any of the obediences, nor cause any brother without his prior's leave to quit his cell in order to interview him. No one, in fact, was to be a guest in their houses, or intermeddle with their business, save at the will of prior and brethren.²

At the beginning of the year 1257 a bull of Alexander IV. exempting their convents from alien or outside visitation, and leaving the occasionally necessary work of correction, or reformation, entirely in the hands of their own visitors deputed by the general chapter from their own priors, must have finally freed the Carthusians from episcopal control. Nevertheless, in their own interest, to preserve the rights and privileges of the Carthusians, the popes from time to time nominated their diocesans or other prelates to be the "conservators" of their Order, or protectors of some particular house or province.³ In 1218 Honorius III. had already directed the archbishops or bishops of dioceses in which charterhouses were situated to check by ecclesiastical censures any parishioner who should molest their peace.⁴

The spiritual privileges granted by the popes to the Order

¹ This bull in its full form, giving the boundaries of the Grande Chartreuse, is printed in *Privilegia*, ff. 4^v-5, and there dated at the Lateran 7. id. Julii, 1192; a shorter form of it with a different preamble, giving the clauses of a general importance, but without date, is in P.R.O. Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 1/26, f. 1, and in the *Beauvale Chartulary*, ff. 78-79.

² *Privilegia*, f. 4; *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 2; see also f. 83 for a confirmation of this bull by Innocent III. in 1199.

³ *Beauvale Chartulary*, ff. 80, 83^v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 115^v.

chiefly concern the absolving powers of the priors. An indult of Gregory IX. in 1228 permitted the Carthusian priors to absolve those who, having assumed the religious habit in their monasteries, confessed themselves guilty of such a crime that *ipso actu* they had incurred excommunication, unless the case were of enormity capable of absolution from the Roman pontiff only.¹ Alexander IV. in his first year gave to the Prior of the Grand Chartreuse, and any other prior to be appointed by him, faculty to release postulants, or monks after profession, from sentences of excommunication. Also, by another bull he granted that because the monks of the Order, as men devoted to contemplation, were to be restrained from running about, and because the dangers of the way made it difficult for them to come to his presence, when any of the brothers, before or after profession, had deserved excommunication, the priors, by the counsel of the discreet, learned (*litterati*), and God-fearing of the community, might absolve them, but upon any difficulty arising, they must resort to their diocesan, unless the excess committed had been so grave as to necessitate the penitent being sent to the Apostolic See.² In 1257, because there had been some doubt on the point among themselves, he declared that every prior of their houses, once his election had been confirmed, and his own consent given to it, had cure of souls among his own subjects.³ By an indult issued at the beginning of the same year he allowed them to administer penance and the other sacraments to their hired servants.⁴ Clement IV. allowed that as Carthusian priors might absolve newly professed monks from their sins and from the penalties imposed by the constitutions of the Order, so Carthusian vicars might absolve newly made priors. He granted also that the priors might dispense the brethren from defect of birth, and on authority from the general chapter promote such to ministrations limited to places of their own Order.⁵

Two privileges of another spiritual nature may be noted here. Honorius III. in 1217 permitted the Carthusians during any general interdict to celebrate the Divine Office

¹ *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 117.

² *Ibid.*, f. 82-82^v.

³ Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 1/26, f. 3; *Privilegia*, f. 3.

⁴ *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 83; *Privilegia*, f. 8^v.

⁵ For these and other privileges granted by Clement IV. see *Beauvale Chartulary*, ff. 84, 84^v, 116, 116^v, and Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 1/26, f. 4.

in a low voice within their churches, taking care to close their doors against the excommunicated and interdicted.¹ In 1363 Urban V. licensed them to celebrate mass and other divine offices in their granges and dependencies (*cellaria*), and to administer the sacraments there to the converses and servants dwelling within the enclosure of their monasteries, and to any hired servants coming thither, and for this purpose to have portable altars; also in time of interdict to admit to the sacraments, along with the above-mentioned persons, even priors and their servants coming from elsewhere, so long as they were not the cause of the interdict. He also gave permission that the Carthusian priests might celebrate before daylight, a privilege which they must use sparingly, "for since our Lord Christ, the brightness of eternal light, is immolated in the mystery of the altar, it is not fitting that this should be done in the darkness of the night."²

A few papal documents provided for the recruiting of the Order. In 1184 Lucius III. licensed the Carthusians to receive into and to retain in their communities clerks or lay-men if free, and forbade any professed brother to depart from the cloister without his prior's permission, or leaving with permission to be received elsewhere without a cautionary letter.³ In 1188 Clement II. granted that they might receive any clerk or lay-man of an "inferior religion" who aspired to their religion, save in the case of privileges obtained from the Apostolic See, and even if he came from an Order so privileged, having remained with the Carthusians a year without being demanded, he was not to be violently recalled: also that the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse might excommunicate any of the Order who persisted in an intention of quitting it on the excuse of crusading or other reason.⁴ Akin to the foregoing are two faculties of Gregory XI.; the one was for the promotion of monks of defective birth (as in the previous indult of Clement IV.), and also for the promotion to ministration within the Order of persons, originally apostatised from the Cistercians or mendicants, who, absolved and penitent, had been received among the Carthusians; the other was for promoting those disabled by birth to the ministration of Carthusian nunneries.⁵ The reason for both is given to be the scarcity in those days (1371-72) of

¹ *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 115^v.

² *Ibid.*, ff. 119, 119^v.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 113.

⁴ *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 114.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ff. 120, 120^v.

fit persons for such cure of souls—a consequence, perhaps, of the depletion of Carthusian convents by the Great Pestilence, which is said to have carried off nine hundred members of the Order.¹

Within a decade of the last-mentioned papal favours began the unhappy period of the Great Schism ; by that time, or indeed somewhat before, the Carthusian Order had reached maturity, as it were, and had attained the cohesion of a stable institution, and withal a firm unanimity which enabled it, on occasion, to oppose even a pope's influence in its internal affairs.

¹ Le Couteux, *Annales*, under the year 1348.

CHAPTER V

THE CARTHUSIAN RULE

THE popes might bestow favour on the Carthusians and belaud their exalted sanctity and high aims in the florid preambles to their bulls, but by no means did they always sympathise with Carthusian severity. For instance, Alexander IV. considered that some mitigation was necessary in their treatment of expelled or fugitive monks; the general chapter of 1258 allowed that "according to the apostolic mandate" these might be reconciled to the Order by their priors to the third time, room being to be retained for them in their own house for fifteen days after their flight or expulsion; if on return there was no room for them, the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse was to be informed and was to provide for them until place could be found for them. This regulation, however, was later altered again and further severities introduced.¹

The Carthusians were probably at no time popular; a purely contemplative and extremely ascetic Order has little to attract the ordinary person, and might indeed repel even the devout. The exclusiveness of the Carthusians, moreover, and their being set up, by rumour at least, on a very high pinnacle of religious observance, could easily beget jealousy, and the "storm" which arose against them in 1303 on account of their perpetual abstinence from flesh could scarcely have been stirred for that cause alone. They had always from the first eschewed flesh; as early as 1203 the erstwhile minstrel, but then discontented Cluniac monk, Guiot de Provins, in a passage on the Chartreux in his satirical poem called his "Bible," accused them of being "homicides of their sick," because they would not allow meat to be eaten even in illness.² In 1254 in their general chapter, in the presence of the Archbishop of Tarentaise and the Bishop of Grenoble, the priors and monks of the Order had made a perpetual renunciation of the eating of flesh, thus making their old custom binding. Their abstinence from

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, under the year 1258.

² *Notice des Manuscrites dans la Bibliothèque Nationale*, v., p. 287.

meat in health and sickness was no secret ;¹ yet certain learned men (*homines docti*) from other Orders, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, after a few months' trial of Carthusian life, on being denied flesh when ill, quitted it, and proceeded to scatter aspersions against their late fellow-religious and hosts as to this practice. Further, they even suborned some of the monks themselves to allow them in their name to complain at Rome about the refusal to administer meat even in severe illness. Their action suggests an invidious attempt to wreck Carthusianism. The pope at the time was perhaps not interested in the subject, but in 1310 Clement V. summoned Boson, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse since 1277, to the Council of Vienne, which was to suppress the Knights Templars and condemn the Flemish Beghards and Beguins. The old man excused himself from attendance on the score of his age, but delegated some of the monks, enjoining on them to be watchful for the interests of the Order, but especially to beware of attacks on the abstinence from flesh.² With them he dispatched a letter to the pope in which he testified to the maintenance of discipline according to their statutes, and the absence of any noteworthy relaxation, to the unity and lack of dissension in the Order, to the antiquity of the latter (founded fifteen years before the Cistercian) and its constant loyalty to the Roman authorities ; to defend the abstinence from flesh he quoted St. Jerome's letter to Eustochium and his tract against Jovinian.

This letter of Boson is found in some manuscripts preceding a tract entitled *De origine et veritate perfectæ religionis* ; this is a defence of the Carthusian system and especially of abstinence from flesh food. Dom Le Couteulx ascribed it to Prior Boson himself ; but in some Carthusian manuscripts the author is given as Guillaume d'Ivrée (Guillemus, or Gulermus, de Elbura, or de Yporegia), for thirty years a Friar Preacher, and subsequently a Carthusian, though of which house is not known. If not a permanent inmate of the Grande Chartreuse this monk was certainly staying there in 1310, the date of one of that convent's deeds to which he was a witness ; he designated himself in his signature as "Guillemus de Yporegia monachus Ordinis Cartusiensis." If Boson did not write the treatise himself, there can be little doubt that he employed Guillaume d'Ivrée, who had the repute in his

¹ *Privilegia*, f. 48.

² Le Couteulx, *op. cit.*, iv., p. 498 *seq.*

Order of being a learned man, to write it for him for the purpose of sending it to the pope with his delegates.¹

In this treatise, *De Veritate*, after setting forth the excellence of the Carthusian combination of the eremitic and cœnobitic existence, and after giving an interesting picture of Carthusian life, the author deals with the standing reproach about their abstinence from flesh food and refusal of it to their sick, for which some people condemned them as homicides. "The Carthusians," he says, "unlike certain heretics, hold like other Christians that all God's creatures are good, and lawful to be eaten where there is no vow to the contrary." But since there is no law, human or divine, to compel a man to eat, whether in health or sickness, like the Church during Lent and other fasts, he may abstain for the sake of taming the body. In answer to the question whether he may do so altogether, he produced strange examples from Holy Writ. His better argument was the approval of the Order by the popes, and the canonisation of several of its members such as St. Hugh of Lincoln, who inviolably observed this abstinence. Further, he argues that in some maladies, such as fever, doctors forbid flesh, which proves it to be unnecessary, for there are other foods to supply its lack, like pottage of meal, spoon meats, broth, yoke of eggs, little fishes, etc.; that the Carthusians have found their abstinence conducive to health of spirit and body, and not only do they abstain from flesh, but also generally from "artificial" cures, as do many secular persons who trust in God and use few medicines; that they are the healthiest and longest lived men in the world, for besides the medicine of Christ's Passion and the Sacraments, abstinence is the sovereign medicine. Barley water, pottage of herbs and almonds, and the like simple and useful medicines, belonging to the *esse* of nature, and easy to obtain and not costly, he would allow that the Carthusians may well use, but not such as belong to the *bene esse* of nature, such as many electuaries, drinks, pigments of herbs and medicinal precious stones, since there is no law of God or Church as to the employment of one remedy more

¹ There is an account of the MSS. containing this tract in *Revue Mabillon*, 2^e Série, No. 22 (1926), *La Chronique des Premiers Chartreux*, by Dom André Wilmart. He has, however, entirely omitted from his list Bodley MS. 549, which, like some of the others mentioned by him, does not ascribe the tract to Guillaume d'Ivrée, but has it immediately following Boson's letter to the pope.

than another. On their pulse and spoon meat the Carthusians, according to him, convalesce quicker and endure longer in health than the flesh eaters, and their Order has lasted two hundred and thirty years on this abstinence. Then after a hit at the Black monks, because they had relaxed St. Benedict's rule allowing flesh only to the sick, and at the mendicants for a similar reason, thereby verging on spiritual detriment to their religions, he turns to another cause of reproach against his own Order—namely, that the Carthusians had no pictures or sculptures or painted images of the saints like other religious. The Carthusians, he says, are bound to have, according to their institutions, one crucifix in a "solemn and eminent" place, as well as over each altar. In the oratory of their cells they have been generally wont to have a crucifix and an image of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and also sometimes of other saints, according to the peculiar devotion of each, and according to the possibility and means afforded by their "honest and poor religion." They avoid expensive curiosities in painting and sculpture and variety of solemn and wonderful buildings not consonant with the roughness of the solitary life. St. John Damascene taught that the images and pictures on the walls were the scriptures of the laity, who did not know how to read, therefore it is commendable that such should be made for churches thronged with people, but would be useless and superfluous in the Carthusian "deserts" where people do not congregate. Yet because images and pictures of saints stir the mind and affections they are allowed in the oratories of the monks.¹

The attempt, if such it was, to bring the Carthusians under papal condemnation along with the unorthodox Flemings failed, Clement V. being convinced apparently by the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse that his interference was unnecessary. But long afterwards, in 1368, Urban V., who must have misunderstood the Carthusian spirit, attempted through the general chapter to introduce important mitigations, or

¹ Extracts from Boson's letter are given by Le Couteulx (as above); for letter and tract I have used the fourteenth-century copy by an English hand, Bodley MS. 549, ff. 25-85^v. In this MS. the tract is followed by a shorter one on the same subject, "*contra eos qui dicunt quod Cartusienses faciunt contra caritatem propter hoc quod non comedunt carnes, nec infirmis suis ministrunt quoquomodo*"; this may be the defence of the Carthusian practice attributed to Arnold de Nova Villa, mentioned by Le Couteulx.

rather innovations, of their Rule, with the object of bringing the solitaries more into line with the cœnobitic Orders. These were: (1) That the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse should henceforth be called Abbot, because he was the general moderator of the whole Order and had the status and glory of an abbot, like the abbots of the Cluniac, Cistercian and the other Orders, except the mendicants. (2) That the Carthusian monks, just as the cœnobites, should always sing the canonical offices in church. (3) That after the fashion of other monks, likewise daily at least once they should take refectio in their refectory. (4) That in time of sickness or of delicate health they should eat food as laid down in the Rule of St. Benedict. The Prior of the Grande Chartreuse saw that these innovations would be subversive of Carthusian simplicity and rigour. He convoked a chapter of the priors, who, being all averse to the papal opinion, sent John de Nova Villa, Prior of Avignon, a *persona grata* to Urban V., to show the pope that if the Carthusian prior general were to be abbot, even were it necessary for him to be set in such pre-eminence, the Carthusian revenues were insufficient to support his horses and state. He would be such a penurious abbot that he could do nothing. To eat constantly in the refectory would be the end of all the abstinence and parsimony with which they had hitherto beaten down the devil and overcome the flesh. If they were to sing continually in church, not merely all devout prayer and meditation, but also contemplation, in which they were said to be pre-eminent, would languish, and solitude and silence, their holiest and very ancient inheritance, would be abolished. As to eating flesh, they considered the papal direction as wholly "pestiferous." If meat were granted to the sick, they feared that many would pretend sickness, or if really ill, for the sake of the food would grow worse, with the consequence that many would be found in the infirmary and few in the church. The Pope gave way to their representations, but he did insist on caps, or hats to be worn when they went out, and accordingly in the general chapter of 1370 these were instituted, black felt for the priors and monks, and grey for the converses with a black leather rim.¹ But previous to their compliance on this point, as if to strengthen themselves against further attempted mitigations, Prior Raynaldus and the diffinitors of the general chapter in 1368 reviewed all

¹ Le Couteulx, *op. cit.*, under date 1368.

the statutes made since 1259, and retaining some and revoking others made the compilation known as *Statuta Nova*, or *New Statutes*.

At the beginning of the fourteenth century hostile critics declared that the Carthusians had no Rule. A kindlier opinion was to show itself in the current saying that their Order was never reformed because never deformed, or corrupt (*Cartusia nunquam reformata quia nunquam deformata*). The two observations, due or not, arose from a Carthusian peculiarity. "Christ's poor men of the desert of the Chartreuse" based their discipline simply on a set of customs, scarcely formalised before Guigo I. wrote them down for the increasing Carthusian congregations, and not becoming a definite, accepted Rule until after repeated sanction of the several general chapters and popes; for as Guillaume d'Ivrée replied to his inimical contemporaries, according to Papias a Rule may be an approved custom or institution. Now the Customs of Guigo, as they continued to be called, were after all but an outline of discipline. In putting it into practice, as the Order grew and spread itself into diverse countries among diverse nationalities, question after question necessarily would arise as to details and unforeseen contingencies; for the defining of the constitution of the Order, moreover, legislation became requisite for the regulation of the powers of the prior and general chapter, and of the provincial visitors. Thus to the Customs were added the statutes of the general chapters, a statute confirmed by three successive general chapters being accepted by the whole Order as henceforth a part of the permanent Rule. These statutes were not innovations on the old customs, but rather definitions, adaptations, amplifications, and modifications of them to meet new circumstances, their tendency being to maintain, and in some directions to increase, the pristine asceticism and strictness. The peculiarity of the Order was that, owing to its seemingly experimental nature at first, its system advanced but slowly towards crystallisation. St. Bruno, the leader of that gallant little band of adventurers along the unfrequented harshest road of asceticism in 1084, may rightly be called its founder, but its origin is not due solely to the mind of one man. It was the accumulated experience of Carthusian monks of a hundred and seventy years that, with the papal encouragement, brought this system into the definite form which is to be found in the

first important compilation of statutes in 1259. With a constantly developing discipline, though developing always along the same line, and with a general chapter continually making, and through its visitors nominated from their own priors enforcing, stringent enactments, it is not surprising that the Order can boast of never having been so deformed as to need reformation. Its reformation was from within, for its correction was the very work for which the annual chapter at La Chartreuse was instituted.

The Carthusian Rule, then, consists of the Customs of Guigo I. and of such statutes as were made permanent by the general chapters. Of these latter there were three compilations whose dates fall within the period of this book. Each compilation when finished receiving the confirmatory approval of the general chapter for the time being became part of the Rule. The three compilations, the third having been done by his own appointment, were under the authority of François Dupuy (Puteus), Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, along with Guigo's Customs and all the papal privileges of general concern to the Order comprised in one volume and printed at Basle in 1510, presumably for circulation among the various charterhouses. The first compilation, that of 1259, is the most important, for by the statutes therein included the constitution of the Order was settled. For the clearer understanding of the Carthusian system, details will be given from that and from the second compilation made in 1368.

The advisability of collecting the capitular decrees had been considered before what may be called the first authorised compilation, and some of the priors of La Chartreuse had attempted it. Notably Bernard de la Tour (de Turre), who succeeded to the priorate in the previous year, had made a compilation in 1248 which he named *De Reformatione Ordinis Cartusiensis*, for it contained emendations and additions, relating, however, not to abuses in matters of discipline, but to the interpretation and carrying out the Carthusian ritual use. Then after the eventful priorate of Hugh II., under whom for over two years raged the dispute as to the diffinitors of the general chapter, Dom Rifferus in 1259 sat down in the prior's seat at La Grande Chartreuse. In the hundred and eighty years since its origin the Order, while increasing numerically, had been developing organically; it was time to look to its growth, to protect its organism by

a permanent sanction, and to guard against the possibility of rotten branches. Certain members were found already to have transgressed the limits set down for them by their holy fathers for regular life. If anyone doubts, says Prior Rifferus, let him read and re-read the Customs of Guigo, and he will see how inconsonant is our present conversation with that of our fathers. Some priors wandered outside the precincts on external business, which should be forbidden to them as to the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse. Reproofs had been administered in chapter to those coming to it for their costly equipage, or dress, but no heed had been taken of them. Some indulged in a superfluity of food contrary to eremitical rigour, and because some of the "eremitic places" could not support the extra expense entailed, they would need to take to begging, and to the expansion of boundaries quite against the spirit of the Order. Therefore Prior Rifferus and the diffinitors of 1259 collected all the statutes hitherto passed of a general and permanent value; their compilation goes by the name of the Ancient Statutes (*Statuta Antiqua*) of the Order.

These Ancient Statutes are divided into three parts. The first, concerning the Divine Office and ritual observance, was to secure uniformity in the celebration of their services throughout all the charterhouses, and was to be read entirely once every three years to the convents in their cloister or elsewhere. The second, concerning the general government of the monastery, and the constitution of the general chapter, and the powers of that chapter and of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, was similarly to be read to the convents of monks once a year. The third, being ordinances for the converses and *redditi* and nuns, once a year was likewise to be read to the convents of the lower houses and to the few communities of women.

The first enactment of Part I. is to forbid any alteration in ecclesiastical rites, or emendation of the books of the New and Old Testament, except in the case of some glaring and manifest error, without consulting the general chapter, though the priors were nevertheless to look to it that there were no errors in their copies of the works of the doctors of the Church. Along with the ecclesiastical directions are minute directions as to conduct during the services: how the monks are to bare their heads in church, and to stand with their faces to the altar, except when they had to bow at the miseri-

cords, or had to put themselves prone on the benches : how in making these inclinations, and in entering the church and crossing the choir, there was to be no noise : how in coming in or leaving church they must bow, taking care not to turn their back on anyone in so doing : how they were to keep a guard on their eyes at all times, but particularly at church and in the refectory, lest they should discover material for grumbling, detraction, or laughter : how on certain occasions their hands were to be kept folded, or outside the cowl, how they were not to stretch their legs out, and if they let a book fall, or if late for church, they were to receive pardon on the benches, the bending on the bench in front of him being the Carthusian monk's mute apology or act of humility. There is a chapter on their manner of singing. Forasmuch as the business of a good monk is to lament rather than to sing, let us, it says, "sing in a voice as of lamentation so that there be no delight in singing in the heart" ; the psalmody was not to be much drawn out ; roundly and quickly (*rotunda et viva voce*), without artificial trills, were the voices of the monks all together to begin and end the verses, for no one was to presume to commence before the others or to hurry on too fast, or to make too long pause after the others.¹

The statutes of Part II. establish the polity of the Order. In the general chapter and its president, the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, was vested the government of the whole Order, but during the twelvemonth between the general assemblies the Prior himself was supreme, having meanwhile for his assistance a kind of subsidiary council of chosen priors of other charterhouses. The provincial visitors instituted in 1248 and the local priors were the administrators of the chapter's rulings. For Carthusian monachism had become highly centralised ; the individual charterhouse had no autonomy, and the authority of its prior, though the convent elected him, was ultimately derived from the assembly at the Grande Chartreuse.

The election of a new prior was to take place within forty days of the decease or resignation of his predecessor. Persons not of the Order might be present at an election, but were by no means to be consulted as to a candidate. A convent on being "orphaned" of its prior must as quickly as possible convey the fact to the Grande Chartreuse, for no election might be held without the licence of the general prior.

¹ *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. i., cap. xxxix.

Upon receiving the licence, they were to call in as arbitrators two of the most discreet priors from the nearest charter-houses (later the provincial visitors were appointed for this), who were to preside at the election and to see that there was fair play, and no violence or fraud, for which reason also it was laid down that the scrutiny was not to be made in the cells, but in a place where the scrutators could be seen of all. The election itself, commencing with Mass of the Holy Ghost, proceeded according to the directions of Prior Guigo I. At the end, everything having been conducted in due form, one of the senior monks for himself and his brethren was to request the two priors called in from outside to confirm the person on whom they had agreed in the priorate, and if he objected they had power to admonish him to accept the office. The Prior of the Grande Chartreuse might, however, if he saw fit, on consultation with his chapter, quash an election, and cause the promotion of another. The new prior at the next chapter was to make the profession: "I, Brother N., promise obedience to the common chapter for myself and for my house." If he was one of those priors who on account of distance was excused from yearly attendance, like the English ones, he must send the profession written and sealed, and must repeat it by word of mouth when actually present.

The prior's office within his own convent in the thirteenth century was, as heretofore, to make "recordation" (the appointment of the lections for the feast-days), to hear confessions, to communicate the sick, anoint and bury the dead, and to preach before the chapter, and if he forgot, the procurator was to remind him of his duties. Also he must have the converses instructed in their "maternal prayer" (the devotions in their native tongue), the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Salutation, and hold their chapter unless he appointed someone else. Once a year, at least, he and the procurator and vicar with two of the monks were to take cognisance of the state of the house. The prior might not seal any document in his own or the convent's name without the general consent of the convent. If he went beyond the bounds of his monastery without licence of the prior general, he was to be put out of his seat in church for as many days as he had been out of bounds and to make as many abstinences, unless released by the next general chapter. On going abroad the priors were to ride in black capes and the converses

in grey ; they might hear Mass on the journey if they wished, and the prior might go to bed if he desired, but he must not speak to the monks of other houses. A monk taken from another house to be prior, at the end of his office, if preferring to remain in the house where he had been prior instead of returning to his own house, must make his profession to his successor after or within a year at the pleasure of the latter. Or if he chose to go to another house, similarly making his profession there, he might do so without being considered a wanderer (*sine evagatione*).¹

Under the prior there was now a regularly instituted officer, the vicar, answering to the sub-prior of other Orders, who could act instead of the prior in his absence or at his appointment if present, and sometimes instead of the procurator in the lower house where he might be deputed to hold the chapter for the lay-brothers.

Also in the Ancient Statutes appears another regular officer, the sacrist ; he received the key from the prior, and had charge of the vestments and everything in the church ; he had to ring the bell for the services according to certain regulations and to light the candles, at all conventual masses two, and a third if necessary for the priest to see, at private masses two only. Two lamps might be burnt in the upper churches by those convents which desired it, one to burn continually and the other to be kindled for the Divine Office. For making the candles, the sacrist was to have help at the prior's judgment. With the assistance of a converse, he was to wash the priestly vestments and coverings for the altar, taking care to pour away the water in which the pall and corporals were washed in a clean place, and to burn worn-out things. The washing might be spread to dry in

¹ *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. ii., caps. v. and vi. Dom Cuthbert Butler (*Benedictine Monachism*, 1919, p. 226) states " that it was with the Carthusians and then with the friars that the system of electing superiors for short fixed terms of office came in." I do not know his authority for the statement. Most clearly it is evidenced from their mediæval statutes and from the capitular acts of the fifteenth century that the election of a Carthusian prior, whether a prior general or a local prior, was for life, unless, of course, he were deposed for irregular conduct, or allowed to resign on the score of age or ill-health, a favour not very easy to obtain from the general chapter. John Luscote, the first prior of the London charterhouse, ruled that community about twenty-eight years, after a previous shorter priorate at Hinton. Boson, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, ruled for thirty-five years (1277-1313). A priorate of twenty years was not uncommon.

the cloister, or in the cemetery, or in the meadow round his own cell, licence being given him to go out for this purpose. He spent less time in his cell than the other monks, for when he quitted it to ring the bell for the services, he remained in church to say the offices, and he had to clean the church, chapter house and cloister, besides serving at certain masses. These statutes also give minute directions for the hebdomadary priest both as to the hours and as to the mass.¹

Of the enactments on the duties of that very important person the procurator, the following is a summary :² Upon his appointment he is to write a receipt for the goods which he receives. He is forbidden to give away a whole cheese without leave, nor beyond 11*d.* in alms, nor any but old and cast-off clothes, nor to lend or to receive money on loan, or to be taken charge of, without the prior's knowledge, or to accommodate anyone with sheep, oxen, or sumpter beasts without consulting him. He should go to the upper house once a week, if possible, and always on the vigils of solemn days, when a chapter was held, and in Lent on Monday, Wednesday and Friday before mass ; and he should speak to the cook before going as to the necessary cooking for the brothers on the morrow. Also, if he wished he might go up for bleeding and at other appointed times. Having come up, he might enter the conventual church when he liked, and after his prayers there he visited the prior ; then, when he chose, he visited the brethren, cell by cell, after vespers ; never before mass on festivals, nor in Advent or Lent, nor while they were being shaved, ought he to visit them without licence. At the door, however, he might talk to them, but not for long. The sick monks, unable to be present in church or at chapter, he ought to visit at all times. He must not speak to monks whom he chanced to meet outside their cells without licence of the prior or vicar. When in the upper house, if he was a priest, he was to take his weekly service in his turn, and what he had to leave undone, the priest next in order in the choir was to do ; but during the week when he should be the hebdomadary the prior might retain him for mass. In the absence or inability of the prior, he was to communicate the sick converses and receive their confessions if he were a priest, and only carry to them the Communion if he were a deacon ; if the converses were

¹ *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. ii., caps. xli., xlii.

² *Ibid.*, cap. viii.

sick in the upper house, the vicar attended to them in the prior's absence. Mass was celebrated at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost in the lay-brethren's church for sick members of the lower house, since they must receive fasting. The procurator in the refectory had the last place on the side of the kitchen even though he were an elder, and laid and removed the dishes. If he broke silence at table his penance was the seven psalms and litany. When a prior or procurator through faulty conduct were deprived of their obediences, they were not to have the same offices again in the same house, unless by permission of the general chapter. On relinquishing his office, the procurator was to show to the prior what he had in his cell and what he wished to take out of it. He must render account four times a year, or more often if the prior willed it, and upon failure to do so was to go without wine until he rendered it. He was never to eat either in the upper or lower kitchen. He might sing mass in the lower church in the absence of the prior, if a guest bishop or abbot desired to hear it there. He held the chapter for the lay-brothers, and when necessary might correct them and the hired servants (*mercenarii*), but though he might enjoin things on the converses by virtue of obedience, if they proved disobedient it was the prior who punished them. It was the procurator's business in the lower house to ring for prime; after prime the converses without obediences and the hired servants came to him to receive his orders. From the hired servants, whether brought in by himself or by a converse or *redditus*, he took the pledges for faithful service; once brought within the bounds no hired servant might be dismissed without the procurator's leave. No one was to buy or sell anything within the bounds without his leave or advice. When the flocks went to their winter quarters and on their return, they were to be numbered by the procurator.

The inclination of some of the charterhouses to increase their property was now checked. A prior or procurator was to be put out of his obedience, who, without permission of the general chapter, widened the bounds of his house, or received any person above the stated number, or who received a possession prohibited by the chapter. As to any property at the date outside the bounds of these houses, it was ordered to be alienated, and the profits being retained, the proceeds were to be rendered at the general chapter,

by it to be assigned to poorer houses of the Order. Estates in pure alms, however, it was ruled, they might possess beyond their bounds, without actual ownership (*sine dominio*); also they might buy or sell pastures beyond their bounds. Over the hired servants who assisted the labour within the bounds the procurator had no spiritual charge; for communion and confession they went back to their own parishes; but when one died the hebdomadary for the time was to say a mass for him, and everyone in the cells a *placebo*.¹

The chapter in the Ancient Statutes² on the refectory gives a picture of Carthusian good manners. The reader appointed for the refectory after chapter carries thither sufficient books. While the convent enters, the one half by the upper end, the other half by the lower, he stands at the book with his face towards the east. The monks in coming in bare their heads, and on reaching their seats bow to the cross, as they do also at the *Gloria patri* and the *Paternoster*. When they are settled, the reader turns his face to the convent, and proceeds to read, if a history quickly, if a sermon or homily more slowly, but in any case distinctly and intelligibly, and in such a voice as could be heard, the procurator and kitchener meanwhile taking care that no voice save his, and no disturbance, broke the silence. If he finishes a book, a novice must take it back to the church; the rest after his supper, he is to take back himself. Religious persons might always be received in the refectory; bishops and abbots and their accompanying religious sat at the prior's table, which he vacated to sit at the head of the monks' table, unless the prelate present made him sit with him; each table was blessed by a priest. Anyone who liked might ask for water or have it placed in vessels before him. The bread was to be cut into equal portions both for the refectory and for the cells, and the wine was to be poured out in such quantity that they should not need to pour it back into the justs (pitchers). In drinking they held the cups with two hands; after serving the prior and guests, he who laid and removed the dishes began always on the right side of the refectory, and as he put down or took up anything the monks bowed to him and he to them. The monks did not uncover their dishes before the prior had uncovered his; nor at the end of the meal did they roll up their table-napkins (*mantilia*) before the prior had rolled up his. The statement is added,

¹ *Statuta Antiqua*, cap. xix.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xiii.

"It is contrary to custom that in the refectory we should wipe hands or mouth on a napkin." At the refectory door the monks bowed to him who handed them the "torts," and he to them. In going out the novice or novices went first.

As to their diet, the fast on bread and water four days a week had fallen into desuetude, but Prior Rifferus and his chapter enjoined this abstinence on the monks at least once a week, unless excused by the prior for sickness, old age, feebleness, or other cause; they were careful to add that by this mitigation they did not revoke the ancient custom. The cooking which the monks in old days had done in their cells apparently was latterly done by the convent cook, for they were now ordered to do it for themselves in the cells once a month. The rule to eat only once a day from the Ides of September until Easter was re-enforced, except for the sick, valetudinarians and senile; if the prior allowed this rule to be broken, or broke it himself, he was to be put out of his seat in church for forty days, and the vicar for similar breach was to go back to the noviciate for forty days. As to wine, anyone who knowingly drinks it pure at table, let him abstain from it wholly, say these statutes, when he might drink a moderate amount. Flesh food, at this time and later, as already stated, was never allowed in health or in sickness, not even if the monk were a leper. The prior might, however, dispense the sick man from the hair-shirt, and lessen the hardness of his bed, but not with a feather cushion, and he could be taken care of by the *redditi* in his own cell. But now there was an infirmary in the Carthusian houses for the monks and the converses and *redditi*, and there was a regular *infirmarius* to look after them. This official was to say the hours for his charges, and might sit with them and talk to them except after compline, but the preparing of their food belonged to the kitchener, who, with the procurator, is admonished to be kind also to sick guests and hired servants. If the sick were not all in the one place, the vicar might say the offices to some of them. The *infirmarius* on a sign from a sick monk was to follow him out of church and do what should be necessary, and if the prior or hebdomadary do not hear the bell after the *Gloria Patri*, at the end of *Deus in adjutorium* he was to look them up in case they should be sick.¹

As to guests, doubtless Carthusian hospitality was generous

¹ *Ibid.*, caps. xiv., xliii., xlv.

in ascetic fashion. Yet to reprehend the giving them wax candles, save for saying the Divine Office, seems scarcely cordial. They were permitted to be present in the cloister during the hour allowed on feast days for the conversation or colloquy (*colloquium*) of the monks; on these occasions, the Carthusian chapter, with the courtesy common to monasticism, lays down that no one should whisper, but say everything which he has to say intelligibly and audibly of all, that no one in replying to guests should interrupt the prior, and if he appoint anyone to edify them, the monks must listen patiently, but the appointed speaker ought not to exceed measure.¹

To the strictures of Guigo I. against women, the Ancient Statutes add that alms are not to be given to them unless far from the charterhouses. Where convents cannot avoid putting women in their works, let them, they say, look to it at least to avoid scandal, that neither converses nor *redditi* have charge of them, nor with their own hands render them their reward; one of the hired servants was to do this. Further, though "to certain women the lord Pope should grant that they may enter our houses or churches, let the priors as much as they can set to and keep them from entering." On the first day of the dedication of a Carthusian church, however, they allow women to enter.

In chapter xi. on confession there is the usual Carthusian exclusiveness evident in the opinion that "we ought as much as possible avoid confessing those not committed to us: we may receive them and give them counsel, persuading them to go to their own priest or bishop, if it seem expedient." It was in the option of the monks to receive or not those sent to them by the bishops or priests. Confession for the convent was on Saturdays and the eves of festivals; they confessed prostrate and bare-headed. When confessing in chapter they were to avoid prolixity, but in their cells or elsewhere they might be more diffuse. Criminal cases were reserved for the priors, and these latter are admonished to be careful in instructing novices how to confess.

The chapter on the book-binder and works gives a glimpse of the rarely active side of Carthusian life.² He who binds, if he know how, should plane the boards and prepare the skins. No work or mending should be done without special leave in the time of the siesta in summer, or after "recorda-

¹ *Statuta Antiqua*, cap. ix.

² *Ibid.*, cap. xviii.

tion." The door of a cell where two or more monks were working ought to stand open (presumably for supervision). It seems that occasionally the monks did some agricultural labour in common, but the passage is not very clear in meaning: "for manual labour save thrice a year for three days, the convent does not go out." The work, whatever it was, was done in silence only broken by the *Benedicite* from the prior or vicar. On the first day before working they all met in the cemetery and said *De Profundis, Requiem eternam*, etc., for the departed. On one of the days they had a pittance extra, and on the other two, wine and something cooked (*coquina*). In the New Statutes of 1368, these nine days of common work are explained to have been usually the first three in the second week after the octaves of Easter, the second in the second week after the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and the third in the first week after the feast of St. Michael.

In the Ancient Statutes,¹ the vague directions of Guigo I. for the reception of a novice are ceremonially developed. On arrival, if unknown to the community he is to be asked before witnesses whether he aspires to become monk, converse, or *redditus*, if he is from another Order, if he is a free man, if suffering from any incurable disease, if he has satisfied all claims against him, and in the case of a would-be monk if he can proceed to sacred orders and can read and sing. If he conceal anything in his answers, he is liable to expulsion after profession. The prior with the counsel of the brethren agreeing to accept him as postulant, he is to prostrate himself and ask to be received as the "prebendary" (*prebendarius*), and servant of all. Then a term is given him at the end of which he is to present himself again, and kneeling at the feet of the prior (or vicar in his absence), he shall put his folded hands between the hands of the prior or vicar, and the latter on behalf of God, the Order, himself and the brethren grants him fellowship (*societas*), and is to put before him that previous to profession he is at liberty to depart, and that they are at liberty to expel him should his conversation be displeasing to them; then he receives the kiss of peace, from the prior first, then from the brethren. On his coming again at the appointed date he is not kissed, but on request to be received, being shaved he is to be clothed, and put on probation for at least a year, unless he is a bishop or cardinal, in which

¹ Pt. ii., cap. xxiii.

case he may be professed forthwith. If he is already a monk, he, putting off his own, puts on the Carthusian cowl, but nevertheless has to pass the year's probation. When clothed the novice is brought into church, and placed at the step of the altar, prays, while the convent sing *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, which finished the prior says *Confirma hoc Deus*, the convent responding *Quod operatus es in nobis*, followed by *Dominus vobiscum*, and the prayers *Actiones nostras* and *Deus qui Corda*. These ended, he is conducted to his cell with one or more of the three psalms *Miserere mei Deus*, *Quam dilecta*, and *Memento Domine David*. In going to the cell the prior goes first, then the novice, then the rest of the convent according to seniority. At the door the prior sprinkles the novice and the cell, saying "Peace be to this house," then taking the novice by the hand leads him to the oratory, and the psalms being ended with the *Gloria*, there follows *Kyrie eleison*, etc., *Salvum fac servum tuum* and other suffrages, and the prayers *Deus qui justificas impium*, *Pretende domine famulo tuo*, *Exaude nos domine sancte Pater*, the novice kneeling the while in his oratory. After the service the prior enjoins on him the observances and exercises of the cell, and after his confession absolves him from vows made in the world provided he perseveres in his profession. Finally, as in Guigo's Customs, he commends him for further instruction to a senior monk, and the novice gives any possessions which he may have to the charge of the prior. If the novice weary of his probation, he may not transfer himself to another house, even if he have not yet received the habit; if he does and comes back, he must be proved a whole year before making his profession.

The Carthusians were rightly strict about not receiving a married man with a wife still following a secular life; the prior who received such a one, without his own bishop's authority, even if the wife were under promise to forsake the world, should lose his priorate. Lepers, however, they would not refuse; for a leper a little house would be built outside the monk's enclosure and he would be visited by the prior and his fellow-monks. If the leprosy were incurred during the noviciate, "let him not make his profession," say the statutes, yet if he wished to remain he was to be considered and provided for as professed.

The poverty of "Christ's poor men" of the Carthusian "deserts" was not destitution. The Lady Poverty whom the "poor man" of Assisi wedded would have been for

them a most inconvenient bride, for she would have forced them to adopt the practice of begging, so reprehensive to Prior Guigo I., and would have necessitated secular intercourse with the world which it was always their endeavour to avoid. Their clothing, for instance, was to be sufficient for the bitter cold of the mountain districts, and later the general chapter permitted modifications as to the beds of the English members of the Order. Moreover, the monks were not clad in threadbare garments, else it had not been necessary to warn the procurators not to give them away before they were worn out, and the converses certainly received a new tunic yearly. Further, the Ancient Statutes, accidentally or purposely, following the Rule of St. Benedict in this, allowed the priors or others of their convents, when any business took them outside, to wear somewhat better habits than those remaining at home. As to food and clothing, the lay-brothers and *redditi* from the labouring and artisan classes would find life in the charterhouses simple and rough perhaps, but scarcely harder, and maybe less hard, than in their own homes, and with the advantage of assured sustenance. The Carthusian chapter certainly tried to maintain a corporate poverty by forbidding the extension of the boundaries of the convents and the increase of their cattle and so on; later, when wealth was almost thrust upon them by the faithful, or incidentally accrued to them by the cultivation of their estates and the breeding of their sheep, they got over the difficulty by multiplying the inmates. For instance, at the Grande Chartreuse in 1332 a second cloister was founded, the chapter agreeing that the original number of thirteen or fourteen monks, including prior and procurator, should be doubled, and the royal foundation of Sheen near Richmond had as many as forty cells, though whether these were always inhabited is another question.

The poverty of the individual Carthusian, monk or lay-brother, consisted not in lack of necessities for the body or for the intellect, but in the complete renunciation of proprietorship. The novice must give to the charge of the prior during his probation what possessions he brought with him, and when once professed they no longer belonged to him. The things which monk and converse had for daily personal use belonged not to them, but to the monastery. It was the spirit of discipline enforcing this renunciation, and not the spirit of parsimony or of rigid economy, that demanded

a prostrate apology from the cook when anything in his charge was lost or spoilt, and required such frequent accounts from the procurator. In the same spirit the Ancient Statutes appoint a periodical exposing of the possessions of monks, converses, and *redditi*, and on Palm Sunday the meeting of all of them in the chapter house of the monks, for the declaration of anything retained, the one who "with a secretive mind" has kept back aught of more value than 12d. to be excommunicated by the prior. Carthusian poverty was not socialistic; it was an ancient custom to make two sorts of bread, one fairer (*pulchrius*) for the monks, and the other for the converses, wherefore if it pleased a prior to have it so, no one was to dare contradict him. On the other hand no prelate in the houses of the Order was to be called "lord."¹ The only rank in a Carthusian community was seniority of profession, the only obsequiousness the obedience of sons to fathers, the respect of juniors to elders.

The third part of the Ancient Statutes concerns the lower house. It gives directions along with others as to the obediences of the lay-brothers.² The cobbler, once a year, with assistance, must prepare the leather and make as many shoes as should last the greater part of the year; the shoes of the monks he must grease when he repairs them, but the converses are to do this for themselves; those who do not take care of their shoes are to be reprehended by him. The kitchenier of the upper house, besides his usual duties of cooking for the monks, has to clean the refectory, dormitory, and cloister of the guests, and to provide them with a light if they go to matins, and with skins, pelices, and night-shoes. He is to be clean and neat in his service of the table, putting the fruit and raw herbs on dishes covered with a cloth, looking to it that the bread be free from anything which has to be wiped off, or cut out of it, and that the vessels for food and drink are carefully washed and wiped outside so that they do not spot the table-cloths, and that the cups and spoons and salt-cellar are clean, and the salt not liquefied. The kitchenier of the lower house has by this date become more definitely the right-hand man of the procurator; he is to assist him to reprehend the other converses, when they break silence, and report them to the prior; he is to see that the hired servants are not idle, and has care of the garden, the

¹ *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. ii., caps. xxii., xxxii.

² *Ibid.*, pt. iii., caps. iii.-xviii.

hens, and of the sumpter-horses, if necessary; he is also to remind the procurator of anything to be done. In the general "customs" for the lay-brothers is to be noted the inculcation of the spirit of kindness and content; they are to be helpful to one another in their obediences, and as the hired servants may not enter their cloister without special licence, the converses must themselves fetch wood for their cells, and chop it up, but the younger and stronger ought to get licence to provide the necessary fuel for the old and feeble. No one is to be asked what is going to be cooked, nor ought he to refuse what is cooked for all, unless he be ill. The *redditi* are also to be content with what is given to them.¹

The Carthusians, shutting themselves off from the world, had intended to live entirely by working their estates within their boundaries, so as to be independent of foreign rents or profits. Later the charterhouses drew their revenues from property beyond their precincts; the priors of Witham, for instance, had rents even in distant Warwickshire. Yet at all times their communities were, for the most part, agriculturists and breeders of sheep and cattle, and sometimes traders in wool and hides. In developing their resources the monks needed more workers. The Ancient Statutes mention seven *redditi* as well as hired servants in addition to the sixteen converses. On a petition from the Prior of La Grande Chartreuse and chapter, Pope Gregory IX. in 1233 sanctioned the adoption in all the houses of the Order of seven "oblates who are vulgarly called *redditi*" by indulging them with the same liberties as the other brethren of the Order.² Oblates, or as the Carthusians named them *donati*, were to be found in the charterhouses as early as 1173;³ like the "prebendaries" mentioned in the statutes of 1368, they were little different to secular servants; they were received under a simple promise of obedience and faithful service, and might be dismissed for misconduct without remuneration for the time during which they had served; they might be married, and there were even women *donatæ* until the sixteenth century, when the General, Prior François Dupuy, forbade it. Of these women we have no details, but the statutes of 1368 direct the men to wear an upper garment reaching to the knees, and on Sundays and

¹ *Ibid.*, pt. iii., cap. xxviii.

² *Privilegia*, f. 19.

³ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, under date 1173.

festivals in church at the upper house, or when sent on the convent's business beyond the bounds, to use the hood of the converses "for the honesty of the Order and to avoid scandal." The prebendaries also must be dressed soberly, not in striped or parti-coloured garments, or in green or yellow or red, under pain of losing their prebend and the benefits of the Order, among which perhaps may be reckoned the privilege, if desired, of burial in Carthusian cemeteries.¹ The seven *redditi* were a grade nearer religious; they wore the same dress as the converses, from whom they were distinguished by being beardless. The Ancient Statutes² lay down that a *redditus* is to have a year's probation before his profession, which took place in the chapter of the converses after the usual form, that is, under a vow of perseverance, obedience, and to live continently and without property. He was not to look to be promoted to the status of monk or converse in his own house, though it could be offered to him; but he might at his desire be so promoted in another house, if his community and the chapter general consented, after a year's probation there like any other novice. Similarly the sole clerk *redditus* at first allowed, a deacon, must get licence to transfer himself to another house if he wished to advance to the priesthood. In church or chapter, whether in the upper or lower house, the *redditi* sat next the converses, except the clerk *redditus*, whose seat was above the lay-brothers. In later times the Carthusian authorities permitted two or three clerk *redditi* to every charterhouse, and allowed them to enter the priesthood; these sat with the monks in choir, chapter, and refectory, but below them, and they were professed, tonsured, and clad like the monks, but were not to be called "domni" but "brothers," though at first neither the clerks nor the lay *redditi* were thus called, being designated by the peculiar name "burdones."³ After profession, obediences might be entrusted to the *redditi* as to the converses, and their rules for fasting and for food when they went out to the granges or elsewhere were the same as those for the converses; when they died, like them they were buried in their religious dress. There is no mention of their having separate cells like the converses, although their life was so similar to

¹ *Statuta Nova*, pt. iii., cap. i.

² *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. iii., cap. xxxiii.

³ Le Couteulx, *Annales* (as above). The name, not noticed by Du Cange, may be from some obsolete local French word.

theirs, even to the saying of an appointed number of Pater-nosters for the offices.

The Ancient Statutes on discipline, being often almost identical for the upper and lower houses, may be noted here together. Anyone rebellious, or murmuring against the decrees of the chapter, or disobedient, or "perversely obedient" to the prior, or, if a converse, to the procurator, after admonition was still to be of the Order, within or without his cell, but he was to be reckoned outside the convent;¹ failure in amendment after three admonitions at a few days' interval merited expulsion from the Order. Whoever accused his brother or even a *redditus* of lying, shut in his cell was to remain outside the convent until he had in the prior's judgment made satisfaction for his fault. A defamer of his house was to be degraded to the state of a novice for forty days and to miss the colloquy in the cloister. Impious oaths and bad or blasphemous language must be severely punished, and also the milder swearing, though venial, such as "God help me," or "By my faith," if habitual.

Guigo I. did not specify the vices or crimes meriting expulsion. The Ancient Statutes, after warning the priors of a severe punishment awaiting them for retaining anyone deserving expulsion, and bidding them nevertheless beware of lightly expelling monk, converse, or *redditus*, declared that those were to be cast out of the Order who were convicted, by their own confession or by witnesses, of incontinence, violence, theft, or ownership (*de proprietate*) up to the value of 3s., rebellion, disobedience, false accusation, conspiracy, the frequent sowing of discord, the dragging, or causing to be dragged, any person or convent of the Order before a judge, secular or ecclesiastical, after a third admonition. A prior guilty of contumacy was *ipso facto* deposed and expelled. As to violence, a light blow given to a lay-brother did not deserve expulsion, but was to be punished by the prior according to its weight. If the prior doubted whether it was a light or heavy blow, after the examination of the manner of it in a "convent" of the monks, he might send to the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, and must then abide by the latter's answer. To strike a converse, who though a servant was yet a brother, was, however, a serious fault, and the priors are admonished by the chapter of 1259

¹ "Outside the convent" (*extra conventum*) seems to be a Carthusian term for loss of voice in the chapter or of share in conventual affairs.

not to judge a blow to be light unless it evidently appeared to be so. The expelled, except homicides, incendiaries, thieves, and "proprietarys" of over 3s. value, and the incontinent, on asking for mercy and promising amendment, before the assembled monks of their house, might, if the latter so counselled the prior, be received again in their convent up to a third time, and might be sustained there in the hope of reconciliation by the general chapter at La Grande Chartreuse, to whom full accounts of every case must be sent, written in the fear of God. If an expelled monk or converse had capital enemies in his convent, the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, upon information, was to provide for him elsewhere, both while he awaited reconciliation and afterwards, or if his place had been filled up during the time of expulsion; but on the enmity subsiding, or a vacancy occurring, he must return to his own house. Madmen for the protection of themselves and others were to be put in chains, if the greatness of the fury seemed to demand it.

When neither of the above reasons prevented it, criminous monks or converses returning after expulsion, clad in the clothes in which they had come back, were to be sustained outside cell and outside the convent, receiving from the first day weekly for six months half a "tort" of conventual bread, and of the servants' bread as much as necessary, and wine such as was given to guests; they might be present at the sermon to the converses, and make their confessions and communicate on solemn days after the convent, if their prior saw good. The reconciled monks for forty days, as the convent came out after vespers (except on the days when they communicated), were to receive discipline, and for forty days must eat on the ground on the bare board in the refectory unless a bishop should be present; and for a whole year they were to keep the general discipline of the Order—that is, they were to count as novices and go without the colloquy in the cloister, and receive discipline at every chapter except when they communicated. The reconciled converses received their discipline at the church-door after matins on ordinary days, and after vespers on festivals, otherwise the regulations for them were like those for the monks. Neither to monk nor converse might any office or charge be entrusted when once he had had to be reconciled, and he was always to remain last without hope of restitution

to his former place in the convent whether of the upper or lower house.

Fugitives who had not committed a crime deserving expulsion before or during flight, returning voluntarily, or under the ecclesiastical censure of their priors, if coming back in fifteen days should be reconciled at once, and for fifteen days had to submit to the same discipline as is above described for the criminous religious after return; but after being reduced to the status of novices for fifteen days they might be restored to their pristine grade when it should seem fit to their priors with the counsel of their convents. Beyond a third time, whether criminous or fugitive, "let all know," say the Ancient Statutes, "as well clerks as lay-men, every avenue of reconciliation, according to the words of St. Benedict, is closed to them." The reconciled, when transferred to another charterhouse, were to have their travelling expenses for going and coming home, and their clothes given to them by their own priors, who should write a list of the garments for the priors to whom they were sent.¹

Two years after the passing of the Ancient Statutes, the general chapter in 1261 enacted that every house of the Order must have a sufficient prison in which, for performing their penance, the criminous, and all threatening death, or fire, were to be shut up until otherwise appointed by the chapter.² In 1266 Clement IV.³ empowered the Carthusian priors to seize and detain in custody and excommunicate their fugitive monks and converses whether found in their religious or secular dress. Imprisonment and arrest and compulsory return of apostates, to use the common monastic term for deserters from any religious Order, were innovations leading in the course of another hundred years to a distinct departure from primitive Carthusian discipline. The prison deprived the fugitive of the licence to depart to another Order, permissible with the consent of the brethren under the early priors; it also did away with expulsion, unless the monk or converse might in a manner be considered expelled who endured life-long imprisonment, deprived of membership in his convent ("outside his convent" in the language of the statutes).

¹ *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. ii., caps. xxi. and xxxii.; pt. iii., cap. xxxii.

² Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 1135; *Statuta capituli generalis*, anno 1261.

³ *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 116, or *Privilegia*, f. 15.

Guigo I. and St. Hugh, Prior of Witham, would have no diseased sheep in their flock, and cast them out lest they should infect others, and even if they wished it it was difficult for them to return; Anthelme resigned the priorate of the Grande Chartreuse when the pope forced him to take back his rebels. The essence of the monachism of St. Bruno and his earlier followers was aspiration rather than renunciation, and their asceticism was but a means to attain their desire. If then a monk had lost the aspiration, so that the hardness of the life became meaningless to him, and he rebelled or fled, it was better that he should try to save his soul under another discipline, for Carthusianism had no longer use for him. When, however, Prior Raynaldus and the other worthy successors of the first Chartreux, assembled in general chapter in 1368, made the third compilation of statutes known as the New Statutes (*Statuta Nova*), being a selection of the permanently valuable decrees since 1259, Carthusian monachism, while nourishing still the old lofty aspiration, was laying more stress on renunciation and discipline; it had become, moreover, a regular Order, with a good name and high reputation for sanctity to be preserved from the scandal of runaway monks or criminal outcasts. Hence the institution of the prison, and such rules as the following from the New Statutes.

The priors are to be careful to guard against the possibility of their subjects fleeing from the Order, and should imprison any whom they know likely to do so, or to induce others to do so. Fugitives found without licence of their own prior or of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse may be taken by any prior of the Order, the aid of the secular arm, if necessary, to be called in. Let priors and others found notably guilty of the escape of prisoners be released from their obediences, and go into the place of the escaped at the will of the Order. Let no one for whatever crime be expelled, but after the measure of his crime or fault be put to perpetual or temporary imprisonment. Let a fugitive not returning within five days, before he can be received either by his own prior or the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, offer himself voluntarily to undergo imprisonment; from thence, if he has been criminous, he cannot be taken out except by the Prior of the Chartreuse or the general chapter, but otherwise by his own prior with the counsel of the convent when it shall seem expedient. When brought forth he must go through

the discipline written in the statutes concerning such. If any convicted of incontinence be reconciled to the Order, and brought out of prison, they may not remain in the houses where they were convicted, but must be placed elsewhere under discipline. Priors except in the article of death may not reconcile their criminous subjects to the Order, without the licence of the general prior, who alone may do so at his will. The criminous reconciled to the Order may have spiritual benefit according to the grade to which they have been restored; but even if absolved from the discipline imposed for the crime, they must lose their voice (in chapter) unless it has been expressly given back to them.¹

The New Statutes of 1368 were evidently compiled under an anxious sense of the growing laxity of the Order.² They complain of the priors going about too much, of their curious and too precious clothes and equipage, and of the excesses permitted by them and others in recent times, so that the Order is notably and deservedly almost everywhere defamed. The chapter exhorts and beseeches the priors in the Lord to attend to the effectual rooting out of evil customs as to superfluous or more dainty food or clothing, "damnable" introduced into their houses against the sobriety and penitence (*attritionem*) of the Order. There are decrees against those who presume to lie between two sheets, or to have cups, godets (tankards), or spoons of silver, or gloves of white leather, and there are directions as to the measurements of the hoods of the cowls and of the capes, and of the cloaks used when riding out on business, as to the clothing being made of the coarse rude cloth of the country. Carpets and cushions are not to be used; "curious" pictures, even where they might be had without scandal, are to be removed from church and houses and no new ones allowed to be made. Priors are to keep sobriety in administering food to guests, who should be content with two dishes simply cooked. There are renewed enactments against the vice of proprietorship, which is to be detested by all religious and is very contrary to their welfare. Priors are to be more careful in admitting novices, and to prove them first. They are to be solicitous in cutting short vain and undisciplined talk, firmly forbidding the monks inordinate speech in the colloquies, about the lords of the earth and princes and their doings, or contentions and taking sides, on pain of exclusion from the collo-

¹ *Nova Statuta*, pt. ii., cap. ix.

² See caps. i., iii., v., and vi.

quies. Anyone reporting such contentions to these great ones of the world themselves or to their servants, if a monk, shall lose his voice and be a novice at the will of the Order, or if of another grade be delivered forthwith to prison.

There are, too, severe enactments of another kind.¹ He who confesses to have broken silence is to be disciplined with rods. Kisses and embraces are not permissible, nor are hand games nor any kind of musical instruments to be allowed. No prior openly or in private may presume to play or solace himself with his subject, nor any subject presume to banter his prior, or have contention with him, but is to show him deference and obedience in word and deed. To guard against the irresponsible expenditure of some convents, it was appointed that no prior, without consulting the vicar, procurator, and sacrist, may presume to lend money beyond the amount of 10 *li.* in one or in several sums: that priors who burden their houses by giving away the goods thereof to strangers or neighbours shall be released from their office and severely punished; that every house is to have its own deposit under two or three keys, one to be kept by the prior, the rest by a monk or monks nominated by him; and that every new prior, in the presence of his predecessor, if alive and able to be present, and in any case before four of the discreeter members of the convent, shall draw up a state of the house in writing, and under the seal of his house, and superscribed by the convent, bring or send it to the next general chapter, retaining a copy thereof in his own charter-house. The good fathers assembled had also to lament that the Order had suffered scandal and blame through the rash acceptance of new houses insufficiently endowed and even lacking the needful buildings. Hence they enacted that no house was to be accepted in future unless capable of supporting a prior and twelve monks, and with rents and possessions enough for all other charges, and unless its site were suitable, and duly separated from the habitations of men; and there must be a competent guarantee for sufficient buildings, if not already erected.

With the third compilation of statutes made in 1510 by Prior Dupuy there is no need to deal here, because the more important capitular ordinances and decrees included in it will have to be quoted elsewhere.

¹ *Ibid.*, caps. i., iii., and iv.

PART II

THE ENGLISH CARTHUSIAN PROVINCE

CHAPTER I

THE CHARTERHOUSES OF WITHAM, HINTON, AND BEAUVALE

IN the year 1368 the general chapter at the Grande Chartreuse liberated the English Carthusians from the visitation of the French provincial priors to which they had hitherto been subject, and instituted an English Carthusian province, which later included for a short time the one Scotch charterhouse also. Witham, the eldest foundation here, albeit that monks were taken thence to start some of the newer communities, was in no sense the mother-house of any of them; that position was held alone by the Grande Chartreuse, with whom all charterhouses had equally direct dealings through their provincial visitors. Some account of the charterhouses of this English province, including that of the further fortunes of Witham Priory, is given in this and the following chapters.

WITHAM CHARTERHOUSE

With the help of the fragment of contemporary chronicle, we have found the succession of the priors of Witham after St. Hugh to be thus—Albert, Bovo, Robert, previously the procurator, and Robert de Caneford. Here a correction must be made in the Carthusian tradition. Dom C. Le Couteulx¹ states that a Prior Philip followed Prior Robert. This may be true, if we may identify this Robert with Robert de Caneford, of whom, however, the annalist seems to have known nothing. But he goes on to say that after the priorate of Philip ensued the short rule, lasting three years and five months, of William of St. Mary Church, formerly Bishop of London, the date of the latter's death being given by him as 1236. This statement as regards the bishop is contradicted by the English authorities for his biography, which, moreover, gives no hint of any connection with the Carthusians. William resigned the see of London in 1221, reserving to himself £100 out of the episcopal revenues; the pope with

¹ *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*, iv., p. 43.

consent of the dean and chapter of London confirmed to him the assignment of the manors of Clakinton, Southminster, and Witham, and he retired to the house of Augustinian canons of St. Osyth in Essex, and died¹ on 27th March in 1224. The Prior Philip above mentioned perhaps preceded Prior Giles, whom the record of a lawsuit proves to have been ruling Witham in 1226.

Of life behind the walls of the priory little is known. The chief sources for its history are legal proceedings and formal crown records. The information to be gathered from these affords a rather unhappy picture of a community engaged in litigation owing to quarrels with neighbours about rights of common or enclosures, or in collision with the officials of the royal forests, or in trouble through the poaching of the converses and the servants of the monastery.

It was under Prior Giles that the convent was drawn into a period of litigation with neighbouring land-owners, which lasted intermittently over fifty years. The longest quarrel was with the leper hospital of Maiden Bradley, which had been founded some years before the charterhouse, and re-established under canons of St. Augustine about 1190. The property of the monks in one direction ran alongside the estate of the canons at Gernefeld (now Yarnfield), and the dispute arose over pasture ground there. Perhaps to defend his rights, Hugh, the Prior of Bradley, raised a fosse in Gernefeld. For this action Giles, the Carthusian prior, arraigned him in the autumn assizes at Ilchester in 1226, with the result that the fosse was ordered to be demolished.² However, Jocelin, Bishop of Bath, who was so good a friend to the Carthusians as to have merited sometime a letter of thanks from the Grande Chartreuse with the promise of participation in the "spiritual goods" of the Order,³ and Richard le Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, brought about an understanding between the parties, by which Giles and his convent permitted the Prior of Bradley to enclose half the pourpresture (encroachment) which he had made by the

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography; Annals of Waverley* (R.S. *Annales Monastici*, ii., p. 299). The French Carthusian's error probably came through ignorance of the existence of several places named Witham in England. (For the papal confirmation of the assignment of the three manors, see *Calendar of Papal Registers*, i., p. 81.)

² Patent Roll, 10 Henry III., m. 5 d., and m. 1 d.

³ Wells Cathedral MS., *Liber Albus*, iii., f. 356 d.

fosse.¹ Three years later Prior Giles lay grievously sick, and the sheriff of Somerset had the king's command to send four knights of his shire to the charterhouse to learn whom he would wish to attourn for him in his suit against Walter de Wrington and eighty-four other persons for some dispossession of Carthusian property at Heydon (Hydon) on the Mendips.² Probably he died that year.

In 1233 his successor "Prior R. of Witham," so far as he and his convent were concerned, allowed the canons of Bradley to enclose that portion of land in the same pasture at Yarnfield between the fosse formerly raised and the Chelesned way, or path, on these conditions. The way between the cultivated portions (*culturas*) should be kept open, a fosse being raised on each side of it; sufficient space should be left between the Chelesned path and the fosse last raised for the passing in and out of two loaded waggons meeting one another; and neither the Prior of Bradley nor his successors should make further enclosure of the pasture without consent of the Witham priors and convent. The Bradley community in return agreed to release the men of Gernefeld, who had common right in the enclosed land, from suit at their yearly hundred held on the morrow of the Epiphany, and from its contingent fees and amercements.³

In the previous year the Prior of Witham had had the royal licence to take a portion of the neighbouring wood for the enlargement of his park, and to enclose along with it land occupied by his fish-pond out of land granted by Richard Bigot, lying presumably in, or close to, Marston parish, where the Bigot property lay.⁴ This action apparently aggrieved no one, but when later Henry III. licensed the charterhouse to enclose the wood of La Holt at Witham, once more the monks came into collision with the leper hospital of Bradley, which claimed common of pasture there, and the right to old fallen wood, "oldwode underfote," worth yearly £10 8s., though apparently it paid to the king for the dead wood so gathered 14s. every year. An inquisition held by Henry de Bracon, the justiciar, at Frome allowed the rights of the

¹ A document quoted in a paper on the *Witham Boundaries*, by Rev T. F. Palmer, in *Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society Proceedings*, lxiv., p. 24.

² Patent Roll, 13 Henry III., m. 7 d.

³ *Proceedings of Somerset Archæological and Natural History Society*, lxiv., p. 25.

⁴ Close Roll, 16 Henry III., m. 11.

hospital and found it could be compensated by £8 rent in Mulebourn in Somerset, or in the church of Tydolveshide (Tilshead) in Wiltshire.¹ But not yet was peace to be between the two communities. In 1280, at the assizes at Somerton, the Prior of Witham had to answer the claim of the Prior of Maiden Bradley to 40 acres of land in Jernefeld and common of pasture in La Holt at Witham, of which, as he alleged, William sometime Prior of Witham, predecessor of the defendant, and Henry FitzJohn had unjustly disseised him. Since the Carthusians, according to their rule, might not plead, the king appointed his own attorney (narrator), William de Gyselham, to appear for the charterhouse. The answer of the defendants was that the pasture claimed was within the bounds limited to them by Henry II.—namely, “from a place which is called Rougechinesheued as far as to Chalfnadeswy and Fisburnesheued,” and they asked judgment whether the hospital, not having come forward within the two years appointed for claimants by the royal proclamation after the building of the charterhouse published throughout the counties of Somerset, Dorset, and Wilts, could now demand any right within the boundaries. The Prior of Bradley admitted that if the claim had been raised within the time specified by the king, compensation would have been made. He thereupon lost his suit, and was amerced for a false claim.² This ended the feud between Witham and Maiden Bradley.

The Abbess of Shaftesbury also gave the Carthusians trouble. She or her men of her manor of Kilmington would allow her pigs to trespass in their woods, perhaps purposely intending to enforce her alleged common right of pasture there; when the monks found her pigs straying in their grounds in “the mast time,” they impounded them, and she practically gave her cause away by making fine with the prior and brethren to get them again. As the Carthusians might not plead, they, in about 1254, appealed to Henry III., who owned himself bound to provide for their tranquillity, and commissioned Henry de Bathonia to inquire concerning

¹ Harl. Roll, No. 23 (44 Henry III.), printed in *Monasticon*, vi., pt. i., app. ii.

² Assize Roll, No. 758 (8 Edward I.), m. 26 d. It does not appear who Henry FitzJohn was, unless he was a descendant of William FitzJohn, a holder of the vill of Witham before the arrival of the Chartreux (Pipe Roll, 26 Henry II., rot. 8), and in consequence had some interest in the Holt of Witham.

the metes and bounds of their house as founded by his ancestor. At the inquest, actually held before Henry de Bracon in the next year, several of the jurors witnessed to the impounding of the pigs and the fines, and described how, on one occasion, Master Robert de la Forde, the steward of the Abbess, having made a fine with the Prior to release the pigs, brought the money with his own hands in a glove and paid it into the prior's court. After that, naturally, the verdict was given that no one might have common right there of herbage or of mast, save at the will of the prior and brethren.¹ The Abbess persisted in her claim nevertheless, for the case was still dragging on in the King's courts in 1258 and 1259; the final result is undiscoverable, the last entry on the rolls relating to it being incomplete.²

Meanwhile during the same period as these lawsuits Witham Priory had troubles of another sort. It sometimes figures in early documents as the "Cartusia," or "Chartuse in Selwode." The name suggests a peaceful seclusion, but its position in Selwood Forest really led to inconvenient consequences. The privileged precincts guarded by royal charter against molestation seemed to constitute the priory as a city of refuge for fugitives from the law. The prior could not have been particularly pleased when about 1243 Robert of Stonithewall and six other men guilty of the murder of Nicholas le Serle, serjeant of Upton, a neighbouring parish, fled to the "Chartus'." He found himself amerced because they were alleged to be of his domestic service; luckily for him the coroners' rolls showed that they belonged to neighbouring villages, and these accordingly had to pay the amercement.³

Another kind of offender brought the priory inevitably into collision with the forest officials. The very immunity of its boundaries by the terms of the foundation charter of Henry II. from the ingress and egress of the foresters and other ministers afforded temptation to the *donati* and servants of the charterhouse, and even now and again to a lay-brother anxious, maybe, to vary his vegetarian diet with a little flesh food. "J. Prior of Witham" (probably John, who

¹ Assize Roll, No. 1182 (38-41 Henry III.), printed by the Somerset Record Society (*Somerset Pleas*, p. 449).

² Curia Regis Rolls, No. 162, m. 36, and No. 167, m. 6.

³ Assize Roll, 756, m. 18 d. (printed by the Somerset Record Society in *Somerset Pleas*, p. 269).

died about 1258), being in France at the same time as Henry III. in 1242, went to Bordeaux to complain to him that Richard de Wrotham and the other Selwood foresters aggrieved him and his convent by entering the bounds of their house otherwise than they used to do, and inflicted other injuries on them to the disturbance of the quiet of themselves and their religion. Although the king consequently ordered the Archbishop of York and William de Cantelupe to stop the entrance of the officials of the forest into the priory grounds, and not to permit distraints to be levied by them there until his return, their intrusion, to judge by incidents of subsequent years, was not unjustified. Poaching, in fact, was rife. Once Henry, the prior's own nephew, with a friend carried off a doe from the forest, but managed to disappear before he was caught. Another poacher, John Galun, a servant of the prior, was a hardened offender. Twice within a twelvemonth, 1256, with companions not belonging to the charterhouse, he entered the forest; the first time he actually caught a doe, and the second he came provided with crossbows and nets with evident intent against the king's deer.

Four years later John Galun, Walter Galun, Elias of St. Edward, gate-keeper at the "Chartuse," Cokin Marsh, Ralph le Sandhurch, Pilecock the prior's woodward, and Thomas le Say, all of the family and domestic service of John, Prior of the "Chartuse," on the morrow of Lady Day in the forty-fourth year of Henry III., captured in the forest two does and a stag without warrant, and carried them off to the priory, where they were received; none of them were found so as to be brought before the justices, therefore all were outlawed, save John Galun, Thomas le Say, and the gate-keeper, who, like Prior John himself, were dead at the date of the presentment made against the band, at Ilchester on the morrow of the Ascension, 1269.

In the next year, on the morrow of St. Valentine, another band of the prior's servants, Richard Liffhog, Richard Tirel, Roger his woodward, and five others entered the forest at night with bows and arrows and nets and dogs; stretching the nets, they let the dogs run into the enclosure of the "lord king of the Germans" called Munekesham (Monksham, in 1284 granted to Witham charterhouse by Edmund, Earl of Cornwall); their booty was a doe, but they lost to the king's forester one of their number, John le Fowel, and two

nets and two dogs. The prisoner was put into the custody of John the Tithingman of Marston, and the dogs and nets into the charge of Henry de Montfort of Nunny, the verderer. Afterwards the marauders rescued John and the dogs and nets from the respective custodians, and carried them off to the charterhouse; they were too wise to show themselves out of the priory precincts, and when wanted were not to be found, but Henry de Montfort was put in prison.

On another occasion "Brother Robert of Hywis of the house and order of Chartuse" and some unnamed companions from their own woods shot at the king's deer, securing some booty for the priory; this offence was of such a nature as to require consultation with the king and council; certainly it must have been an abuse of privilege.

Over at Hydon, an outlying grange on the Mendips belonging to Witham charterhouse,¹ Brother William,

¹ This grange, or farm, came to be known after the dissolution of monasteries as Charterhouse on Mendip, a fact which misled J. Collinson, who in his *History of Somerset*, ii., states that Witham Priory had a cell on the Mendips. But a cell in the sense of a smaller religious house dependent on a larger community did not exist in the Carthusian system. The statutes forbade the erection of a priory unless it could support a prior and twelve monks, in which case it was incorporated as a charterhouse, dependent only, as all Carthusian convents were, however large or small, on the Grande Chartreuse, or rather on the prior thereof as general prior, and the general chapter. The earliest instance of Hydon being named charterhouse known to the present writer is in the map of Somerset of 1575, where it is simply marked "Charterhouse." In the grant to Robert May in 36 Henry VIII. it is called Hydon Grange. In some bonds of the years 1629-1649 the grantee's descendant, Christopher May, is designated as of "Charterhouse-Hydon, Co. Somerset" (Patent Roll, 36 Henry VIII., pt. viii., m. 26; *Descriptive List of Printed Maps of Somerset* (*Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, 1914), British Mus. Add. Charters, 55400-4).

Witham Charterhouse had in the time of Henry II. 40s. from pasture at Ceddreford (Pipe Rolls, 32-33 Henry II.), and in his charter of foundation the boundaries of the pasture are given. Their estates in the Cheddar district were another source of litigation under Henry III. and Edward I. [Assize Rolls, No. 762, m. 16 d., and No. 758, m. 5 (8 Edward I.).]

Hinton charterhouse also had property in Mendip Forest purchased from the Abbey of Bordesley, viz., a carucate and forty acres of land in Chyweton and Whytenhull (Chewton and Whitnel near Wells). Parts of this in "Grenewrthe" in Chewton the king had declared outside the regard of the forest, though within its bounds; nevertheless the Prior of Hinton was accused of enclosing them without warrant by the reguards of Mendip Forest in 42-54 Henry III. (*Somerset Pedes Finium*, 31

“master” there (that is, the converse in charge of that obedience), and certain men of the prior’s family and service, within the prior’s close called “Batelberwe” within the forest of Mendip, on the Thursday after the feast of St. Giles in the forty-fourth year of Henry III. caught one stag and pursued another with their mastiffs as far as the wood of Ceddre (Cheddar), also within the same forest and beyond the said close. Moreover, Brother William was wont to make pointed wooden stakes, and having hardened their points by drying them in ovens, to fix them in the breaches of the enclosure where the “lord king’s beasts” used to pass in and out of the forest, and by that device often caught them. All these misdemeanants of both forests the prior was ordered to bring, or send, before the justices appointed for the Forest Pleas, and no doubt he, or they, had to pay the severe penalties.¹

Although the lay members of the Witham community might sometimes abuse the privileges formerly granted to secure the seclusion of the charterhouse, yet Henry III. understood that it was necessary for the monks, as Carthusians, to maintain their privacy. To that end he forbade either the chief justice of the forest or the justice of the forest in eyre to turn aside to the house of “Witteham” for food or lodging, unless invited by the prior.² An invitation could hardly have occurred. How jealously the monks guarded the precincts of the priory may be judged from the evidence given at an inquisition held on Sunday next after the feast of St. Ambrose, 1273, concerning the rights and lands alienated from the crown in the hundred of Bruton. Their wood at Witham was enclosed by a ditch, a hedge, and a stone wall. Though it was a part of the forest of Selwood, they would not permit any forester to enter it to take either deer or wood, and as if they were masters, they disposed of the beasts there at will. Further, they were accused, on the occasion of a murder within their enclosure, of burying the

Henry III., No. 15; T. R. Forest Proceedings, new Nos. 152, 153; Patent Roll, 34 Henry III., m. 1; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1247-1251, p. 155). Later the charterhouse of Sheen possessed property at Chewton.

¹ For all these cases see T. R. Forest Proceedings, new nos., No. 152, m. 11 d., and No. 153, m. 5 d., m. 7, and m. 8 d.

² Charter of confirmation to Witham, 9 Henry IV., m. 1 (*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 1341-1417, pp. 438-439).

body of the victim without spectators "to the prejudice of the king's coroners, his dignity and crown"; and when thieves were taken with stolen goods upon them within their territories, of keeping the goods, but of making the thieves abjure their grounds, again "to the prejudice of the lord king."¹

After the custom of the early Carthusians, the community at Witham at first at any rate lived on the produce of their lands, and perhaps on the proceeds of a small mineral source. In some of their ground there was apparently a little lead, for Edward I. in 1283 licensed them to work or put to profit as they thought best whatever lead-mines they found on their estates.² But their chief source of maintenance was their sheep and cattle. They traded both in wool and skins, having for the latter in course of time their own tannery, where they tanned the hides of other folk's beasts also.³ Yet the charterhouse led a struggling existence. In 1339 the king commanded the Bishops of Exeter and of Wells to certify him as to the contents of a petition received from the monks, to the effect that inasmuch as their house was much impoverished by a murrain on their beasts, by papal tenths, by dilapidation of their houses, and other adversities, he would grant them the arrears for three and a half years of the accustomed royal alms receivable at the exchequer by the prior and convent of the Grande Chartreuse, now pertaining to the king on account of war with France.⁴

But worse than the murrain on their beasts was the Great Pestilence. In the three visitations of that plague in 1348, 1349, and 1350, nine hundred Carthusians are related to have perished,⁵ and in consequence of the mortality among their converses and servants, their lands in some places remained uncultivated. To remedy this the general chapter of 1349 resolved that all the priors of the Order might, with the consent of their convents or the greater part thereof, grant out their lands in perpetuity subject to customs or similar pensions or services.⁶ With regard to Witham

¹ Hundred Roll, 2 Edward I., No. 23.

² Charter Roll, 1 Richard II., confirming patent of Edward I.

³ Close Roll, 25 Edward I., m. 16 *d.*; Patent Roll, 2 Henry IV., pt. i., m. 30.

⁴ Patent Roll, 13 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 27 *d.*

⁵ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, under the year 1348.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. v., p. 474.

Priory this innovation on the older Carthusian practice only appears in leases of a much later date, but were its chartulary in existence it would probably be evident at once after the passing of the permission of the chapter. The effect of the Pestilence on the community, and of the subsequent unfortunate attempt at a remedy by the Statute of Labourers (limiting the labourers, as this did, to the towns and parish where they dwelt), is seen in the representation made by the convent to the king. They said that their servants and household in the last pestilence—the visitation of 1350 is perhaps meant—“died totally so to say”; for lack of workers and servants some of their lands lay untilled, and the crops on others in time of harvest perished miserably, not being gathered in for want of reapers; and they complained that their monastery and estates, being far distant from towns, they were deprived by the statute of means of making up the deficiency. In answer to their complaint Edward III. in 1354 issued a patent declaring that servants and labourers of those parts having ended the term of work agreed on with their former employers, should be free to serve the charterhouse, provided that the prior did not hire bondmen, or others whose service was already engaged by covenant or oath, nor hire more than a necessary number. In 1362 he directed his bailiffs and other ministers to see that the prior and brethren were not hindered in employing men from the counties of Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon.¹

As shown in a former chapter the Carthusian statutes allowed, besides the sixteen converses who may be considered an integral part of every charterhouse, and besides the seven *redditi*, a class of servants called *donati* and *prebendarii*. Of the last class presumably were the fairly numerous men figuring on the Selwood Forest rolls under Henry III. as of the “prior’s family, or household (*familia*) and domestic service (*manipastu*).” The terms on which a married *donatus* or prebendary—he is actually designated as neither—was received can be gathered from a document² of 1318 in which Walter, Prior of Witham, grants to “John called the Fisher and Edith his first wife” an annual livery for life, consisting of

¹ Patent Roll, 28 Edward III., pt. i., m. 20; Patent Roll, 36 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 7.

² Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, where this document is printed in full from the original among the Augmentation Office documents.

a weekly allowance of seven loaves called prickelings, seven flasks of beer, one half to be of the beer of the convent, the other half of that of the guests, a daily dish of the convent pottage, and a pittance such as every free servant of the house was wont to receive, and yearly two pairs of new low shoes, a pair of hose, and one old frock out of those which the monks put off when they received new ones. These things he was to have from the firmary of the convent, and for wages 4s. at the two usual yearly terms, so long as he, continuing fit and able to work in the craft of fisher or plumber, or in any other honest work appointed by the prior or procurator for the time being, or by another in their stead, should labour to his utmost as a faithful servant loyally and manfully without any gainsaying. On becoming useless through age or infirmity he was to lose the wages but retain the livery, and in the case of Edith surviving him, she was to have the livery except the clothes. If John failed in his duties or became habitually remiss he might be "sufficiently chastised," and also "fully corrected" by a deduction from his livery and wages.

A hundred years after the Statute of Labourers, owing partly to changed economic conditions in England, and partly, as the monks said, to a falling off in devotion, Witham charterhouse lacked even a sufficient number of converses. The pension list of Henry VIII., it may be observed, only includes two. This decline had for result the formation of a small Somersetshire parish. In February, 1458, Beckington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, heard from the Priory of Witham how, in former days, the laity, prompted by great fervour and warm devotion towards the charterhouse, putting on the habit and profession of religion, were wont to dedicate themselves to God by ploughing and tending the lands of the Carthusians and doing other necessary rural labours in its behalf; but how latterly, the devotion of the lay-folk having grown cold, there were no secular persons thus become converses (*seculares sic conversi*) to do the work, and how therefore the prior and convent for some while past had been forced to employ secular persons of both sexes, and to allow them to dwell within their grounds. This concession to convenience will be seen to have been less contrary to the Carthusian ideal of solitude than it looks at first sight, if it is remembered that Witham was a charterhouse of the old type where there was a complete separation

of the choir monks, or solitaries proper, in their upper house from the converses of the lower house. For these persons thus living within the bounds of their monastery, the prior and convent now petitioned the bishop to allow them to put a baptismal font into the chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary belonging to the friary (that is, the church or chapel of the lay-brothers, friary in the case of Witham meaning merely the brotherhood or convent of brothers), and to set aside part of the glebe of the same chapel for the cemetery of these persons. In April and May following the bishop accordingly commissioned William, Bishop of Sidon, Prior of Motisfont in Hampshire, to dedicate ground for the cemetery and to consecrate the font.¹ Thus at the time of the dissolution of monasteries the friary had a recognised parish, which evidently had its origin in the forementioned petition, and the consequent action of the bishop of the diocese, and whereas the priory church or chapel of the monks was destroyed, the chapel of the friary was continued to serve, as before, as a parish church.

The fifteenth century brought another departure from the primitive Carthusian custom, which did not allow the burial in their cemeteries of any but members of their Order, and later of the *donati*. A neighbour of Witham Priory, William Stourton, by his will made in 1410, directed that his "rotten naked body as naked as it dropped off from him" except for the covering of a linen cloth was to be buried within the enclosure of the cloister of Witham charterhouse. His bequest to the community was curious—a round basin of latten of the capacity of "four gallons at least" for the washing of their feet, unless the Visitors of the Order preferred to accept the legacy in another form, in which case the basin was to be sold and the proceeds were to be converted to the pious uses of the prior and convent. Another neighbour, John Foxe of Witham, by will in 1503 also directed that his body should be buried "in the entrance of the cloister of the House of St. Mary of Witham in Selwood of the Carthusian Order"; he bequeathed to the head charterhouse in France 6s. 8d., to Witham charterhouse 40s. and a silver cup (*cratera*), and to the church of the "Frary" 13s. 4d., and "if it might be done" another 6s. 8d., and 14s. to the servants of Witham charterhouse.²

¹ Harl. MS. 6966 (a copy of *Beckington's Register*), p. 90.

² P.C.C. Registers, *Marche*, f. 27, and *Blamyr*, f. 29.

The estates of Witham Priory lay at first for the most part either within or close by its boundary. After the Black Death, owing, no doubt, to the difficulty of obtaining agricultural labourers, the Carthusians were forced to accept, like any other religious Order, grants of rents and issues from distant property, ecclesiastical or lay. The earliest such grant, licensed by the king in 1361, was that of John of Mershton and John Derby of an enclosure of twelve acres of meadow called Barbouresmoor at Radene (? Rodden, near Frome) to provide daily a wax light called "a torche" to burn at High Mass in the priory church.¹ There followed in 1362 assignments of houses and rents in Bristol from Robert Cheddar and other persons.² In 1369 William Canynges, sometime mayor of Bristol, had licence to give tenements worth £4 yearly in that city to found a chantry in the church of St. Mary of Witham in behoof of himself and Agnes his wife, and of Geoffrey Beauflour, John Canynges, and Thomas Nottingham, while living, and of their souls when dead.³ Helie Byrche, stated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII. to be receiving the yearly salary as "Chaplain of Witham Frary" of 106s. 8d., was presumably the priest of this chantry. In subsequent years there were additions to the Bristol property, but the most important increase of the revenues of Witham Priory came from the manors and churches of Spetisbury in Dorsetshire, of Warmington in Warwickshire, and of Aston in Berkshire, all parcels of the possessions of the alien priory of Tofts Monachorum in Norfolk, a dependency of the Benedictine abbey of Préaux in Normandy. These three manors, originally conveyed to the Carthusians by Sir Thomas Erpingham, who had but a life interest in them, were confirmed to them in permanency in 1413 by letters patent of Henry V. wherein £64 7s. 9½d. is set down as their annual value.⁴

Witham charterhouse was, however, never rich. So when an indult of Innocent III. (? IV.) exempted the monks from subsidies to the papal court, and some other similar privileges were granted generally to their Order by the popes, and the like occasional favours were received from the kings of England excusing them from payment of tenths or

¹ Patent Roll, 35 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 7.

² *Ibid.*, 36 Edward III., pt. i., m. 8.

³ *Ibid.*, 43 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 39.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1 Henry V., pt. iii., m. 20, and pt. v., m. 36.

subsidies granted by the convocations, these immunities were perhaps necessary for their existence.¹ According to the valuation made under the king's commissioners in 1535 the total worth of their possessions "temporal and spiritual" amounted to only £215 15s. yearly.

After the dissolution, Henry VIII. granted the site of Witham charterhouse and the larger part of its property in the immediate vicinity to Ralph Hopton, esquire, for twenty-one years at £79 16s. 8d. yearly rent payable to the crown, and the reversion of the house and site for the sum of £572 16s. 8d. Some of the buildings belonging to the monastery, "superfluous buildings" they are called in the document recording the sale, Hopton bought for £20. Three bells of the priory weighing about 200 cwt. were sold for £14 to Richard Morion. The lead stripped from the church—presumably the monks' church is meant, since the other was retained for the parish—from the cloister bell-tower, and other buildings amounted to four score and two pigs, weighing about 43 foddors 9 cwt. 8 lbs. Possibly Hopton reserved part of the church of the monks, or even the whole of it, as a chapel to the manor house which he erected on the site of the monastery; when the estates of his grandson, the cavalier Sir Ralph Hopton, were in the hands of the Parliamentarians, a certain John Trethwy contracted for part of the Witham property in 1653, and a record relating to this business mentions among other items a "capital messuage or mansion house called Charterhouse Witham with the Chappell, Douehouse,"² etc. Today there is not a vestige of the upper house of the priory, nor of its secular successor. The materials thereof are said to have been carried away by a later owner, William Beckford, Lord Mayor of London, to build his mansion at Fonthill.³ Of the lower house, the only important relic is the present parish church of Witham Friary; though restored and enlarged in the last century, it yet retains the simplicity of architecture consonant with Carthusian ideals. It is a small, low structure without aisles, terminating at the east end in an apse. A square bell-turret at the west end was pulled down and a perforated belfry put up in its stead along with

¹ Add. MS. 6060 (*Beauvale Chartulary*), f. 83^r; Patent Rolls, 3 Edward II., m. 22, and Edward II., pt. i., m. 30.

² *State Papers Domestic, Interregnum*, G, vol. xvi., p. 236.

³ *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings*, vol. lxiv., p. 24.

a new west front on the occasion of the restoration. The severity of the building within is transformed almost into beauty by the concentration of the groining of the stone vaulted roof. Under that roof the converses prostrate on the ground offered their "maternal prayer" (*oratio materna*), the intercessions in their mother tongue for all estates of the Catholic Church, for the fruits of the earth and its cultivators, and for whatever the divine breath might kindle in them the spirit of prayer, adding to every petition a paternoster,¹ and under it at other times they worshipped. Under that roof, the first of the places consecrated by Carthusian devotion in these islands, intercession and paternoster are still to be heard, though the worship is after a rite that the lay-brothers would not recognise.²

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF GOD'S PLACE, HINTON

The second Carthusian foundation in England, at Hinton in Somerset, owed its origin to the devotion of the bastard son of Henry II., William Longespée, who in right of his wife, Ela d'Evreux, was Earl of Salisbury. Some time before, in 1226, the year of his death, he gave to the Carthusians the manor of Heatherop or Hethrop, in Gloucestershire, with the wood of Bradene and the land of Chelworth or Chelwood, a few miles from Bristol, which he had had of the gift of Henry Basset, "so that there should dwell there both monks and brothers to serve God forever according to the custom and order of Chartusia."³ To help them build the monastery, by his will made in 1225, he bequeathed to them all the profits accruing to him from the wardship of the heiress of Richard de Campville and her estates, until the majority of her husband, the second William Longespée, his own son. He bequeathed to them also a chalice of gold adorned with emeralds and rubies, a pyx of gold set with pearls, two phials of silver, one gilt and one plain, and his "grand Chapel" (the grandest vestments used in his private

¹ *Statuta Nova*, pt. iii., cap. i.

² For a fuller account of the charterhouses of Witham and Hinton see E. M. Thompson, *A History of the Somerset Carthusians*, which, however, needs addition and correction in the light of the many calendars and indices of documents in the Public Record Office issued during the thirty years since it was published.

³ Charter of foundation of Ela, Countess of Salisbury (Charter Roll, 12 Henry III., m. 4).

chapel)—namely, a chasuble of red samite, a choir cope of red samite, a tunicle, a dalmatic of yellow taffeta, well worked, an alb with apparels, an amice and a stole, a canon or maniple, with towels and all his relics. For their further support he also assigned to them 1,000 ewes, 300 rams, 48 oxen, and 20 bulls.¹

The monks and brothers of the new establishment were doubtless some from Witham and some from France. They remained at Heatherop for several years, but found the place not suitable for the requirements of their Order. Ela, the widowed Countess of Salisbury, therefore, desiring to fulfil her husband's intention, gave them in exchange her manors of Hinton and Norton in Somersetshire, with the advowsons of the churches of both, and the park of Henton, reserving to herself and her heirs all the military services of the tenants, except the service of Richard the parker and his heirs for a virgate of land in Henton which was to belong to the monks, and to be either military, or simply the custody of the park. The new monastery dedicated to St. Mary, St. John the Baptist, and All Saints, was built not in a desert, but "in the park of Henton in the place called God's Place," by which name *Locus Dei* or God's Place the charterhouse was generally known in after years.² Leland, the antiquary, relates³ how after the dissolution, being in that neighbourhood, he "rodde by the space of a mile or more by woddes and mountaine grounde to a place" where there was "a rude stone waulle hard on the right hond by a great lengthe as it had been a parke waulle," and was afterwards told that "Henton Priory of Chartusians" once stood there. He describes the site as "on the brow of an hille abouth a quarter of a mile from the farther ripe of Frome" close to where "Frome goith into Avon."

Henry III. confirmed the charter of the countess in 1227, but the charterhouse of Hinton, to use the modern spelling of that place-name, was not finished apparently until 1232, if the register of Lacock Priory⁴ is correct in representing Ela as settling her nuns there in the morning, and in going over to Hinton the afternoon of the same day in May of that

¹ Close Roll, 9 Henry III., pt. ii., m. 19 d.

² Charter of foundation in Charter Roll, 12 Henry III., m. 4.

³ *Itinerary*, vol. ii., p. 34.

⁴ Cotton MS., Vitellius A. viii., printed in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi., pt. i., p. 500 seq.

year. Her visit would probably have been for the dedication of the charterhouse, an occasion on which the Carthusians grudgingly allowed a woman benefactress, especially a foundress, to be present. A few years earlier the king had given to the new community a charter licensing them or their servants to buy the necessaries of their convent, and to sell their goods throughout the kingdom free of toll. In 1239 he granted to them all the liberties and customs of fairs which his grandfather had conceded to the monks of Witham.¹

Jocelin, Bishop of Bath, was a witness to the foundation charter of Ela, the Countess of Salisbury, and himself confirmed it in the twenty-fourth year of his episcopate. The two churches of Hinton and Norton were within his diocese;² yet neither church appears to have been at that time formally appropriated to the charterhouse. Within forty years of the foundation there was litigation between the prior and convent of Locus Dei and Gilbert of Sarr, rector of Earls Hinton (later Monks Hinton, and now Hinton Charterhouse), concerning three virgates of land formerly demesne of the parish church, and the tithes great and small issuing from the demesne of the priory, and from twelve virgates of land which were of the villeinage of the prior and convent in the time of Bishop Jocelin. At the instance of both parties the dispute was ended by William Button, Bishop of Bath and Wells, by an ordinance made at Hinton on 15 kal. December, 1262, to the observance of which the prior and convent subjected themselves and their goods at Norton. By this the prior and monks were to hold the demesne land forever, exempt from payment of tithe issuing from it and from the land in villeinage: they were to hold the church of Hinton at farm forever, and to pay out of the fruits and issues fifteen marks yearly to the rector, and to provide at their own costs a fit chaplain to serve the church and a competent clerk, and a house for the rector; the rector for the time being was to repair chancel, books, vestments and ornaments. This transaction was only a step towards a formal appropriation. Years afterwards in 1344 Ralph of Shrewsbury, the then bishop of the diocese, appropriated the church of Hinton

¹ Charter Roll, 12 Henry III., m. 4; Charter of 1239 in the *inspeximus*, Charter Roll, 22 Edward I., no. 47; Charter Roll, 21 Henry III., m. 5.

² *Beauvale Chartulary* (Add. MS. 6060), f. 86v.

to the prior and convent and their successors, having previously been petitioned by the monks to that end. They had alleged that their arable lands were very hilly and stony, and the rents from their water-mills slender, and that the pensions charged on some of their property exceeded its value, so that they had not sufficient means for food for the monks, nor for the maintenance of hospitality, and pleaded that the appropriation would benefit them. Bishop Ralph in ordaining the vicarage, however, charged the profits from the church with a yearly pension of 6s. 8d. to the fabric of the cathedral of Wells, with another of 40d. to the Archdeacon of Wells in lieu of fruits due to him during vacancies, and stipulated for the yearly payment to the vicar of Hinton of £4, and the supply to him of two waggon-loads of wood for fuel, or 3s., and a waggon-load of straw; the vicar was to have the small tithes and altarage, and to have the house near the church belonging to the parish chaplain, but the monks were to build him a new residence at their own costs within six months, and for this time only repair the books and ornaments. On the occurrence of a vacancy the Precentor of Wells was to nominate two fit men, of whom the one chosen by the prior and convent was to be presented to the bishop.¹

The other advowson, that of Norton (Earls Norton or Norton St. Philip), was lost, presumably through some lapse in the presentation, but the monks seem to have regained it about the year 1377.²

The Countess Ela's charter was also approved in 1246 by Pope Innocent IV. Already in the previous year he had granted to Hinton charterhouse a bull of protection, repeating some of the general privileges to the Order such as freedom from tenths issuing from lands cultivated by themselves, and immunity from summonses to synods and secular tribunals.³

The charter of the foundress made the Prior of Hinton charterhouse lord of the manors of Hinton and Norton. According to a parliamentary writ⁴ in 1316, he was returned

¹ *Register of Ralph de Salopia* (Wells Cathedral), ff. 151, 302.

² Patent Roll, 51 Edward III., pt. i., m. 30.

³ *Register of Ralph de Salopia*, f. 288; *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 86. Gregory IX. had also taken them under his protection by a bull in 1233 (*Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 84).

⁴ *Parliamentary Writs*, iii., p. 376.

as lord of the townships of Hinton Priors with the hamlet of Midford and of Norton St. Philip with the hamlet of Yatwich. As such he had the view of frankpledge with the assize of beer, and the right of erecting gallows and of condemning offenders to the tumbrel or ducking-stool on both manors.¹ The crown added other liberties to these. In 1254 Henry III. granted to the priory the right to hold a fair yearly on their manor of Norton for three successive days, the vigil, the day, and the morrow of the feast of SS. Philip and James, with all "the liberties and customs belonging to that kind of fair."² Also he allowed them a similar fair at Hinton to be held on the day, and the day before and after the feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist. Unfortunately for the citizens of Bath this was also the date of a fair of theirs, and at an inquisition taken in that city in 1273, they complained that they received yearly 10s. loss in consequence of the fair at Hinton. Nevertheless the priors of Hinton were permitted to hold this fair down to 1345. Then at their own request, because the noise, shouting of buyers and sellers, and insolence of men resorting to that fair, which was held near the church, disturbed divine service going on within it, Edward III. granted the monks to hold this midsummer fair at Norton instead. As for the original fair at Norton in 1351, the monks were permitted to extend it to five days, which were the vigil and feast of SS. Philip and James, and the three days preceding the vigil. They had also had a grant in 1345 of a weekly open market to be held on Tuesday at Norton.³

The Norton fairs provoked the jealousy of the citizens of Bristol, and something like a feud was carried on by the mayor and bailiffs against the Prior and Convent of Hinton in consequence. First when the religious bought anything at Bristol, whether for their necessities or for their work, the mayor or bailiffs insisted on levying murage, pannage, quayage and other customs, though Henry III. had granted them to be free of toll in buying and selling. Upon a prayer for remedy, royal letters, on behalf of both the Witham and Hinton Carthusians, were dispatched to Bristol, ordering any levies made on them to be given back, for it was not the

¹ Hundred Rolls, ii., p. 138; *Placita Quo Warranto*, p. 700.

² Charter Roll, 39 Henry III., No. 6.

³ Hundred Rolls, ii., pp. 120-132; Charter Rolls, 19 Edward III., no. 5; 20 Edward III., no. 23; and 25 Edward III., no. 10.

king's intention when granting the murage and tolls that these priors and brethren should be charged therewith, "as their possessions are slender and they live under a very strict rule." Next year, 1346, Edward III. sent down an imperative order to the mayor and bailiffs to desist from aggrieving the persons or things of the prior and convent of Hinton, brought into Bristol, to restore to them their fish, hides, and other goods arrested there, or else the price thereof, and to cause amends to be made to them for any damage done to them without delay. He threatened, in case of disobedience, to resume the liberties and privileges granted to the city, and to inflict punishment on these officials as usurpers of his power. For the prior and convent had complained to him that although merchants and others of Bristol going to the fair at Norton hired certain plots from the ministers of the monastery in their soil, and having fixed posts and palings there, set up booths and shops to expose their wares for sale, and on departing paid the money agreed upon, like the merchants from other places, yet "the mayor and bailiffs, the said merchants and others of Bristol, pretending that they were quit of piccage . . . and seeking other malevolent occasions against the prior and convent, have attached and arrested fish and other victuals, hides, and things necessary for their maintenance, and the profit of their houses bought in that town, both officially and through fictitious quarrels of those of Bristol frequenting the said fair, and detain those things until they have become rotten or consumed, or until the prior and convent redeem them at will, not seeking remedy from the king, if they were injured by those religious, but making themselves a royal power in those quarrels. And the king," adds the Order, "has considered that those religious may be driven to desert their house, unless he provide a speedy remedy."¹

Besides the articles mentioned above, the community at Hinton evidently traded in wool, and perhaps in cloth, which their own men as well as their tenants made out of it. Like their brethren at Witham, they were economically affected by the Great Pestilence and by the Statute of Labourers. They petitioned the king about 1355 that whereas the greater part of their land, for want of labourers

¹ Close Rolls, 19 Edward III., pt. i., m. 9 d.; 20 Edward III., pt. i., m. 6 d. (*Calendars*, vol. 1343-1346, p. 577, and vol. 1346-1349, p. 75).

and servants since the last pestilence, lay untilld, and whereas a great number of their men and tenants who used to work woollen cloths of the wool of the petitioners, for fear of some of the country who caused them to be amerced before the justices appointed to keep the Statute of Labourers, laying to their charge that they had taken from the petitioners greater salaries and stipends than are contained in the statute, were thus compelled to serve others of the county, and had left the houses and lands which they held of the prior and brethren, the petitioners were in consequence brought into great want. The position of the community as lords of the two manors of Hinton and Norton stood them, however, in good stead. The king, taking into consideration "that the prior and brethren remain always enclosed attending to orisons and other divine obsequies, and because in the said statute it is contained that the lords shall be preferred before others in retaining bondmen and tenants in their service so that they shall have as many as they have need of," granted that the prior's men and tenants should not be compelled to serve other people of the county while required by the convent, nor while in the service of the prior and brethren be impeached before the justices save at the suit of the prior for receiving salaries contrary to the statute. In 1358, after a petition on the same subject, the king granted to the Carthusians of both the Somerset charterhouses the fines and amercements belonging to the crown for trespasses against the Statute of Labourers incurred by their tenants and servants, the levying of them to be done by their own bailiffs; he also allowed them and their lay-brothers or servants freedom as to the disposing of their hides of their own beasts or of hides bought by them and tanned in the tan-yards of their houses, at a price agreed upon between them and their purchasers.¹

At the close of the thirteenth century for the taxation of Nicholas IV. the temporalities of the Prior of Hinton charterhouse were estimated at £40, which is in accord with the return from Somerset for the muster at Carlisle in 1300, to which he was summoned for military service. The estimate included the value of their estates at Hinton and Norton and of property at Chewton purchased by fine from the Abbot of Bordesley in 1246, being a carucate

¹ Patent Rolls, 29 Edward III., m. 4, and 32 Edward III., pt. i., m. 19. (I have used the translation given in the *Calendars*.)

and forty acres of land in Chyweton and Whytenhull (Whitnel, near Wells).¹ Another parcel of monastic property fell to Hinton charterhouse only a few years before the dissolution of religious houses. This was the sometime Augustinian priory of St. Radegund of Langelete (Longleat, now the residence of the Marquis of Bath) and its lands in Wiltshire, which was appropriated to them in 1529, because the canons had become too few to fulfil the purpose of its foundation.² Of their other estates, lying mostly within a few miles of the priory, details are omitted here, though the gift by John Sobbury and Roger Cumption of six acres of pasture, twelve acres of wood and 12d. rent, and the reversion of other land in Hinton in 1322 for the foundation of a chantry in the priory church may be noted.³

Although their possessions increased, the monks of Hinton at no time became wealthy, and for them as for their brothers at Witham, exemptions from contributions, or grants of delay in payment, are to be found on the close rolls and in the papal registers. Indeed, in such difficulties were they in the fourteenth century, that the chapter at the Grande Chartreuse renounced the fifty marks, which that community had customarily received in alms yearly from the kings of England,⁴ in favour of Hinton charterhouse. In pursuance of their intention Henry VI., in 1444, granted to William Marchall, Prior of Hinton, certain sums from differ-

¹ Somerset Feet of Fines, 31 Henry III., No. 15.

² Patent Roll, 21 Henry VIII., pt. i., m. 27 (printed in Rymer, *Fædera*, xiv., pp. 297-298).

³ Patent Roll, 16 Edward II., m. 8, and Patent Roll, 13 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 17.

⁴ These 50 marks had been first granted to the Grande Chartreuse by Henry II. to be received yearly at the exchequer. His successors were somewhat arbitrary in payment of the sum, and in time of war with France withheld it altogether. Apparently it was made direct through their emissaries and not through the English priors. In 1278 the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse wrote to the "illustrious and magnificent King of England," asking him to pay the alms which every year flowed from the fount of his piety to the bearer of the letter, Brother John, a converse (P.R.O., *Ancient Correspondence*, vol. xv., No. 198). In 1340 it is a monk, Jean le Pêcheur (Piscatorius), who is dispatched for it, but who had the ill-luck of getting nothing for his long journey but an empty promise. The hostilities between England and France doubtless checked the benevolence of Edward III.; in 1343 Nicholas, Prior of the Chartreuse in Paris, was sent to fetch the money, with what result is not known (Le Couteulx, *Annales*, under the year 1343).

ent sources in Wiltshire, which finally were to be all drawn from the alnage of woollen cloths sold in that county, and which amounted to £33 6s. 8d.¹

According to the valuation of the commissioners of Henry VIII., all the possessions of Hinton Priory in Somerset and Wilts were of the clear value of £248 19s. 2d. yearly.²

The site of the charterhouse was granted in 1546 to John Bartlett, alias Sancocke, and Robert Bartlett,³ and the other estates to other persons at different dates. The destruction of the priory began at once after the dissolution, and when Sir Walter Hungerford, who seems to have desired to have it for himself, visited it, he complained to Cromwell that it was already "defaced and spoiled."⁴ There is a record of thirty-three pigs of lead being taken from the buildings, but there is no account of bells or other ecclesiastical goods of the priory.⁵

On the road from Frome to Bath, a fine gabled mansion of late sixteenth-century style, built out of its stones, marks the site of "Henton Priory of Chartusians" as Leland called it. Of the monastic buildings there remains today a tower-like gabled structure, which according to tradition was the chapter house and which was contiguous to part of the south wall of the church. Entrance to the chapter house was on the west by a door now reached from the open, but originally probably from a cloister, for there are projecting stones in the wall above it suggestive of the supports of former building resting against it. On the right of this door is a broken wall with a doorway in it leading to more building now only evident by traces on the outside of the south wall of the tower. The chapter house is a stone-vaulted chamber, a short oblong in shape, with a fair-sized three-lighted window on the east, and two other longer and narrower windows of single lights on the north and south. The architecture is early English. To the right of where the altar stood below the largest window is a piscina with a shelf; opposite in the north wall is a recess, places for hinges and fastenings in the stonework round it suggesting its use

¹ Patent Roll, 24 Henry VI., pt. i., m. 23.

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i., p. 156 seq.

³ Patent Roll, 37 Henry VIII., pt. iii.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xiv., pt. i., No. 1154.

⁵ R.O., Ministers' Accounts (Augmentation Office), 30-31 Henry VIII., No. 224.

as an aumbry. Close to the entrance, a door on the left led from the chapter house into a passage, from which on the left again was a wider door to the church. The position and size of the church might be ascertained, were excavations made in the grass by the guidance of the stones known to be covered by it. A great vaulting-shaft on what is now the outer side of the tower-like building probably supported the roof of the church. Close to the passage just mentioned are the stairs of this tower. On the first floor is a room also vaulted with stone, lighted by three windows each with a seat or shelf. This has been said to have been the monastic library. Beyond it, above the east end of the chapter house, is a loft fitted for a pigeon-house, and on the same floor is a smaller room lighted by two little windows. The highest storey contains a landing and a spacious loft also fitted for pigeons. Some yards to the west of the tower, on the other side of a wall entered by an arched gateway is the reputed refectory, an ill-lighted ground-floor chamber, with a stone-vaulted roof supported by a row of three columns, and beyond it a smaller room, with a large fireplace having egress to a traditional covered way leading to the church, and an upper room reached by an outside flight of steps.¹

NOTE.—The existence of a charterhouse in Ireland, apparently founded in the thirteenth century, is noticed here because its community was probably recruited from the monks of Witham and Hinton.

It must have been within the first years of the reign of Edward I., that the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse and the general chapter sent a letter to that king desiring his consent for another of their monasteries. They suggested that whereas there were in England but the two houses of their Order, the one founded by his ancestor Henry II. and the other by his father's uncle, William Longespée, it would be acceptable to the Almighty, if in his own time another were to be built for God's worship and their own increase. They asked for his sanction and confirmation of the deed, supposing that they might find in his kingdom some friend with a heart kindled by the Holy Spirit chari-

¹ The present writer saw the remains of Hinton charterhouse more than thirty years ago, and it is possible that other details, more recently discovered, ought to have been included in the foregoing description.

tably to build them a new house ; for they knew, they said, that without his special favour it was not permissible to multiply houses in his realm, nor to receive lands or possessions.¹ Edward's reply to this undated letter seems to have been to consent to the erection of a charterhouse in Ireland, though not in England. The circumstances of this Irish foundation and its exact locality are unknown. It was perhaps situated in the diocese of Clonfert, for in the ecclesiastical taxation of Ireland of date from 1302 to 1306 the Carthusian prior and convent are returned as owning the rectory of Kenaloyne, worth £6 13s. 4d., in the deanery of Domdery.² This new charterhouse was not a success ; by 1279 it had been destroyed, but, presumably rebuilt, it remained in existence until 1306. In that year Ysoard le Cou wished to give a serf and his children and services to the Grande Chartreuse, but the serf and his goods belonged to a fee of the Hospitallers, therefore that Order's consent was necessary. The gift was ratified on 6th August, 1306, with consent of Dragonet de Monte Dragano, Prior of the Hospital of St. Giles of St. John of Jerusalem, out of regard to "the devotion and love which the house and brothers of the Carthusian Order have long had towards the house of the Hospital, and the favour also done to the Hospital on the sale of their house which they had in Ireland," and also out of the consideration to the labour which Brother Bartolomæus of the said Order expended in accomplishing the alienation of the said house to the Hospital. The transactions over the sale could hardly have been complete, since the monks remained there for some years longer. It was not until 1321 that the general chapter issued the final decree: "Let the priors of England come to the general chapter at the appointed time (every leap year), and extract from the house of Ireland whatever they can in rents and sums of money, as it is useless to the Order, and let them do this with the counsel of experts, nor let any more monks be sent to the same" save for the business mentioned.³

¹ P.R.O., *Ancient Correspondence*, vol. xv., No. 197.

² *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, 1302-1307*, p. 202.

³ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, under the years 1279 and 1321; and vol. iv., pp. 532-533.

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF BEAUVALE, GRESLEY

Over twenty years after the dereliction of the Irish charterhouse, Thomas, Prior of Hinton, had found a friend charitably disposed to build another for the Carthusians in Nottinghamshire. On 26th October, 1343, Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe, Lord of Ilkeston, by recognizances made in Chancery, bound himself to that prior in £1,000 to be paid at Gresley in the priory of Beauvale at the Feast of All Saints, if within three years from the date of his bond he had not built at his own costs a fit church and houses sufficient for a prior and twelve monks with an endowment to the value of £100 yearly. From the wording of the indenture¹ witnessing this obligation, the erection of the new monastery seems to have been already commenced. Like that of the community at Hinton, under whose auspices it was evidently started, its site was within a gentleman's park, and the district was by no means a solitude, for there was a population of the right sort close at hand to work their lands and otherwise serve the monks.

On 9th December, 1343, having received the royal licence to found a Carthusian monastery for a prior and twelve monks in his park of Gresley, in Nottinghamshire, Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe "to the glory of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother, and all Saints, and to the increase of religion and divine worship, and for the healthful state of the said lord king Edward his lord, and of the venerable man Master William la Souche, by God's grace Archbishop of York, Primate of England, his lord and dear cousin, and of the Lord Henry of Lancaster, Earl of Derby," while living, and of himself and of Joan his wife and of William his son, and for the souls of all the forementioned when dead, and of Tiphany his first wife, and of his parents and ancestors and heirs, by his charter gave "to God the Blessed Trinity and to the prior and monks of the Carthusian Order in the monastery which is called the Beautiful Vale (*Pulchra Vallis*) built and constructed for their use in the said park of Gresley, and to their successors serving God there according to the custom and order or rule of the mother church of the Chartreuse," the said monastery and park adjacent and ten pounds-

¹ Close Roll, 17 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 15 d.

worth of land and rent in the vills of Gresley and Selston, and the advowsons of the churches of Gresley and Selston to hold in perpetual alms.¹ A second charter² of the same date specifies the land as 300 acres in Gresley, 10 messuages, and 12 bovates, there held in villeinage by Richard le Carter and eight other *nativi* or serfs, 3s. rent from John Witteberwe, 4s. 4d. from John Arnold in Selston with their homages and services, and 13 messuages, and 17 bovates in Selston held in villeinage by Robert le Coke and nine other serfs named, including one woman, together with the *nativi* and their chattels and issues, and common of pasture in the demesne of Gresley and Selston. He added that the prior and monks should have stone throughout his demesne for all the work of their churches and houses, and marl for marling their land, and might dig and carry away stone and marl in his woods and pastures at will, save in his park of Kirkestal. By a third charter³ dated at Gresley on 20th October, 1347, Sir Nicholas granted to his foundation 5 messuages, a mill, 40 acres of land in Gresley Watnowe, and all his demesne of the vill of Selston, and also fourteen bondmen and three bondwomen with their respective villein holdings and certain other rents and services in Gresley. At other dates he gave the monks six other serfs with their issue and goods by separate charters,⁴ apparently without land as none is specified. It would have been interesting to know how the Carthusians treated these bondmen. The Cartulary of Beauvale Priory records no manumissions. The Great Pestilence descended upon England very soon after the monks became their owners, and perhaps swept them away to freedom through the gates of a bitter death.

Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe gave to Beauvale Priory the advowson of the church of Farnham in the diocese of York in 1354, just before his death.⁵

Another patron of this charterhouse was William de Aldeburgh. The latter had been, with the king's licence, enfeoffed by Sir Thomas de Metham, heir of Adam de Hamelton to whom Edward III. had granted the property for £10 yearly rent to the Exchequer, of a waste place

¹ *Beauvale Chartulary* (Add. MS. 6060), f. 17.

² *Ibid.*, f. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 19^v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 23-24.

⁵ Patent Rolls, 28 Edward III., pt. i., m. 13; 29 Edward III., pt. iii., m. 11, where their founder's death is mentioned.

called "le haye of Willey," within the metes of Sherwood Forest and adjoining the grounds of Beauvale Priory. Edward III. having given licence for the monks to have the ground at the same rent to the Exchequer and to enclose it with a fosse and low hedge, and to bring it into cultivation, William de Aldeburgh "for the special affection and true devotion in God which he had for the very holy religion of the foresaid prior and convent," and considering how moderately they were endowed, particularly as to pastures for their animals, without which it seemed to him they could not "in a good way" be sustained for their continuance in the service of God, made over the haye of Willey to the priory, for the welfare of the soul of his "most noble lord, Lord Edward de Balliol, the illustrious king of Scotland," and of his own and of Elizabeth his wife, and of his parents and relations living and dead, so that he and the king of Scotland and the others named, as "principal benefactors and familiars" of the said house, might share in all masses, canonical hours, prayers, vigils, fasts, abstinences, alms, and other spiritual exercises and goods whatsoever, done or to be done, in the said house. His charter is dated at Willey haye, 10th February, 1362. At the request of Edward Balliol the £10 due to the Exchequer was finally remitted by the king altogether.¹

In 1393 the daughter of William de Aldeburgh became a benefactress of Beauvale Priory. In that year Richard II. licensed² Elizabeth, wife of Brian de Stapleton the younger, knight, for eight marks to alienate in mortmain a yearly rent of 40s. issuing from a moiety of the manor of Kirby Overblow and Kearby, and to her sister Sybyl and William de Ryther, knight, her husband to alienate the same amount from the other moiety to the prior and convent of Beauvale for the founding of a chantry. In her own charter,³ Elizabeth de Stapleton says that the services are to be performed according to the will of her brother William de Aldeburgh, namely, that the prior and convent shall find "two monks of the aforesaid house in their priory there more especially celebrating for the father and mother of the same William and for himself and his wife and for

¹ *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 70 and f. 72^v.

² Patent Roll, 17 Richard II., pt. i., m. 9.

³ *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 36^v.

the Lord Edward de Balliol forever, without the said monks being burdened for any one else thus especially to pray; and that the said two monks and the prior of the said house if they are at home, forever shall do and say on the eve and day of the death of the said father of William, which is the 1st April," *Placebo* and *Dirige* and a mass of requiem, the rest of the monks of the house to celebrate their death, and do an obit for Sir William de Aldeburgh himself and his wife yearly, to wit, on the vigil *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and on the day a mass of requiem as for his parents. To write the name in their martyrology, or to keep the anniversary of an outsider was against early Carthusian custom,¹ but the charterhouses struggling with poverty were by this time fain to follow other religious in this. In a deed accepting this charge, the prior explains that he did so in consideration of "the great and notable" sums of money which Sir William de Ryther and Sybyl his wife and Elizabeth, the widow of Sir Brian de Stapleton, had freely paid to the monks in their necessity in relief of their house.²

The history of the estates of the Beauvale Carthusians and of the appropriation of their churches may be gathered from the cartulary of their house,³ which was compiled by their prior, Nicholas Wartre, and brought down to the year 1486, and which also gives the papal bulls and indults in favour of their Order. Besides the documents already quoted from this, there can be noted further only these benefactions from royal persons: an annual ton of Gascon wine, to be received at the port of Kingston-upon-Hull, granted by Edward III. in the thirty-seventh year of his reign; a grant by Isabella his daughter to her "beloved and very dear in Christ the brethren of the Monastery of Beauvale of the Carthusian Order" of an annual pension of 100s. during her life out of the money assigned to her chamber at the feasts of St. Michael and St. John the Baptist in equal portions that they might have the "amplifier will" to remember her in their prayers; and a licence from John of Gaunt to Sir William de Finchedan, Richard de Ravenser, Archdeacon of Lincoln, and others to give the manor of Etwell, co. Derby, held of him in chief, to

¹ *Guigonis I. Consuetudines*, cap. xli., 4.

² *Beauvale Chartulary*, f. 37.

³ British Museum Add. MS. 6060.

the prior and convent of Beauvale, to hold of him in chief to them and their successors in pure and perpetual alms in aid of their sustentation and of the reparation of their priory, which was said to be ruinous, and to celebrate divine service in the priory for his welfare living and for his soul when dead and for the soul of Blanche his "very dear consort." The royal licence confirming this last grant in 1370 stated the manor of Etwell to be worth £12 yearly.¹

In the next century the Carthusians of Beauvale received from the crown the property of the prior and convent of St. Fromond in Normandy. The latter in the thirteenth year of Richard II. had without the royal licence granted to John Luscote, the prior, and to the convent of the London charterhouse their priory of Bondeby, in the diocese of Lincoln. At the time, however, it was in the king's hands on account of war with France, and he, by letters patent, had committed it to Walter Malet, clerk, to farm from 21st June, 5 Richard II., during the war at a rent of 18 marks, and afterwards by other letters patent he had committed the custody thereof by the name of the rectory of Bondeby to Robert Hastynges to hold from Michaelmas, 23 Richard II., during the war by the same rent. Henry IV., on 4th April, 1403, granted this alien priory of Bondeby to the prior and convent of Beauvale in frank almon with all advowsons of churches, and lands, rents, and services belonging thereto. A second patent of the same date specifies the property as the rectory and parish church of Bondeby, 10s. rent from a bovate of land in Saxby, 5½d. rent from a bovate in Bondeby, a pension of 13s. 4d. which the parson of Saxby used to pay to the Prior of St. Fromond, and a pension of 13s. 4d. from the church of St. John, Stamford, with the advowsons of the churches of SS. Peter and John, and SS. Paul and George in Stamford and Saxby, and of Grafton not exceeding the value of 18 marks yearly. On 2nd May, 1404, the prior and convent of St. Fromond released to William, the prior, and the convent of Beauvale all right in the alien priory of Bondeby with its belongings under condition of an annuity to the Norman convent of 26s. 8d. should there be peace between England and France. In 1413 the Carthusians parted with some

¹ *Beauvale Chartulary*, ff. 55, 77; Patent Roll, 44 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 11.

of the property, apparently, as they paid 5 marks for the royal licence to grant the advowsons of the churches of Stamford and Grafton to John Grene of Grantham and others, because they had nothing in treasure or movable goods wherewith to stock their pastures, pay their debts, or relieve their necessity.¹

The last reason just given suggests a cause of the Beauvale monks having no weaving or tanning industry like their brethren in Somerset. They had, however, coal-mines on some of their estates. They seem to have done some regular trading in coal, for among the deductions from the £227 8s., the gross sum of their spiritualities and temporalities in 1535, are the yearly payments of 27s. 4d. to Sir John Chaworth, of 8s. to Sir Nicholas Stirley of Limby, and of 8s. to Nicholas Stirley for the passage of coal beyond their lands.² The right to all coal and to the digging of it in Selston parish had been granted to them by William Arnald at Christmas, 36 Henry VI., and was confirmed to them in the following year by John Dey, vicar of Selston, who had interest in it, for ninety-nine years, with all the wood growing there for making "punches and proppes" for 13s. 4d. yearly.³ Part of their mining may then have been done by their own men, but certainly some of their mines were worked by lessees. On Friday before the Conversion of St. Paul, 1397, the prior and convent leased to William Monyasche of Cossall, John his son, and others, a coal-mine in Kirkestallaund, between Allesworthbroke and the wood of the Lord of Kirkestall, for the weekly rent of 4s. 6d. when the lessees could work more than two and a half days a week, for each pit, or if they were hindered by water or "dampe" from working longer than two and a half days, then only 2s. 3d. weekly for each pit, if they got any coal, except one parcel of the mine between two open pits, for which they were to pay 3s. weekly, and except the "heueddroft" thereof, which according to the custom of the country they were to have free.⁴ A few years before the dissolution of the charterhouse, the convent were receiving from the ferm of a coal-mine in Kimbly,

¹ Patent Rolls, 4 Henry IV., pt. ii., m. 31 and m. 3; 1 Henry V., pt. i., m. 24; 3 Henry V., pt. i., m. 30 and *Ancient Deeds*, B. 480.

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v., p. 156.

³ *Ancient Deeds*, B. 3217.

⁴ *Ibid.*, B. 1782.

called Kymbley pittes "demised to John Garnon 60s. and £10 fro a house called the Smythey in Gresley with an inclosure for making iron, for which he should have paid £12 17s. 8d. but that he found no stones to make the iron." The same John Garnon paid them for a mine in Selston £20 and a tithe of the coal except when he was hindered by water or damp or other cause from working, for which according to the duration of the hindrance the prior was to allow him.¹

The clear yearly value of the possessions of Beauvale charterhouse was but £196 6s.,² wherefore it was reckoned among the smaller religious houses doomed to dissolution by the Parliament of 1536. The monks, however, purchased a prolongation of its existence for the sum of £166 13s. 4d., but were forced to surrender it and all their property on 18th July, 1539.³ The site of the priory was granted on 8th July, 1541, to Sir William Huse, or Husey, of London.⁴ In July, 1546, one of its still extant bells weighed, according to the king's commissioners, 400 lbs.; there is no record of its other ecclesiastical goods.⁵ Some inconsiderable remains of the monastery survived until the last century, forming part of some farm buildings, and may be yet standing.⁶

Beauvale, or Bevall, charterhouse has two distinctions. It was connected indirectly with the mediæval writer Walter Hilton, the author of a well-known devotional treatise, the *Scale of Prefection*; he was once claimed by the Carthusians as a member himself of their Order, but manuscripts of his works assert him to have been a canon of Thurgarton, in Yorkshire. At a date unknown, a certain Adam Horsley, a sometime baron of the Exchequer, as is said, was thinking of adopting the monastic profession, and to him Walter Hilton addressed a long epistle in praise of the religious life generally, which in some manuscripts is headed *De Utilitate Ordinis Carthusiensis*, though the Carthusian Order especially forms the lesser part of its subject matter. Adam Horsley ultimately became a monk of

¹ *Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII.*, No. 7384.

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v., p. 156.

³ *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xiii., 457, ii. (3).

⁴ Patent Roll, 33 Henry VIII., pt. viii., m. 25-27.

⁵ Exchequer K.R., *Church Goods*, 12/4.

⁶ Throsby's edition of Thoroton's *History of Nottinghamshire*, vol. ii., p. 245.

Beauvale Priory.¹ The second distinction of this charterhouse was that of supplying in the person of its prior, Robert Lawrence, a martyr to the cause of the Papal Supremacy.

Sir Nicholas de Cantilupe in his second charter granted that the Carthusians of Gresley might have stones from his demesne for "their churches and houses," which may be taken as an indication that the charterhouse of Beauvale, like those of Witham and Hinton, was of primitive Carthusian type with the convent of the monks separate from the convent of lay-brothers and *redditi*, and with a separate church for each. If so, it was the last founded in England of that type. Unfortunately, of the latter we have no plan. The cells of the monks, as related by Guibert de Nogent, were arranged round the cloister, which then, as in the later charterhouses presumably, enclosed a square. Guillaume d'Ivrée, describing Carthusian life in general² about 1313, writes as if the monks' quarters were separated usually by barriers rather than by any distance from those of the lay-brothers, as was the case in the parent house, the Grande Chartreuse. After saying that the cells of the monks are all within the enclosure of the monasteries, which are commonly provided with good walls and gates bolted and locked, he adds: "Nor after anyone has entered the monastery's enclosure, does the way to the cells lie open to him except by passing through many doors and gates. For the cells are so set apart and separate from the other workshops (*officinis*) that no noise shall be heard in them; and moreover are so situated that there shall be no easy ingress or egress to any stranger without a guide (coadjutor) unless secretly by some irregular opportunity or means. The cells, also, with their appointed little gardens are distinct and so distant from one another at such an interval that (as might often happen if they were too close) no one could hear another weeping, groaning, or lamenting, or bringing himself under by discipline or blows, or be disturbed by his singing or reading, or any

¹ Magdalen College, Oxford, MS. 93 (described in Coxe, *Catalogue of Oxford MSS.*, ii., pp. 49-51), Reg. Nos. E. iii., ff. 123, 128, where there is a note at the end of Hilton's epistle saying that Adam Horsley was a monk of the Carthusian Order in Beauvale.

² In his defence of his Order, the treatise *De origine et veritate perfectæ religionis* (see pt. i., chap. vi., of this book).

other exercise." He mentions also the lay-brothers and *redditi* having separate cells in which at night, especially, they could give themselves to meditation and prayer. He speaks of their own church, which in all the completed monasteries of the Order is built in honour of St. John the Baptist "in the house of the converses that is called the Corearia or procuratorium." Of neither house, of the monks or of the lay-brothers, does he, however, give any idea of the grouping of the buildings, nor of the position of their respective churches, or of the chapter house.

CHAPTER II

THE CHARTERHOUSE IN LONDON

To the London charterhouse alone of the English monasteries of the Order is attached some renown, and that less by reason of the religious community originally residing there, than on account of Thomas Sutton's double foundation, which succeeded it and bears its name, the school and hospital, for which Thackeray created a tender memory when he put his Colonel Newcome to die there under the pseudonym of Grey Friars. The story of the monastic foundation is more than a twice-told tale; for the completeness of this book it is told here yet once again, mainly under the guidance of the monk of the house who wrote the larger part of its chartulary¹ and prefaced it with a chronicle of its early years and with other matter of interest.

Philippa of Hainault had brought to England in her train Sir Walter de Mauny, a knight whose eminent piety—if not prevented, he liked to hear two masses a day—was enhanced by his compassion and charity. In 1347, after he had by the commands of Edward III. negotiated for the surrender of Calais, it was he who urged on the king counsels of mercy towards the inhabitants. So two years later, when the Great Pestilence was raging in London, and corpses, become too numerous for the extant cemeteries, were hastily buried in unconsecrated ground, or even, “as was said,” thrown into the river, he came forward to the help of the Londoners. He obtained from the Master and Brethren of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew at a rent of 12 marks yearly an enclosure of theirs called Spital Croft,² containing thirteen acres and a rod of land, out-

¹ P.R.O., Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61.

² There is only the Carthusian chronicler's word for this transaction between Mauny and the Master and Brethren of St. Bartholomew's at this date. The indenture relating to Spital Croft of 1370 (quoted later), between the same parties, must be a later step to secure the property to Mauny.

side Smithfield, and applied to Ralph de Stratford, Bishop of London, for its consecration. Sir Walter de Mauny, the bishop, the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of London, and a large gathering of folk met there on the feast of the Annunciation, 1349; the bishop preached a sermon on the word "Hail," and dedicated the ground in honour of that feast, and on the same day he and Mauny and the mayor laid the foundations of a chapel, in after years to form part of the conventual church of the charterhouse. Stow, in his *Survey of London*, states that Bishop Ralph himself had bought "a piece of Land called Noman's land which he enclosed with a wall of brick and dedicated for the burial of the dead building thereon a proper chapel," and that the three acres of land (really two and a half acres) outside the walls on the north betwixt the land of the Abbot of Westminster and the land of the Prior of St. John, added by Mauny to the Spital Croft, was the land purchased by the bishop. Since there is no evidence to support his statement as to Stratford's cemetery and no evidence of any chapel save that set up by Sir Walter in the Spital Croft, which soon changed its name to New Church Hawe, or Churchyard, it is preferable to follow the Carthusian chronicle written by a monk who had the title-deeds of his house before his eyes and copied them into its chartulary.¹

Mauny's charter of foundation of the monastery says that more than 5,000 victims of the pestilence were buried in the New Church Hawe. The pious and benevolent knight, untroubled by the material ideas of a modern worshipper of Hygeia, was fain to provide also for the welfare of the spirits to whose bodies he had given a resting-place, and whom according to Carthusian tradition he saw carrying lights in procession round the cemetery some

¹ Stow, *Survey of London* (ed. by Camden Society, 1842), p. 161. There is no evidence that the Carthusians had anything to do with Pardon churchyard or chapel in their own chartulary or in that of the Knights of St. John, nor in any document at the Record Office. It is not included in the lists of their possessions drawn up by the ministers of Henry VIII., nor in his grant of the site and grounds of the charterhouse to Sir E. North in 1545. The statements of Rev. G. S. Davies (*Charterhouse in London*, pp. 4-5) to be accepted need documentary support. But Pardon churchyard may have formed part of the estates in Clerkenwell of the post-Reformation charterhouse, which is another matter.

time after its consecration. Doubtless with the object of continual prayers for the dead interred there, he attached a hermitage to the chapel. In 1354 the two hermits thereof, Brothers Thomas Stapelow and Walter of Dorsete, obtained from the Archbishop of Galata and other foreign prelates an indulgence of forty days in aid of the hermitage in the new churchyard near Smithfield founded by Sir Walter de Mauny in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the religious serving God there, to those frequenting the hermitage or chapel for any of the services on the feasts of the Assumption and all feasts of the Blessed Virgin and of Christmas and on other chief festivals and on the dedication of the hermitage, who should help towards the fabric or lights of the hermitage or make bequests in money, vestments, or books, to the hermitage or hermits there, or who should pray for the healthful estate of Sir Walter, Dame Margaret his wife, the said two hermits, and of the Bishop of London, and of their souls when dead.¹

The hermitage was a deviation from Mauny's original intention, for he had sought and obtained a papal licence from Clement VI. to erect in the New Church Hawe a college of twelve priests with the endowment of £100 sterling out of the fruits of three benefices in England. Urban VI., in a bull dated at Rome on 12th December, 1375, being a general licence for the appropriation of churches and benefices to the London charterhouse, mentions the intended college but not the hermitage, which is also omitted in the chronicle of the foundation of the charterhouse. According to this, Mauny changed his purpose by the persuasions of Ralph de Stratford's successor in the see of London, Michael de Northburgh. The latter, when returning from Rome, had sojourned in Paris, and several visits to the Chartreuse there had so enamoured him of the Carthusian system that on getting back to England he went to Sir Walter to urge him to found a monastery of that Order in his churchyard. The knight consented on condition of the bishop giving him 1,000 marks; but he was jealous of retaining his place as chief founder of the proposed charterhouse, wherefore by a deed dated at London 9th May, 1361, it was agreed between them that Mauny should receive the bishop as

¹ P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 15/1.

“his first associate after himself” in the foundation and building of the Church of the Annunciation in Smithfield outside London begun on Lady Day, 1349, and for building houses, and appropriating rents and revenues for the maintenance of a perpetual Carthusian “college” of thirteen priests of that Order, if it might be done, if not of another “religion,” to celebrate daily for both of them and for Dame Margaret Marchall, Lady of Mauny, wife of Sir Walter, and for their children and kindred and ancestors and for the relatives of the bishop.

Forthwith after this, says the chronicle of foundation,¹ Northburgh wrote to the priors of Witham and of God’s Place at Hinton to the effect that, though their Order had been in England two hundred years, scarce one man in a thousand knew of the existence of such an Order—which was not to be wondered at, since their houses were situated in desert places—and that one charterhouse built near London, where was “the concourse of the kingdom,” would be of greater edification to many than all the others founded elsewhere in the country. He reminded them further that there had been departure already from the ancient solitude of their Order in the building of their monasteries near great cities and towns like Paris, Avignon, Bruges, St. Omer, and Cologne. The letter brought the two priors up from Somerset to London; after interviewing the bishop, they went back for consultation with their convents; but the Prior of Hinton returning by way of Salisbury died there, and the Prior of Witham soon after reaching home fell sick and also died. Then, too, Bishop Northburgh bade farewell to this world in 1361.

These events were not encouraging to Mauny’s new project. However, at some subsequent date falling in with John Luscote, the then Prior of Hinton, who happened to be in London on the business of his monastery, he had him to his house to discuss ways and means; the latter had been increased by the legacy of £2,000 to the charterhouse from Michael de Northburgh, besides upon the completion of the house two of his better silver basons for ministration at the high altar, an enamelled silver vessel in which he had been wont to place the Host, a holy water stoup with its sprinkler, all his service books not otherwise bequeathed, and two better whole vestments.

¹ Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61 (as before).

For these bequests Mauny naturally urged the prior to apply to the bishop's executors. But the enemy of mankind objected to further proceedings and put difficulties in the way, says the chronicler. There was a powerful and unnamed ecclesiastic, who though a special friend of Dan John Luscote, argued with him on the impropriety of the erection of a charterhouse in London, alleging that it would be prejudicial to others of the Order, and promising him, if he would desist from the purpose, 1,000 marks or £1,000 sterling for the relief of his own monastery. There is a hint that the good prior nearly fell into the devil's trap, for the promise made him hesitate. Then, too, the Master of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew did more than look coldly on the scheme, perhaps because it would have planted a rival for the alms of the faithful inconveniently near and on his own land. He and the Bishop and Chapter of Ely and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's all opposed it.

The courtier Mauny, with his high connections, would have influence enough to override opposition whatever its origin. At any rate, on 15th November, 1370, an indenture was drawn up between himself and Stephen of Maideneth, Master of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew and the brethren thereof, by which the latter granted to Sir Walter a plat of land containing thirteen acres and a rod, lately called the Spital Croft and now New Church Hawe, without the bar of West Smithfield, together with the houses and buildings on the walls of the said place as it is enclosed by walls and fosses by the king's way reaching from London to Nonemannesland on the east, and as enclosed by walls on all the other sides together with the right of entrance (*introitu*), beginning at the highway from West Smithfield to Clerkenwell, and a piece of land of two and a half acres outside the walls on the north between land of the Abbot of Westminster and land of the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, for £8 sterling rent yearly. Later the freehold of the property was exchanged for the manor of Streclegh in Cambridgeshire.¹

Meanwhile Sir Walter de Mauny must have secured the consent of the Chartreuse in Savoy to the appointment of John Luscote to the charge of his proposed foundation, for in 1370 the chapter general released him from the

¹ Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61, f. 18.

priorate of Hinton and made him rector of the intended charterhouse at Smithfield, with authority over the rest of the English Carthusian province.¹ Luscote came to London about the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, bringing with him Brother John Gryseley, clerk *redditus*² of Witham, then only in deacon's orders. To his disappointment he found little trace of the houses which Sir Walter had promised should be built against his coming. Then he had some more tedious business with the Master of St. Bartholomew and the Bishop of Ely, and with one of the sex abhorred by Carthusians, an anchoress living next the church, perhaps a successor of the former hermits there. He went off with his troubles to Chelnyford (Chelmsford) to Simon of Sudbury, Bishop of London, who heartily encouraged him, promising to come quickly to town to help him. Things thereafter went better. Brother John Gryseley was ordained priest; and Luscote, having power as provincial prior, summoned to him for the beginning of the new plantation—to use the Carthusian term for a new charterhouse—Dan John Borehulke and Dan John Netherbury, priest-monks, also from Witham, Dan Robert Axelbrugge, monk, and Brother Benedict, a converse from his own house of God's Place at Hinton, and Dan Guy de Burgh and Dan Thomas Shirley from Beauvale. At first he and his brethren had to live in incredible poverty and discomfort for lack of money and other things. However on 6th February, 1371, Sir Walter de Mauny had the royal licence³ to found the charterhouse, and on 28th March that year he gave his own charter of foundation. In this he sets forth the story of New Church Hawe and the Chapel of the Annunciation, omitting mention of the hermitage, and announces the consent of the head house of the Carthusian Order, the Grande Chartreuse, to the presidency of Dan John Luscote over his new foundation, whose name he willed to be in future the House of the Salutation of the Mother

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, under the years 1370 and 1398.

² Sir W. St. John Hope in *The History of the London Charterhouse* (1925), pp. 13-14, very strangely translated this Carthusian term "*clericus redditus*" as "a restored clerk"; he calls him (p. 147) "a monk of Witham," but a "*redditus*" was not a monk, though under certain conditions he might become one (see *ante*, p. 124).

³ Patent Roll, 45 Edward III., pt. i., m. 33. This licence allows Mauny to endow the charterhouse with twenty acres of land.

of God, and states his own grants to the prior and monks of the Spital Croft now called New Churche Hawe, and of the extra three acres outside its walls between the lands of the Abbot of Westminster and the Knights Hospitallers; the monks in return are to pray for the king, for Sir Walter de Mauny, Dame Margaret his wife, the Bishop of London for the time being, and for their souls when dead and the souls of Master Michael de Northburgh, formerly Bishop of London, and of Alice de Henault sometime Countess Mareshall.¹

Having the site thus ensured to them, the Carthusians could now commence operations. At the Feast of Ascension in 1371 Prior Luscote and Sir Walter de Mauny entered into an agreement with Henry Yevele,² a master-mason and director of the king's works at Westminster and the Tower, for building the first cell and beginning the great cloister, to the fabric of which Sir Walter gave £100. The worthy knight laid the foundation-stone, but before the twelvemonth was ended he died on 15th January following, and was buried as he desired in the church before the step of the high altar.

Sir Walter lived long enough to know that his charterhouse had meanwhile discovered friends among the merchants of London. William Walworth, citizen-fishmonger, thereafter to get himself a small name in history as the slayer of Wat Tyler, came forward with consent of his wife Dame Margaret, to found the second cell for the soul of John Lovekin, whose executor he was and whose apprentice he had been. Sir William Walworth towards the peasant rebels of 1381 showed scant mercy; to his own riotous townsmen in the days of his sheriffdom he was more lenient.³ In Holy Week, just before he carried out his pious intention at the charterhouse, there had been some serious disturbance in the city; an unruly crowd had broken down houses, walls, and trees, in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's Cathedral and would not cease, "neither for the bishop, nor for the mayor and aldermen of the city," striking terror into all good men. The riot, according to

¹ Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61, f. 21.

² Wrongly written by the monk-chronicler as "Henry Revell," a name not known to exist among the London masons of the period.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, and G. M. Trevelyan in *England in the Age of Wycliffe*.

the Carthusian chronicle, was sufficiently serious to cause the king and his council to meet at Guildford, and to keep the mayor and Walworth many nights on the watch against fresh attacks of the mob. Its cause we are not told, but may perhaps surmise that it was an action of local popular sympathy with the more ordered hostility to the Church shown by the Parliament of 1371. After the ringleaders were caught, two days before the Feast of the Ascension, just when Prior Luscote was opening the doors of the church for the workmen, Walworth arrived with two priests; their mutual salutations being ended, the sheriff laid the first stone of the new cell, putting on it 20s. for the solace of the workmen. Then after having heard two masses he went to "the hall where the citizens were to meet" (doubtless Guildhall), and that same day he had peacefully in his house both the mayor and aldermen and the prisoners; these last were carried by water to the Tower, and after chastisement were released by Walworth's mediation. Later he founded four other cells at the charterhouse, giving towards their construction 1,000 marks sterling out of his own and John Lovekin's estate.

The London charterhouse was intended for a double convent, that is, a prior and twenty-four, instead of twelve, monks. Naturally the cells, which were the actual dwelling-places of the inmates, both choir-monks and lay-brothers, were the portion of the monastery to be the first begun, at any rate in sufficient number for those whom Prior Luscote had called to him. But the great cloister with some new cells had been commenced by 1376 according to a patent of Edward III. granting in mortmain to the monks amongst other property land in the field called "Herviescroft," without the bar of West Smithfield close to where this recent building was going on.¹ The Carthusian chronicler of the foundation concerns himself only with the monks' quarters; from him we learn how the cells, which were distinguished by a letter of the alphabet over each door, sprang up gradually from individual devotion. Several of them were endowed, and to all a chantry, or at least a condition of prayers for the benefactors, was attached. Besides the five cells provided by Sir Walter de Mauny and Walworth, Adam Fraunceys with 1,000 marks built five more; the Lady Mary de St. Paul, Countess of Pembroke,

¹ Patent Roll, 50 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 13.

built another and endowed the house with £2,000 sterling. The executors of the will of Felicia, wife of Thomas Aubrey, gave for the construction and endowment of a cell and towards a portion of the cloister and garden 260 marks. From Margaret, wife of Frederick Tilney, came the like sum for another cell. Thomas Hatfield, sometime Bishop of Durham, gave, "as is said," 600 marks towards two cells. The executors of William de Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, for the endowment and fabric of another gave 420 marks sterling. John Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln (1363-1398), Richard Clyderhow, esquire, John Clyderhow, clerk, William Symmes, citizen and grocer of London, Dame Joan, wife of William Brenche, knight, all built a cell each. Another was raised out of the goods of Dame Margaret Nerford and Constance Ipstonys her maid, and another by Sir Robert Knollys and Dame Constance his wife.¹ The sacrist's cell, for which no especial founder came forward, and some of the chapels were erected with the assistance of other friends and out of the offerings of the faithful. When Dan John Luscote, after a priorate of twenty-seven and a half years, died in 1398, five or six cells still remained to be built besides the chapter house, the chapels about the church, the refectory, the infirmary, the parlour (*collocutorium*), and the strong outer walls to enclose the monastery, and neither the pavement nor the roofing of the cloister was finished.

The cell of a Carthusian monk was really a small cottage, consisting of a study with its oratory, a bedroom, a dining-room with a hatch in its wall through which his food was passed, with a workshop adjoining, or below if the little dwelling had an upper storey, and in the fourteenth century, besides a small garden, there was sometimes an ambulatory in which the inmate might exercise himself in bad weather. The monks' cells in the later, as in the earlier, charterhouses, were built with a space between each round the great cloister, which enclosed a square with a fountain in the centre of it. In the London charterhouse on the south side of the cloister was the church; against the east end of the church was the chapter house, the sacristy being probably on its north side.

A little to the south-west of the church were the quarters of the lay-brothers close by, instead of at a distance, as

¹ For information concerning these benefactors see Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse*, pp. 68-72.

in the earlier Carthusian monasteries, the prior's house or lodging actually forming part of the west wing of the buildings erected round the little cloister; the last were the guest-house, the cells or rooms of the converses and *redditi*, the kitchen and the infirmary. At the north end of the little cloister was the refectory of the monks, which had its entrance for them into the great cloister. From the little cloister a passage led into a smaller courtyard, enclosed by workshops and offices added in the late fifteenth century, or even in the time of John Houghton the last prior, it has been thought, because of the initials I. H. to be seen in the brickwork of one of the walls.¹ This, in modern times called Wash-house Court, was perhaps the "courte yerde" in which Dan Philip Underwode, procurator from 1492 to 1500, put two "framed canelles for ii masty hownes." Possibly among the offices of this outer court were "Egypt" and the flesh kitchen, which a modern Carthusian² would like to banish to the outer gate and deprive of any door within the enclosure, forgetting that both the servants who lived within the bounds and the guests might eat flesh. As to flesh, Dan Philip Underwode reckoned it as a necessary item of yearly expenditure, and in his account of stores left in the House of the Salutation on vacating his office, under the heading of "flesh," besides livestock, is entered "a quarter of befe in salt" and "a fleche of bacon" and half a sheep. Moreover, in his time he had "hanginges" put in the roof of the flesh kitchen for beef and bacon "for defence ayenst Rattes," and since in one year he spent 17s. 6d. in flesh for the guests, and Prior Tynbegh in 1506-7 spent the very large sum of £17 2s. on flesh-food, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this kitchen—there was a fish kitchen also—was near the guest-house and servants' offices. "Egypt" was probably an adjunct to one of the kitchens; for in it the procurator Underwode left stored "all the implements for making candles, necessities for softening the stock-fish, and instruments for making chests for preserving charters and other such evidences." There was a kitchen garden, probably

¹ If the mysterious "I. H." stand for the prior's name, to have placed them there was scarcely consistent with Carthusian self-effacement. The little cloister is now Master's Court, and the smaller court beyond goes by the name of Wash House Court.

² Dom L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 25.

somewhere near the guest-house, for among the repairs and improvements done by his direction, Underwode mentions the "making of a new shade in the cokes Gardyn, the flore borded, the Roſe ciled, the wyndowes latysed, with a dore, for the recreation of greete especiall frendes, and there to be secrete with our lerned councell in matiers of charge and weight." This shed was presumably a summer-house, for Dan Philip also mentions a parlour in which he left twelve new cushions filled with good feathers, luxuries clearly not for the monks, but for their guests.¹

Except the church, the only considerable remains of its monastic predecessor to be found in the present Charterhouse are the buildings of the lay-convent, and these, in being adapted to secular purposes and modern convenience, have been very much altered, besides the arcade of the little cloister having been entirely removed.

As to the church, neither John Luscote the first prior, nor John Houghton the last prior, would recognise it today. A particularity of the union of the Carthusian upper and lower houses was that though the two convents henceforth worshipped under one roof, the church was divided by a screen into two choirs, that of the monks and that of the lay-brothers, including, as well as the converses, the lay-*redditi* and servants; this arrangement probably necessitated a considerable lengthening of Mauny's Church of the Annunciation. Of the monks' choir the east and south walls are still standing; the north wall and the sacristy were removed in post-Reformation days for the enlarging of the church on that side. At the present west end was the lay-choir and over it a vaulted chamber, possibly the visitors' gallery, commanding a view of the high altar through apertures now closed up.² The screen between the choirs has long since disappeared. The commissioners of Henry VIII. for the dissolution of the charterhouse said that in the midst

¹ P.R.O., *Rentals and Surveys*, portfolio 25, No. 55; Accounts of the Procurator of the London Charterhouse, 8-11 Henry VII.

² Dom Lawrence Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse* (1889), p. 275. Dom Hendriks' chapter on the remains of the old monastery, intermingled with modern alterations, is good today. He gives an excellent ground-plan (p. 242) of the buildings as they now exist. Dom V. M. Doreau in his edition (1888) of Maurice Chauncy's *Historia Aliquot Martyrum . . . Carthusianorum* gives a good view of the probable plan of the whole monastery.

of the west end of the church was "a partition of timber with pikes of iron above"; if this was the screen it was severely plain, even ugly. Besides the probable lengthening of the original edifice, the Carthusians slowly during the fifteenth century added chapels and altars, which also long ago have disappeared. The details of their ecclesiastical building are abridged here from the chronicle of the foundation of the charterhouse:¹

"In the year 1405 were dedicated the altars of Holy Cross and of St. Anne in the chapel of St. Anne at the west end of the church, which had been made with the intention that women might hear mass there, and so be gradually excluded from the church. For always, from the beginning of the first foundation, women had been wont to enter the church, and the brethren, for fear of the common folk, had not dared to forbid them, because the ungovernable people of London did many injuries to them and other religious. A few years previously when the canons of St. Paul's had erected a large block of houses in their churchyard, forthwith a discontented multitude came shouting out their claims to the place as belonging to the commonalty of their city, because for certain years they had been permitted to walk and play games there, and they threw the block to the ground and quite destroyed it. At another time they went in horrible tumult with a braying trumpet to the nunnery at Clerkenwell and set fire to the doors and destroyed the enclosure of the nuns, alleging it had been their playground.² Following on that misdeed they would have come to the House of the Salutation to destroy its enclosures, and even the cells, declaring that on that site and round about it, as in a public place, they had played games of all sorts for many years past (which was true, though only by permission and not by prescription), but that two or three God-fearing men among them with difficulty turned them

¹ Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61.

² In the chartulary of St. Mary of Clerkenwell (Cotton MS., Faustina B. ii.), f. 108^v, is a letter to the mayor and sheriffs of London bidding them, on complaint of the prioress of the people of London coming in tumult on horse and foot to play games in her grounds, breaking down her hedges and enclosures and trampling her grass, to forbid by proclamation the playing of games there; the date is "at Feckenham, 8th April in the twenty-ninth year of our reign," which looks as if the appropriation of land to the religious were a chronic grievance to the Londoners.

from their evil purpose. Now there were in those days many followers of the damnable sect of Lollards. On another occasion the Mayor of London and a great multitude came to the House of the Salutation and went round and round it and the boundaries thereof like as the children of Israel went round Jericho, and at the third or fourth time they entered and laid down new bounds and metes at their will by a long space within the earlier ones, and caused the old walls and adjacent buildings to be removed and threatened to destroy the whole house."

A corroboration of this tale of the hostility of some of the Londoners, whether instigated by Lollards or not, to the charterhouse, is supplied by a memorandum enrolled on a Close Roll of 13 Richard II. of a mainprise under a pain of £100, made in Chancery on 23rd October, 1389, by William Clophill, brewer, Richard Notyngham, mercer, Leonard Norton, brewer, and Thomas Morice, tailor, all of London, for the good behaviour of Richard de Gaynesburgh and John Luton towards the king and people, and especially towards the prior and convent of the house of the Carthusians, London, that they shall cast down none of their houses, nor cause them to be cast down, nor do them hurt or harm, nor cause any to be done to their houses or rents in the city or suburbs of London and Middlesex, nor do aught else contrary to justice, the law of the land or the king's peace.¹

In the same year as the dedication of these altars, 1405, owing perhaps to the death about that date of a native provincial prior, Robert Palmer, Prior of Coventry charterhouse, the general chapter then at Seitz sent over Dan Henry and Dan Everhard, Priors of St. Mary in Holland and of Diest, to visit the English province. In consequence of the invasion of Londoners, especially of their women, which they said had been forbidden by the king, and because of the community's dread of the mob, these visitors strictly enjoined on the prior and procurator of the charterhouse to have a wall built round the church, beyond which the monks were never to pass themselves save the prior and procurator, and meanwhile, until it should be built, to forbid entrance to women either to the chapel or to the church; if the procurator did not begin the wall within fifteen days of their injunction, "let him forego, without

¹ Close Roll, 13 Richard II., pt. i., m. 16.

mercy both wine and pittance," they added.¹ Further, they forbade the prior any more to get a sermon preached in the outer cemetery of the house, or to cause the bell to be rung to gather the people. The cemetery lay to the south and south-east of the church; this visitorial injunction suggests that a portion of it lying next the church and now to be within the enclosure of the new wall was reserved for the burial of the inmates of the monastery,² and a further portion for that of outsiders to which there was a public gate, as far as which the monks formerly used to go to meet the incoming funerals. Mauny had originally intended his cemetery for the Londoners, and it seems that they retained their rights partially at least. The Carthusian chronicle states that the prior and convent had secured a privilege from Pope Gregory XI. to preserve it from secular use for games and spectacles so that the quiet and contemplation of the religious should be undisturbed, or from the desecration of dirt and impurity being placed there—an unpleasant hint that the citizens had regarded it as a convenient spot for a lay-stall—but the previous right of burial continued. In 1481 a chapel was built in the cemetery, in which some years later the procurator, Dan Philip Underwode, put "a pair of organs," doubtless for the funeral services of strangers, since the Carthusian statutes allowed no musical instruments for the convent.³ In Tudor times there were dwellings in the churchyard, probably put up for servants of the monastery, but the mansion at the east end thereof, with the stables and gardens lying between the cloisters of the priory and the house and garden of Ralph Warren, alderman, which mansion John Houghton the last prior let to Lord Latimer, after a sixty years' tenancy by the Abbot of Pershore,⁴ is quite contrary to the intention of seclusion of the elder Carthusians.

"On 15th July, 1413," continues the details in the chronicle, "was dedicated the altar in the chapter house in honour of St. Michael and all blessed spirits, and an altar

¹ Bodleian Rawlinson MS. D. 318, f. 104^v.

² Neither the Customs of Guigo I. nor the early statutes specify where the monks themselves were to be buried, but the great cloister in practice seems to have been reserved to them.

³ Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61, and *Rentals and Surveys*, portfolio 25, No. 55.

⁴ Prior Houghton's lease to Latimer is quoted in a grant to Sir Arthur Darcy on Patent Roll, 34 Henry VIII., pt. iii., m. 15.

on the south part of the little chapel outside the gate of the chapter house on the south side in honour of the Holy Trinity and SS. Peter and Paul, and also another on the north side of the same chapel in honour of St. John Baptist, and St. Hugh, Bishop and Confessor, by the Bishop of London.

“On 18th July, 1428, Richard Flemmyng, Bishop of Lincoln, by licence of the Bishop of London, solemnly with singing consecrated the greater and older bell in the honour and name of the glorious Virgin Mary, patroness of the charterhouse.”

In 1431 the aqueduct was brought into the great cloister, owing to the beneficence of William Symmes and Agnes Tatersale, of whom the former had contributed towards the expense 300 marks, and 220 marks for its repairs, as well as 300 marks and at another time 220 marks for the building of a cell, and for the pavement of the great cloister, and for the stonework in the upper part of the church walls.

In 1406¹ was built the little cloister between the church and the guest-house out of the goods of John Clyderhow, and the altar of the chapel there was consecrated in honour of St. Mary Magdalene. In 1437 was consecrated the altar, erected out of the goods of Robert Boteler, in the chapel on the south side of the high altar in honour of St. John the evangelist. In 1453 was consecrated the altar in the chapel on the south side of the church in honour of St. Michael the Archangel and St. John the Baptist, also a small chapel on the east of the same in honour of St. Jerome and St. Bernard Abbot, which chapels Sir John Popham, knight, caused to be made and gave us the manor of Rolleston. In 1475 on 4 kal. August was consecrated the altar in the chapel of St. Agnes on the north side of the church, where formerly was the parlour (*domus colloquii*), the founder whereof was William Freman, sometime clerk of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

In 1481, on the Feast of St. Lucy, virgin and martyr, was consecrated the altar and chapel built the same year, in the cemetery outside the wall which the foresaid transmarine visitors caused to be made, whereof the first founder was

¹ The date is so given in the MS., but as the chronicler was evidently giving the events in the order in which they occurred, it should probably be read 1436.

Robert Hulett, whose intention had been that chapel and altar should be consecrated in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; but Dan Edmund, then prior of the house, chose they should be dedicated in honour of All Saints; at the consecration by a suffragan of the Bishop of London, the actual title given was that of the Blessed Virgin Mary and All Saints.

After that year the anonymous Carthusian of the chronicle gives no more details. For any idea of the interior decoration of the church we must turn to the period not of construction but of destruction. Richard Layton and the other commissioners of Henry VIII. declared on 17th March, 1539, in making an inventory of the goods of the late prior and convent,¹ that among "the lomes and vtensyles" which they still left there to await the King's pleasure were these following:

"In the 'Quere,' the high altar of the story of the Passion, of 'bowne' (bone or ivory), wrought with small images curiously; at either end of the said altar an image, the one of St. John Baptist and the other of St. Peter, and above the said altar three tabernacles; the nether front of the altar of alabaster with the Trinity and other images; on the south side of the same at the end of the altar a cupboard painted with the picture of Christ; on the north side of the altar an aumbrey with a letter. In the same choir a lamp and a bason to bear wax, both of latten, the stalls of the said choir on either side with a lectern undefaced.

"In the south side of the church, a chapel of St. John the Evangelist with an altar, and a table of the Resurrection, of alabaster, with two images, one of St. John Evangelist and the other of St. Augustine, at either side of the said altar. Item the said chapel is ceiled oak wainscot, and other board round about, three-quarters high.

"The body of the church: the Rood loft with an image of Christ crucified, a 'mownteyn' with two altars on either side of the choir door. On the south side an altar with a table of the Assumption of Our Lady, gilt, there remaining.

"The chapel of St. Jerome: an altar-table with a crucifix of Mary and John, two images at either end of the said altar, the one of 'Irone' (? Jerome), the other of St. Bernard;

¹ P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., *Church Goods*, 12/22.

the said chapel partly being ceiled with wainscot. Item two seats and a little coffer.

"Item an altar of St. Michael with a fair table of the Crucifix, Mary and John, and at either side of the altar an image, the one of St. Michael, the other of St. John.

"Mr. Redys Chapel: an altar with a table of the Trinity, the three Doctors of the Church; the same chapel being ceiled with wainscot and two 'covers,' all remaining undefaced. Item nigh unto the said chapel a pew with two seats of wainscot.

"The north side of the choir: an altar with a table of St. Anne, gilt, with certain other images gilt and painted. Item a table with an altar, the table of St. Anne and Our Lady, with certain other images above the said altar, at either end an image, with a tabernacle. And betwixt every one of the said altars above written, there is a partition of wainscot.

"The west end of the church: on the north side an altar with a table in the midst of Mary and John fair painted. Item on the south side an altar with a table of the Passion of Christ fair painted. Item in the midst of the said end a partition of timber with pikes of iron above.

"The chapter house: an altar with a table of alabaster with seven Joys of Our Lady; at the nether end of the said chapter house a little chapel of wainscot."¹

The charterhouse also possessed plate and ornaments. Dan Philip Underwode mentions among the things left by him other than those which he found there, in the church, eight altar-cloths embroidered with flowers of gold colour, a vestment of blue "bawdkin" having orphreys embroidered with images of gold, another of red satin embroidered with flowers of gold, the tabernacle of St. Barbara gilded, the tabernacle of St. Sithe gilded, in the choir a crucifix of gold and silver, and divers relics, among them the skin of St. Bartholomew. Of silver plate in the buttery he enumerates, as added in his time, three silver spoons, two silver salts, covered, parcel gilt, two standing cups, covered and gilded, one standing cup, parcel gilt, and a maser. The commissioners of Henry VIII., in the in-

¹ The reader must refer to Sir W. St. J. Hope's *History of the London Charterhouse*, chap. vi., for an excellent account of the buildings of the monastery, with the map of the water-supply and contemporary documents as illustrations.

ventory before mentioned, state that there were delivered to the king's use, twelve chalices, a censer, a pyx, a ship, twenty-two cruets of silver, a little cross of silver and gilt, another little cross plated of silver and gilt with a foot, two pieces of silver wherein relics were contained, another little cross plated with silver, two little paxes gilt, a little cross plated silver, and eight spoons of household, in all 4,047 ounces, and a vestment of white velvet with angels of gold embroidered and set with pearl. Among the goods which they had sold to defray their charges when at the charterhouse on the royal business were three old foot carpets of Turkey, six old cushions, six vestments of baudekyn of divers sorts, seven old altar-cloths, coarse and of divers sorts, with a vestment of red velvet, which together fetched 40s. Besides to each monk had been given a vestment, and six others had been given to six parish churches. A salt of silver and six silver spoons formed part of the "reward" of William Trafford, the obsequious last prior.

The value of plate and ornaments was small perhaps compared to the value of such goods in other monasteries, and the adornment of their church insignificant perhaps compared to the treasures of carving and painting found elsewhere. Yet in these matters, the London Carthusians departed from the severe tradition of their Order, and even defied its capitular injunctions. Pictures, "fair painted," or not, had no favour with the early Chartreux; the author of the tract *De origine et veritate perfectæ religionis* showed that images were only permissible in the cells to stir private devotion. The Ancient Statutes of 1259 enlarged on the words of Guigo I. as to ornaments by saying, "Ornaments of gold or silver except the chalice in church we do not have, unless perhaps in stoles or maniples or markers (*signaculis*) of books. Chasubles of buckram and white silk we retain, tapestry and carpets we have left off." "Let the orphreys be removed from the chasubles," they added. Here may be mentioned the "ecclesiastical cowls" peculiar to Carthusians; the New Statutes of 1368 direct these to be made of light cloth, or thin white serge, presumably for wear under the vestments instead of a cassock or ordinary cowl; they might be of better quality for festivals. The albs were to be white, and not yellow or otherwise coloured, and not too thin and transparent. These same statutes passed but a few years before the founding of the London

charterhouse put pictures and silver cups, tankards and spoons among the reprehensible things which they condemned. The probability is that the House of the Salutation and other of their communities situated near a city were almost forced to accept these ecclesiastical luxuries as gifts from rich benefactors and other devout persons who could not understand the plain simplicity, the stark abnegation of the Carthusian life both out of church and in church. And the provincial visitors would have found it difficult to enforce statutes which might have offended the friends of these communities.¹

The needless commiseration felt by the richer citizens of London for the voluntary poverty and hardship of Carthusian existence sometimes appears in their testamentary dispositions. For instance, John of Northampton, a contemporary of Walworth, bequeathed² to the charterhouse property in Pentecost Lane, conditioned with the assignment of two monks to celebrate at a special altar for the souls of himself and certain of his near relatives, whose names were to be inscribed on a tablet placed in front of the priest celebrant, and appointed that on the anniversary of his death, half a mark out of the profits from the property was to be spent on pittances, every monk then to have $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of ginger, and in Lent 1 lb. of dates, 1 lb. of figs and 1 lb. of raisins. Again Sir Bartholomew Rede, knight, goldsmith and alderman of London, by his will dated 19th October, 1505, left a tenement called "the Ship" in Gracechurch Street and other property in Colman Street "to the Prior of the house of the Salutation of our Lady called the Charterhouse of London" and to the convent and their successors

¹ The ideal Carthusian vestments were such as St. Hugh wore, when, laying aside all signs of his episcopal office except his ring, he celebrated mass during his week's service on his visits to Witham—namely, "the alb and amice, stole and maniple, and chasuble, plain and white, ornamented neither with silk, nor orphrey, nor gems" (*Magna Vita*, p. 199). A French Chartreux, writing some years ago, stated that among the treasures of the sacristy at the Grande Chartreuse there was a little stole of coarse white linen which had been used by St. Hugh of Lincoln. There were also three ancient chasubles of the time of Prior Guigo, so long that they reached to the finger-tips, their fabric being white dimity. The sacrist had in his keeping crosses of woollen stuff, each of a separate colour, for fixing on to the chasuble according to the season, and to be removed before the latter was washed (*La Grande Chartreuse par un Chartreux*, ed. 1898, p. 55).

² Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61, f. 17.

forever, on condition of their finding "a prest oone of their brethern suche as shall please theym to assigne" to sing daily for the soul of the said Bartholomew, and for the good estate of Elizabeth his wife while living and of her soul when dead, and for the souls of other of his kin mentioned, the monks to keep an anniversary for them after the order of their house, on the occasion of Rede's own obit notice to be given to the Fellowship of Goldsmiths to attend in their livery. "Item," continues the will, "that the said prior and convent and their successors of the issues, revenues and profits of the said messuages and tenements shall buy yearly evermore a thousand fagots, or else in coals as much as the value of the said fagots shall amount unto, and the same distribute equally about the beginning of the winter yearly amongst all their brethren of the same place. Item that they also yearly forever the day of the said obit to be kept, that is to say over night, after *Dirige* done, shall make in their frater house a pittance, or a recreation of bread wine and spices, or else victuals such as shall please them with a good and convenient fire there also to be made, expending upon every such pittance or recreation 13s. 4d. at least." The rest of the will is concerned with provisions for a free school at Cromer of which Rede made the convent trustees, with a further direction that the monks suffer his executors or himself in his lifetime to make a convenient tomb in length, height and breadth in the side of their cloister "for ayenst the dore where the seid brethern use to come forth from their service, that ys to say in the place where I the seid Bartholomew have appointed my body to be buried, to thentent the seid brethern shall the better remembre to pray for my sowle."¹

How completely the old exclusiveness—likewise, no doubt owing to their position near the "great concourse of England"—had broken down with regard to the burial of outsiders, even within the very centre of their conventual life, the church itself, is evidenced also in the testaments of citizens. John Blakeney, citizen and fishmonger, whose will was proved in the Court of Hustings on Monday after the feast of St. Petronilla, 18 Richard II., directed his body to be buried in the church of the monks of the Carthusian Order

¹ Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61. Only the earlier leaves of this chartulary are foliated, so that as here it is not always possible to refer the reader to the folio.

in West Smithfield, and left that community all his lands in the parishes of St. Nicholas "Coldabbey" and St. Mary Somerset, they in return to celebrate weekly for his soul. He gave them besides a vestment and chalice and £30 towards the mason's work of their new charterhouse. The will of John Bedham, another fishmonger of London, of the year 1472 mentions other tombs there. He left the remainder of a shop in the parish of St. Nicholas Fleshambles after the death of William Baron to Edmund Stourer, Prior of the House of the Salutation, to the intent that out of the rents 6s. 8d. should be devoted yearly to find a lamp with oil and light in the same, hanging at the west end of the conventual church of the charterhouse, opposite the western gate of the choir of the said church, above the tomb of Richard Cliderhowe, night and day forever, to burn in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary; 6s. 8d. for another lamp near the tomb of Sir John Popham, knight, in the foresaid church, to wit, before the image of St. Michael, with oil therein to burn at time of divine service day and night in honour of the Blessed Virgin and of St. Michael forever; 3s. 4d. to maintain forever three round wax lights to burn in the accustomed manner before the foresaid image of St. Michael at solemn feasts; and 6s. 8d. to distribute yearly to the poor at the obit of William Baron.¹

Of quite another ecclesiastical interest was the grant dated on 10th November, 1391, by William, Abbot of Westminster, to Prior John Luscote and his successors of a gore or "gare" of land, called first King's Gare, and then Lambert's Gare, which Henry III. in his fortieth year had given to the sacrist of Westminster and his successors to find lights to burn round the shrine of Edward the Confessor for 4d. annual rent to the Exchequer, and which the Carthusians were now to have at perpetual farm for a red rose at the feast of St. John Baptist. The abbot's grant was conditioned with the celebration of the translation of "the glorious King Edward whose virgin body lies in the said monastery of Westminster" with two lections in the choir of the charterhouse in the quindene of St. Michael, and on the vigil of the feast of the Epiphany a special mass of the same glorious king at any altar in their church by one of their brethren yearly forever, at which mass the monk celebrating was to say a collect for the abbot and convent, and another

¹ *Ibid.*

for the souls of the departed brothers of the monastery of Westminster.¹

Of all the benefactions to the House of the Salutation, not the least important were those concerning its water supply. On 2nd December, 1430, John Feriby, esquire, and Margery his wife, for a mark paid to the Hanaper obtained the royal licence to grant in mortmain to the prior and convent a spring, and land 53 perches long and 12 perches wide in the town of Iseldon (Islington), and for a subterraneous aqueduct to be made from the spring through the land and through the king's highway to their monastery, and to lay leaden pipes under the ground and under the highway as should seem good to them.² On 10th April following John Feriby and his wife actually made the grant to the monks of their spring in their meadow called Ouermede in Iseldon to make a water conduit and land measuring as above. John, the prior, and the convent next day made agreement with John and Margery that they, the grantors, should have the crop of herbage of the land, but that the grantees were always to have the right to dig and examine the piece of ground in order to repair the conduit. On 15th May, 1431, Isabel Wentworth, prioress of the nunnery of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, gave leave to the prior and convent of the House of the Salutation of the Carthusian Order and their successors to lay leaden pipes in the fields of the nuns called Farncroft and Whetewelbeche in the parish of Clerkenwell, and to cover the pipes with clay, stones, wood, or tree-trunks at their choice, with free ingress and egress to the fields, to them and their workmen making the conduit, the nuns undertaking on their side not to plant trees or make any ponds or fish pools, or do anything else which might spoil the pipes, and the monks undertaking on theirs to pay for any damage done to trees, or the grass, in laying the pipes. On 19th June in the same year William Hulle, Prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England, gave a like licence for the passing of the conduit through his grounds, for which benefit the Carthusian prior granted him in return letters of fraternity with participation in the "spiritual goods" of the charterhouse.³

The cost of the construction of the conduit was defrayed

¹ Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, f. 23.

² Patent Roll, 9 Henry VI., pt. i., m. 18.

³ Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61.

by William Symmes and Agnes Tatersale, Symmes himself giving 520 marks towards it, either in his lifetime or by will. The water supply was unfortunately a source of contention with the neighbours of the charterhouse. About twenty years later John Chaterych the elder, John Joy and Richard Hill, brewers, complained in Chancery that "where it liked late a devout person William Symmes of his alms to help make and perform a new conduit conveying water sufficiently into the Charterhouse without the bars of West Smithfield, London, and ordain further at his own great cost that the waste water thereof should serve to the common people dwelling in divers parishes thereabouts, and the prior to suffer the waste water for the use of the people," the prior had now turned the waste water to other uses to the hurt of all the common people. The two executors of the testament of Symmes were fetched into court to be examined as to his intention about the watercourse. Their answer was that he had wished it to be of "the most avail and commodity" of the prior and convent, but because the dwellers in the lane at the south gate were at the time tenants of the convent, it seemed good to him and to the then prior "the said waste water there to have his course," but the prior was to be free at all times to turn it elsewhere at choice. Symmes they said had even put up a bill "upon a table there upon the work and ordinance of the same water" that no one was to claim the "ease" of it but only at the will and pleasure of the prior and convent. He never intended that his alms should turn into "the charge, thralldom, hurt, cost, trouble or vexation" of the prior.¹ Of this aqueduct's course from the spring in the fields to the central reservoir or fountain, covered by a hexagonal structure in the centre of the great cloister, there is preserved among the few monastic relics at the present Charterhouse an interesting contemporary drawing; this includes a rough ground plan of the great cloister, indicating the position of the cells and the church, and of some of the offices in the lay-quarters, the little cloister being omitted as perhaps not yet built.²

¹ *Ibid.*; and Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse*, pp. 129-132.

² Sir W. St. J. Hope gives a facsimile of this drawing; he has also a most interesting chapter with full details on the water-supply of the charterhouse (*op. cit.*, pp. 107-143).

A large part of the property of the House of the Salutation lay in the city and its suburbs of Bloomsbury, Clerkenwell, Kentish Town, Edmonton, and Tottenham; other estates were in Kent, and at Rolleston, Co. Lincoln, at Stockton Magna, Co. Herts, and Edlesburgh, Co. Bucks, and Brin-tree, in Essex, the churches of which places were appropriated to the charterhouse. In 1462 Edward IV. made a grant to the London Carthusians of the alien Benedictine priory of Ogbourne and its property in Great and Little Ogbourne, Co. Wilts, which received papal confirmation in the fifth year of Paul II. (1470-1). It is difficult to realise today that a considerable portion of their suburban property was quite as rural as that in the more distant counties, and the inmates of the charterhouse may have existed on some of the farm or garden produce, for instance from their manor of Bloomsbury; certainly their "milk food" they had from the bailiff of "Blemondesbury," according to the entries in the procurator's accounts of payments made to him, such as 10s. 10d. in one year presumably for bringing it thence to Smithfield. Their malt came from a longer distance, Stockton Magna. But for the most part these monks seem to have let their estates, and to have lived on the rents and not on the farm produce; nor were the converses and servants tanners or wool-merchants like those of Witham and Hinton charterhouses.

The priors and procurators of the London charterhouse were perhaps not always very business-like. Was it not in part due to some lack of foresight, perhaps ignorance, or even faulty heedlessness in secular affairs, that long account of misfortunes, which the unknown chronicler of the house saw, belonging, as he thought, to the time of John Okeden, the second prior? It begins with the statement that out of the goods and rents given by their founder and others towards the endowment of the charterhouse, £183 6s. 8d. through divers ill chances had been lost, and that the £4,000 owing to Sir Walter de Mauny from the king and the Black Prince left to them in his will, the monks had never had, and never would have in all likelihood. "They had," it continues, "the manor of Okolt in Romney Marsh of Mauny's gift, or at least one half thereof, and the other half out of the money of the lord Michael de Northburgh, Bishop of London, so far as might be gathered from a very old deed, which on account of its too great age cannot now

be entirely read, and the manor, worth yearly 100 marks, was suddenly submerged by the waves of the sea, and there were drowned there many animals and chattels, of the price according to estimation of 200 marks, and finally in consideration the manor was sold for a small sum. Item they had the manor of Hyntyngdorf, Co. Kent, of the gift of Sir Thomas Brenle, knight, worth yearly 40 marks, which afterwards Sir Symon Barlee took away unjustly and against law. Item they had the parish church of Norton Veel, in Co. Somerset, worth 40 marks yearly besides the vicar's portion, for the patronage, amortization, and appropriation of which they spent more than £400, and which when it had been legitimately appropriated to them with cost and labour, and a vicar instituted, was recovered against them in a secular court, and thus they lost the church and their expenses, and of the proceeds from the church they had never any commodity. They had the manor of Plumstede in Kent, which one Reginald Aleyn had in farm for 20 marks yearly, and for twelve years nothing was paid to them save for one year only, and when the prior and convent prosecuted him according to the law of the country for his arrearages, he was helped by the Lord John Walton, late Bishop of Salisbury,¹ and thus they could recover nothing against him. Afterwards, indeed, the same bishop sent to them requesting them to grant him that manor in fee, promising that if they consented he would do more and greater things for them than all their founders had done before; and thus he obtained it, and when he died a little while after, they had nothing from him save only the bare patronage of the church of St. Christopher in the City of London, for which patronage they have now in exchange the church of Braintree. Item they purchased of a certain W. Chiselden some rents in the Barbican, London, worth yearly £10, but afterwards these were recovered against them. Item they had the manor of Knebworth of the gift of the lord of Mauny, worth yearly £20, which because it was not amortised, was sold to someone for a certain sum, who by fraud deceived them, and of that sum very little has he paid as yet, nor is it likely that they will recover more from him. They had certain rents in the town of Caley of

¹ He was Master of the Rolls and Lord Treasurer from 1388 to 1395, and in position to have afforded R. Aleyn "maintenance," that crying grievance of poorer suitors in the law courts at that period.

the gift of Sir Walter de Mauny, worth yearly 20 marks, which because they were not amortised to them were seized into the king's hands."¹

Some of the foregoing chapter of accidents is to be found also in a document of the time of Richard II., being a draft of memoranda to be sent to Dan Robert, Proctor of the Carthusian Order in the Roman Curia, probably for him to use in obtaining papal assistance for the London charter-house.²

That the community was seriously embarrassed in Prior Okeden's time (*circa* 1398-1413) is evident from an entry on a patent roll of Henry IV. This is a commission dated at Westminster on 8th November, 1402, during pleasure to William Gascon and William Thurnyng, justices, and Richard Cliderowe and Thomas Lytebyn, esquires, of the custody of the Priory of the Salutation of St. Mary of the Carthusian Order by the City of London, with the custody of its possessions, so that all the issues besides the necessary maintenance of the prior and convent and their servants shall be expended on the relief of the priory; and a grant of protection, as the king is informed that the predecessors of the prior and convent were endowed at their first foundation with possessions to the value of 200 marks yearly of which part has been recovered from them, and more than 20 acres devastated by the sea, and on the possessions granted to them by Richard II. they are charged with divers annuities and pensions amounting to the sum of £140, and they are daily disturbed about the moderate remainder of their possessions.³

Years later, again, the prior and convent of the Carthusian House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, near London, petitioned the king for help; they showed him how a great part of their possessions had been recovered against them and wasted through actions brought by their enemies, and yet they were forced to sustain the charges incumbent upon them and so were impoverished; the king, therefore, licensed

¹ Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61 (slightly abridged translation from); for the appropriation of Braintree Church in 1421, see Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 16/12.

² Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 2/42.

³ Patent Roll, 9, Henry IV., pt. i., m. 17. Among the possessions granted to them by Richard II. was the advowson of the church of Edlesburgh, in return for which the convent made him their confrater. (Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61, f. 16).

them to acquire in mortmain lands and rents not held in chief to the value of £40 yearly beyond all charges, provided it could be done without prejudice to the king or others. He also granted them a tun of wine yearly at Martinmas in the port of London, notwithstanding that Edward III. had granted to them another tun yearly in the same port by letters patent confirmed by the king.¹

Some idea of the economy of the charterhouse may be gathered from the accounts of the procurators. Unfortunately, those available belong to a late period, the earliest dating from 8 Henry VII. (1492). It begins with the "Declaration of the Particulars of the Account of Dan John Cootes" incurred in his office of procurator from 2nd August, 7 Henry VII., to the feast of St. Margaret, 8 Henry VII. Some of the items of his year's expenditure were rather heavy, and on his retirement he left the House of the Salutation in debt; but without knowing the number of persons for whom they had to cater, or other matters of which we are ignorant, it is difficult to judge whether he, or his successor Philip Underwode, was extravagant. He commenced with a list of rents received from town and country property, which with arrearages swelled the sum at his disposal to £589 os. 11d. This he spent during the twelvemonth as follows: "In quit rents £29 19s. 8d. In expenses about the Order and convent £34 15s. 7½d. Stipends of servants £35 12s. 11d. In fish, as well salt sea as river £104 17s. 8½d. In flesh food 105s. In milk food £9 23d. In salt, honey and oil 18s. 8d., pease 2s., oatmeal 11s. 6d. In spices, figs, raisins, apples, pears and the like 101s. In wheat, flour and bread £35 4s. 8d. with grinding of the corn, malt ale (*cervisia*) and 'bere,' with carriage of the said malt £80 2s. Wine bought £10 14s. Necessary and general expenses £16 4s. 4d. For the drink of the tenants with rewards given to strangers and for suits at law £11 13s. 4d. Alms given with anniversaries and pittances £6 13s. 8d. In carriage of coal and fuel £19 9s. 7d. For labourers brought in and working in the great garden of the said prior and convent £41 4d. For repairs done in divers places as well upon tenements within the city of London and suburbs thereof as on the houses of the manors of the said prior and convent in the country £82 15s. 4d. In money paid to divers creditors of the said prior and convent

¹ Patent Roll, 20 Henry VI., pt. iii., m. 2.

£86 8s. 7d. together with £21 allowed now to the foresaid Dom John Cootes procurator as for the whole money charged upon him in his account of the preceeding year." The whole sum amounted to £588 12s. 10d. Thus he was left with but 8s. 1d. to face certain debts including the following: "First we owe universally to our servants £6. Item for fish and flesh £3 18s. 8d. For milk to the bailiff of Blemondesbury 10s. 10d. Item to Robert Scarlet for shaving of the brothers and for soap 20s. Item to Thomas Blundell for carriage of malt from Stocton Magna 28s. Item for cloth for the servants £5 19s." In all at the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, 1493, the whole debt of the prior and convent amounted to £101 20d. On the other hand, there was owing to them from tenants and others the sum of £321 12s. 2½d., on payment of which no doubt the procurator reckoned in making his outlay.¹

For the next three years under Prior Richard Rooche or Roche, Dan Philip Underwode was procurator. The House of the Salutation did not do badly for itself in receiving him to profession; he was evidently well connected in the city, where his father William Underwode was a wealthy smith or iron-master apparently; further he must have had the instrument of a persuasive tongue to unloose the purse-strings, not only of his parent and uncle, but of the worthy ladies his aunts and others of his acquaintance. The contributions received by him from higher personages would be less due to his own exertions in his community's behalf. From his lengthy accounts,² partly in English and partly in Latin, only a few details can be given here.

In his first twelvemonth, from 20th July, 1493, to 24th June, 1494, he gives the sum of the arrearages and receipts as £1066 17s. 8d.; two items of the receipts are £52 18s. 10½d., being money paid to himself by his debtors as due to him before he "came to religion," and £18 paid to him by his father and other friends and benefactors out of good will to him. His expenses and allowances came to £892 13s. 1d., including the cost, £4 6s. 2d., of a silver and gilt dish bought for the use of the house. This left him £174 4s. 7d., and it was out of this, no doubt, that he paid the £101 20d. owing to the creditors of the charterhouse at the end of Dan John Cootes's account. Like his predecessor he failed to get in

¹ P.R.O., *Rentals and Surveys*, portfolio 25, No. 55, m. 1-4.

² *Ibid.*, m. 5 seq.

that year all the money due to the convent, and he entered the sum of arrearages and debts as £278 11s. 3d. Possibly for this reason he borrowed from his father William Underwode the smith £104 6s. 8d. From his account of expenses we take these: "To Ralph Appulton for washing of table cloths 4s. For cups for the chamber of the Visitors 6d. For wine to the Visitors 3d. For mending the cells of the Visitors 3s. 8d. To James Watson cobbler for shoes 5s. 1d. For a white hat for a brother 7d. For 1½ ells of 'frise' for two hair-shirts for our brothers 20d." The items of the convent's hospitality are entered separately. The fish bought for the guest-house came to 114s. 10d., including a pike for the Visitors, price 20d. For flesh for the guest-house James Bocher was paid 17s. 6d., and the "milk food" cost 76s. 1d., including two cheese, butter and eggs from Robert Smere and others, besides milk from the bailiff of Blomesbury. Among the "general things bought" were 40s. worth of cloth for the servants, the fulling and shearing whereof cost 6s. 8d., a shirt for the gate-keepers servant 9d., 3½ yards of russet for brother John 11s. 8d. This might be for a cloak for this converse going abroad, since another entry is "For the journey of Brother John to the chief house of the Order 20s."

In his next set of accounts the procurator could congratulate himself on being able to record that this year Dan Philip Underwode paid all the debts of this and the preceding year, so that at Christmas, 11 Henry VII., the prior and convent were quit of all creditors whatsoever.

From the feast of St. John the Baptist, 12 Henry VII., to Christmas, 14 Henry VII., Dan Philip received from all sources £1,522 2s. 7¼d. and a half farthing. This sum was in part made up from the alms of various benefactors thus: from "Alice Sherlyng my aunt" £6 6s. 8d.; Dame Joan Willughby 36s. 8d., "Joan Fornefeld my aunt" £6 13s. 4d.; "the king at Killingworth by the hands of William Tomson" £6 13s. 4d.; the lady Queen there by the hands of the same William £5, besides smaller contributions at other times; the lady the king's mother at Shene 10s.; "Richard Hunt my uncle by the hands of my father" £20; the lady Queen for the celebration of mass for the half year £3 6s. 8d., and for a whole year £6 3s. 4d.; the mother of the king at Shene 33s. 4d.; William Underwode "my father" in sums of money and otherwise £10 and in money and iron work

at divers times £5 8s. 2d.; the Queen at Shene of alms and rewards for various causes and considerations £6 13s. 4d., and for celebration of mass again for a year and a half £10, also for the horses (*equitatura*) for the lord Duke of York and his sister at divers times; the lady duchess of Buckingham by her own hands at Stradford 33s. 4d.; the countess Lovell by her own hands 6s. 8d., and lord Welles 6s. 8d.; "divers friends relatives and benefactors of mine" £5 19s., and "divers debtors of mine owing to me money before I came to religion £18 19s. 10d."

The charterhouse was enriched also by Dan Philip by £208 13s. 9½d. (over £2,000 of modern money), which he got from his debtors, and begged or borrowed on his own recognisances from his kin, friends and benefactors during his term of office, lasting five years, a quarter of a year and nine weeks. This was spent on repairs of manors and new buildings belonging to the monastery. It included £20 from the "most excellent lady the lady Elizabeth Queen of England and France and Lady of Ireland," £13 6s. 8d. from "the most serene lady Duchess of York," £20 from Dame Joan Inglethorp and £20 from Master Thomas Harsnap, almoner of the illustrious lady the King's mother. There is the curious item of £31 13s. 9¾d. from William Underwode his father, borrowed "for lez Andreis, Utrish and Ryns Gildynges les Nymmyng grotes and new sengle Plakkes,"¹ changed by the hands of Master Bartholomew Rede, alderman, and another goldsmith, meaning perhaps that the coins were given in security or exchange for the money. Also he had £50 from his father at the hands of John Parker, alderman, of Calais, and John Maasson his kinsman.

In his last account from Christmas, 14 Henry VII., to Michaelmas, 16 Henry VII., the receipts are set down as £2,011 14s. 6½d. and a quarter farthing, the amount having been swelled by £40 from Lady Elizabeth of York, widow, £150 from John Russell Bishop of Lincoln, £42 from "Father Prior" himself and £18 from the Queen. The convent expended £180 13s. 4d. in the purchase of land and £8 15s. 10d. in amortising it; they had to pay £40 as their share of the subsidy in aid of the king's expedition against Scotland besides other more ordinary outlay such as occurred

¹ Antwerp, Utrecht, and Rhenish or Rhine gülden (florins), Nimeguen groats and new single plakcs.

every year. On quitting his office Dan Philip handed over a small remainder, £6 17s. 5d., to a converse of the house, Brother John Bolthrop, because "the will of the lords fathers visitors of the same Order," Dan John Clerk, Prior of the House of Beauvale, and Dan Ralph Tracy, Prior of the House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Shene, was that from the feast of St. Michael, 16 Henry VII., then to come, he should not receive nor pay anything of the rents nor firms or other casualties belonging to the charterhouse with which all the procurators in times past were wont to be charged, which seems to be a veiled way of saying that he was deposed by the Visitors. The latter portion of his account reads somewhat like a self-advertisement of efficiency in his office. After details of the way in which he had spent the money, including costs, legal and others, in purchasing of lands and tenements, there follow a list of rents procured by Dan Philip Underwode of the gift of certain persons (among them the annual rent of 16s. 8d. from a building with a garden near the "Horse a down" in St. Olave's parish, Southwark, after the death of his father William Underwode), quit rents claimed by him for the charterhouse, a rental in 8 Henry VII. under John Cootes, and a rental in 16 Henry VII. to show the increase under his own management. Then he gives an inventory of victuals and goods in the house when he entered office, appraised at £3 2s., and another of victuals and other necessities for the store of the house with diverse things for repairs left on his retirement, appraised at £75 4s. 10½d. Underwode's victualling included fish and flesh (beef salted and bacon and live stock), wine, red claret and white, over £3 worth of spices and fruits such as "pepir, clowes, maces, reesens smale and greete, Safron, proynes, dates, graynes, almondes, ryce, sugur," "Essex and Suffolk chese," candles, timber including boards of oak and elm, stone, "assheler stone for paving of kychens," "rag stone for paving of stretes," lead, hay and straw, cloth for the convent, being "brode whyte wollen cloth" for their habits, friese, blanket and canvas, also skins being lamb fells large and small, and "shepe lether." Lastly there is an inventory of utensils, jewels, implements and other goods in addition to those which Dan Philip found there on his coming to the office with a note of repairs done in the monastery and precincts during his procuratorship, from which some items have already been quoted.

Many years later Philip Underwode by a special dispensation quitted the Carthusians for the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and was received by Thomas Docwra their prior in a chapter held at St. John's House, Clerkenwell, on 24th April, 1514.¹

It will have been sufficiently shown above that the expenditure of the convent had to depend on the amount of alms bestowed in addition to its regular sources of revenue. The clear yearly value² of this before the dissolution of the charterhouse was £643 4d., very considerably more than double the income of the three earlier monasteries at Witham, Hinton and Beauvale, which were really poor and further from royal patronage. Their poverty and remoteness gave the less temptation, or occasion, to depart from the ancient Carthusian ascetic rigour.

After the dissolution, Henry VIII. on 14th April, 1545, granted to Sir Edward North, after the death of John Bridges, valet of the royal hales and tents, and Thomas Hale, groom of the same, to both of whom he had given a life interest in some of the property, the house and site of the charterhouse, the church, bell-tower, cells, cloister and other buildings, the cemetery adjoining commonly called the charterhouse churchyard and the chapel built in the same, and all the lead, glass and stones of the houses and the soil, and the West gate in the parish of St. Sepulchre with the houses built thereon, and the East gate in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldersgate, a messuage in that parish then in the occupation of Lord Parr of Horton, and also "the head and original fountain" in the parish of Islington in the Condytefeld.

The history of the defaced and secularised remains of this charterhouse would be out of place here, and it has been told often enough elsewhere.

¹ Dom Laurence Hendricks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 73.

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i., p. 431.

CHAPTER III

THE CHARTERHOUSES OF HULL, COVENTRY, AND AXHOLME

THE site of the London charterhouse was an avowed departure from the older Carthusian practice of residence in deserted solitudes, and it denotes really a growing change in the character of the Order. The idea of the solitary life was giving place to that of the enclosed life. The Carthusian hermit, who might be expelled for unsatisfactory conduct, had become merely a monk strictly enclosed, for whom there was no permitted egress save a prison. That is to say, the Carthusians, consciously or unconsciously, were assimilating themselves to the other monastic orders, as they themselves admitted at a later date.¹ To this development or change may be attributed two more foundations not far from the "concourse" of men, the one outside that port of growing importance, Kingston-upon-Hull, and the other at Coventry.

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF ST. MICHAEL, KINGSTON-UPON-HULL

While Sir Walter Mauny's charitable beginnings at New Church Hawe were taking the shape of a Carthusian monastery, that wealthy and less romantic knight Sir William de la Pole was considering the institution of a charity of another sort. Before 1365 he had applied to Edward III. for licence to found a hospital of chaplains and poor folk at Kingston-upon-Hull, and to endow it with certain property in Kingston and Miton, and for Richard le Scrope to grant to him the advowson of the church of Medburn so that he could give it to the master and brethren of his proposed hospital. Later he changed his mind, and obtained the royal licence to put in minoresses instead to look after the sick poor of his hospital.² He died, however, before the letters patent of the

¹ In the general chapter of 1442 (Bodleian Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 129^v).

² Patent Roll, 39 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 33.

licence took effect, though it appears that the chapel and some buildings were erected on the intended site. Michael de la Pole, his son, later Earl of Suffolk, thought that his wishes could be fulfilled by carrying out an intention of his own, the foundation and endowment of a charterhouse, for which he purchased the royal letters patent dated 20th May, 1377, for 100s., and surrendered the licences previously granted to Sir William.¹ Over a twelvemonth later he gave the infant community his own charter² at Kingston-upon-Hull on 18th February, 1378-9. In this, with a pathetic assurance of the durability of the Church as he knew it, after referring to his father's intended hospital and nunnery, he declares that "to the honour of God and of the glorious Virgin Mary His Mother, and of St. Michael the Archangel, and all archangels and angels and holy spirits, and of St. Thomas the Martyr formerly Archbishop of Canterbury, and for the spiritual affection which he has to the very devout religion of the Carthusian Order, he founds, in a messuage of his outside the walls of Kingston-upon-Hull, a house to last forever of thirteen monks of that Order, one of them to bear government as prior according to the rule." These he believed would serve there more vigilantly and devoutly than women. With the assent of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse he put in Dan Walter de Kele as prior over the monks, though from what house he was taken, or who were his brethren, does not appear. He goes on to say in his charter that with King Richard's licence he gives to the community the said house with its appurtenances including 7 acres of land, late parcel of the manor of Miton, called formerly La Maison Dieu, and now henceforth to be called the House of St. Michael of the Carthusian Order of Kingston-upon-Hull, together with a chapel built in the same messuage, and all the edifices thereon built and all other appurtenances whatsoever between the pit (*fovea*) of Dame Katharine de la Pole his mother on the west and his hospital called now the Maison Dieu on the east, and between a dyke of his mother's on the south and land once belonging to Roger Swerde on the north, and the advowson of the church of Foston, as the endowment of the monastery. He gives them also the manor of Sculcotes, and the reversion of messuages and land at

¹ Patent Roll, 51 Edward III., m. 10.

² Enrolled on Close Roll, 2 Richard II., m. 18 d.

Bishopsburton and Sutton in Holderness after the death of Thomas Rayner, clerk, who held them by demise from Sir John de Neville. The monks on their side are to hold in special remembrance in their masses and prayers the king, himself, his wife Katharine, and Katharine his mother, Edmund his brother, Michael his (the founder's) son, and his other children and heirs, Alexander Archbishop of York, John de Neville of Raby, and Richard le Scrope, while living, and their souls when dead, and the souls of members (mentioned) of the families of de la Pole, le Scrope and Neville. Richard le Scrope the Chancellor, and Richard de Feribe (Feriby), mayor of Kingston, are among the witnesses to the charter.

The licence of 51 Edward III. allowing the change of Sir William de la Pole's nunnery into a charterhouse and the transfer of lands intended for the minoresses to the monks, states the endowment to have been originally 20 acres of land and £20 of rent in Kingston and Miton held in chief, with permission to acquire temporal tenements and spiritual benefices not held in chief to the value of 200 marks yearly, and in compensation of the advowson of the church of Medburn which the king had recovered against Richard le Scrope, lands and advowsons to the value of £20, and in satisfaction of these two sums were assigned the manor of Frisby, four messuages in Kingston, and the advowsons of the churches of Frisby, Northcave and Foston by Holderness.

The above-mentioned licence to Michael de la Pole of 1377 states that the hospital was to be for thirteen poor men and thirteen poor women, of whom one of the men was to be over the others and to be called Master; they were to dwell with, and be ruled along with the monks, or separately, as he or his executors should appoint. The management of a hospital, even without female inmates was not after Carthusian custom, and, according to the founder's final regulations,¹ the charterhouse had very little to do with the Maison Dieu which stood near it on its eastern side but not within its enclosure. After the first Master, Sir Richard Killam, a priest, whom he put in himself, he left the appointment to that office after his own death to his successors, heirs of Miton, being of full age, or, in case of a lapse of a fortnight,

¹ Quoted by J. Tickell, *History of Kingston upon Hull*, ed. 1798, p. 197 seq.

to the prior of the charterhouse, and if he failed, after another fortnight to the mayor of Kingston, or upon his failure to the Archdeacon of East Riding or his official. Similarly, if Pole's heir should be a minor, a Master on the testimony of three or four or the best brethren or sisters of the hospital might be removed by the prior, mayor or archdeacon. Also a chest in which he had put 100 marks of silver to form a stock for the hospital was to be kept in the treasury of the priory near by under the custody of the Master and the prior of the charterhouse and the Mayor of Kingston. The only relic of the Carthusian monastery today is its name, which in the years after the dissolution was somewhat strangely transferred to Pole's still extant hospital the Maison Dieu, now commonly known as the Charterhouse.

The Carthusian House of St. Michael stood without the north gate of the town. In a sixteenth-century map of Hull (Cotton MS. Aug. I., vol. i., no. 83) it is represented as surrounded by a wall, in which on the south a gateway faces a postern in the north wall of the town. The church with a square tower in the centre of it appears above the monastic enclosure. But the drawing can hardly be accepted as an accurate guide, since the few cells represented in it are planted promiscuously round the church instead of in the set Carthusian fashion round a quadrangle. In Hollar's plan of Hull of about 1640 the priory church is without a tower. All that Leland, who saw it sooner after its dissolution, says of it is: "The charterhouse of the de la Poles' foundation, and an hospital of their fundation standing by it, is without the North Gate. The hospital standith. Certain of the de la Poles wher buried in this Cartusian monastery, and at the late suppressing of it were founde Dyverse trowehes of leade with Bones in a Volte under the high altar there. Most part of this monastery was builded with Brike, as the residew of the buildings of Hull for the most part be."¹ Since the Carthusians buried their own dead in the cloisters or cloister garth, clad in their habit and sewn into their grave clothes without coffins, the antiquary's suggestion that the bones in the leaden troughs were those of the founders is probably true.

The first founder of this charterhouse, Michael de la Pole, Chancellor of Richard II., was created Earl of Suffolk in

¹ *Itinerary*, i., f. 57.

1385, a sign of favour from his king, which perhaps marked him out the more for the odium of his contemporaries, already probably jealous of his wealth. The Duke of Gloucester, heading the opposition against his royal nephew, upon Richard's refusal to dismiss his ministers when demanded by parliament, secured the impeachment of Suffolk, who was accused, whether justly or from party spite, of slackness in carrying on the war with France and of misappropriation of funds. He was convicted and condemned to imprisonment and the payment of a fine. Next year, however, he was at liberty and present at Richard's consultation with his judges as to the legality of the commission of regency formed on Suffolk's downfall; nevertheless he thought it wiser to put the sea between himself and his enemies. He fled to France and died at Paris in 1389. Parliament, called variously the Wonderful or the Merciless, met in November, 1387, and condemned him with Chief Justice Tresilian and others to be hanged, and his title and estates were forfeited. Among his goods there happened to be in the custody of the Carthusians at Kingston "a vestment of common value, divers parcels of other vestments, a missal, a small psalter, and a French book"; these on his attainder were put under arrest of the king's officers, and in 1391, were granted by Richard II. to the prior and convent that they might with more reason pray for him, the king, and for the souls of his progenitors.¹ The attainder had inconvenient consequences for the charterhouse of St. Michael, for it had prevented their founder from fully effecting his endowment of it. But this was remedied in 1393, when the king for £20 granted the prior and convent licence to acquire in mortmain lands and tenements to the value of £12 to make up the deficiency.²

The letters patent for this licence last mentioned were afterwards surrendered because the heirs of their founder, after reinstatement, gradually fulfilled his intentions. Thus Michael de la Pole, the late earl's son, was restored to his father's honours in 1397, and in 1399 had the royal permission to alienate in mortmain to the Carthusian house of St. Michael near Kingston-upon-Hull three messuages and land in Anlaby to the value of 38s. 4d. in part satisfaction, viz. £4, of the licence for the foundation granted by

¹ Patent Roll, 14 Richard II., pt. ii., m. 17.

² *Ibid.*, 17 Richard II., pt. ii., m. 38.

Edward III.¹ And William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, grandson of this second Michael, had licence² in 1436 similarly to alienate property in Miton worth 40s. yearly in part satisfaction of £20 mentioned in his ancestor's licence, and five years after had another licence³ for endowing them with the manor of Remeswell and messuages and land and rent there worth £8 yearly towards the 200 marks of temporal or spiritual possessions allowed by the patent of 1377.

The second Michael de la Pole, who died at the siege of Harfleur in 1415, and his wife seem to have been buried in the Carthusian church at Kingston, according to a passage in the testament of his son, a third Earl Michael, dated 1st July, 1415. The latter (slain three months later at Agincourt) directed that if he died in the northern parts, he was to be buried in that church between the tomb of his father and mother and the altar, without any "tomb" to be put over him, but only a low stone.⁴ His brother William, Duke, Marquis and Earl of Suffolk, as he described himself, also sought burial in that church. By will he appointed, to use his own quaint words, "my wretched body to be beryed in my charterhouse at Hull, where y wolle myn ymage and stone be made and the ymage of my best beloved wyf by me, she to be there with me yf she lust, my saide sepulture to be made by here discretion in ye said charterhouse where she shal thinke best in caas be that in my dayes it be not made nor begonme, desiringe yf it may to lye so as the masses that y have perpetually founded for my said best beloved wyf and me may be daily songen over me."⁵

Those for the departed members of the de la Pole family were not the only obligatory masses at the charterhouse. In 1402 the royal licence was issued for Richard le Scrope, "chivaler," Edmund de la Pole, "chivaler," and others to grant in mortmain £20 of rent from the manor of Langham, Essex, to the prior and convent of St. Michael, for the maintenance of a cell of one monk, a chaplain of their Order, to celebrate divine service daily in the priory for the soul of John Colthorpe and for the welfare of Alice, wife of Thomas Graa of York, formerly wife of John Colthorpe, for her soul when

¹ Patent Roll, 22 Richard II., pt. ii., m. 24.

² *Ibid.*, 14 Henry VI., pt. ii., m. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, 19 Henry VI., m. 8.

⁴ Lambeth, Reg. Chichele, i., f. 283.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Reg. Stafford, f. 189^v.

dead and the souls of the benefactors of John and Alice, with licence to the prior and convent to grant the said £20 of rent to Michael, Earl of Suffolk, in exchange for property at Miton.¹

In the same year the convent had a small royal benefaction by the grant of a tun of wine annually to be received out of the King's wines in the port of Kingston-upon-Hull, so that in their orisons they should remember the souls of the king's father, and the prosperity of the king and realm.²

In 1384 the Carthusians of St. Michael paid 50 marks for a licence for John, Bishop of Lincoln, Master John de Waltham, Thomas de Hynton, parson of a moiety of the church of Thetelthorpe, Walter de Thele, vicar of Sculcotes, and John son of Robert de Kele, clerk, to alienate to them in mortmain $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of land in Hogsthorpe and the advowson of the church thereof, for the supply of a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the priory church for the souls of the bishop and the other grantors mentioned. Subsequently to this grant, Richard II. added his weight to a petition which the prior and convent sent to Urban VI., requesting permission, since the charterhouse had not as yet been sufficiently endowed, to appropriate the parish church of Hogsthorpe, according to the intention of its patrons who had given the advowson to them. The pope therefore commissioned the Archbishop of York to appropriate it to them on the death or resignation of its rector, but for five years only. Boniface IX., on another joint petition from the king and the Carthusians of Hull, commissioned Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, to appropriate it to them in perpetuity under the usual condition of a fit portion being reserved for a vicar. The archbishop made the appropriation accordingly, and after the death of Ivo the rector the charterhouse of St. Michael had possession of it for some years. Boniface, however, in 1402, included the appropriation in his general annulment, and made provision of the church to Eudo de la Zouche. But the charterhouse secured a grant from Innocent VII. in 1406 confirming the appropriation, notwithstanding his predecessor's annulment. Eudo the rector voluntarily resigned, and the monks took possession anew. But John Brynnesley, a priest of the diocese of Lincoln, by some means despoiled them of it. Once more

¹ Patent Roll, 3 Henry IV., pt. ii., m. 8.

² *Ibid.*, m. 11.

they sought help from Rome, with result that Alexander V. ordered the Archbishop of York on the resignation or death of the then rector to appropriate the church to them again in perpetuity, reserving a portion for a perpetual vicar who was to be a secular priest. After this they seem to have kept their possession undisturbed.¹

In 1388 the charterhouse of St. Michael was in trouble over another advowson, that of North Cave, Co. York, which had been included in the original endowment.² A certain Master John de Thoren, falsely stating the vicarage to be void and in the king's gift, got himself presented. Upon being cited in Chancery, however, he failed to appear, and the decree consequently being passed in favour of the charterhouse, the presentation was revoked.³

In the many wills proved at York, bequests to this community, beyond a few sums of money for funeral masses and memorial prayers, are comparatively rare. Of these may be noted the curious legacy of John Fynwell of Hull in 1521 to "Maister Prior of the Charttour howse" of his "almous beddes with a knob of imperereill," and the testamentary appointments of John Swift, son and heir of John Swift of Easington, in 1529. The latter gave his body to be buried within the church of St. Michael at the charterhouse, and to "Master Prior" for his burial 20s. and, he added, "to by a stone to leye upon me with scripture in Latine 30s." The monks of the house for doing a trental for his soul were to have 20s. After mass and *Dirige* in St. Mary's church with all the priests of the town and "both the Freres" his body was to be brought to the charterhouse for interment. Except his best doublet and shirt he willed that "my uncle prior" should dispose of his clothes "to our poor scholars," and he made that "truly and well-beloved uncle, Rauf Smyth, prior of the charterhouse" his executor.⁴

Whether the Carthusians at Hull were as popular with the townsfolk as their brethren were with the Londoners, there is no means of knowing. There is one instance of hostility or malignity in persons who were probably not near neighbours. In 1433 Prior John Caunsfeld sued Adam

¹ Patent Roll, 8 Richard II., pt. i., m. 27; *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1404-1415, pp. 81 and 162.

² *Ibid.*, 51 Edward III., m. 10.

³ *Ibid.*, 11 Richard II., pt. ii., m. 4.

⁴ *Testamenta Eboracensia* (*Surtees Society*), vol. v., pp. 140, 172.

Belfyn of Newelond, labourer, and others for threatening the prior's tenants at Sculcotes with loss of life and mutilation of members, so that they left their tenements, to the prior's loss of their rents and services for a long time.¹ Deprivation of their rents at Sculcotes meant serious injury to the charterhouse, for their property there, returning £86 3s. 8d. yearly in 33 Henry VIII., was their largest source of income, which consisted entirely of rents from tenements and land and the firms of the rectories of Northcave, Sculcotes, Foston and Hogsthorpe.² In fact, the House of St. Michael was always poor; according to the Valor of Henry VIII. the clear yearly value of all their possessions both temporal and spiritual amounted only to £174 18s. 4d.³

The site of the charterhouse of St. Michael is said⁴ to have been on its dissolution granted to Thomas, Duke of Northumberland. The patent setting forth the grant of it in 1542 by Edward VI. to Edward Fynes, Lord Clinton, in exchange for other property, merely states it to have been "now or lately in the tenure or occupation of Ralph Constable and Thomas Alredd."⁵ Of the ecclesiastical goods of the convent there is no return. Of the lead from the buildings 153 fother were perhaps used in public works at Hull, since this item occurs in an undated account of the controller of the works in that town.⁶ The remains of the monastery, which had been partly demolished in the Civil War of the seventeenth century, finally disappeared over a hundred years ago.

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF ST. ANNE, COVENTRY

Concerning the foundation of the charterhouse of St. Anne, Coventry, the Carthusians have a piously romantic tradition which seems like an echo from the earlier ages of devotion. A manuscript in the charterhouse of Brussels relates that during the reign of the Emperor Wenceslaus

¹ *York Archæological Society: Monastic Notes*, vol. i., p. 100, quoting De Banco Roll, C.P. Mich: 12 Henry VI., m. 181, 452.

² *Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII.*, No. 4523.

³ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol. v., p. 126.

⁴ By Tanner in the *Notitia*, but he gives no date or reference.

⁵ Patent Roll, 6 Edward VI., pt. vii.

⁶ Exchequer K.R., *Church Goods*, bundle 14/126.

(brother of Queen Anne of Bohemia), one Robert, a simple, upright and God-fearing man, pastor of a church in England, went on pilgrimage with another priest to the Holy Land. This visit to the scenes of the Lord's Passion led him to desire to make his permanent abode there, and he prayed to be shown where best he might serve God in devotion and quiet. A revelation was vouchsafed to him during a celebration of mass in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and he was bidden in English to return to England and to enter the Carthusian Order as being the right path of life and pleasing to God. He joyfully related his experience to his companion, and both went home. After Robert had returned to his church, in another revelation he was shown the spot where he was to build a Carthusian monastery, of which he was himself to be elected prior. Forthwith he began to dig up the soil, and to make a quadrangle after the measurements revealed to him. When the people to whom the ground belonged objected to his operations, he answered, "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and He has commanded me to build a monastery in this place." The owners, while acknowledging the honesty and simplicity of their parish priest, nevertheless had the matter brought to the king's notice, with result that he was summoned to the royal presence to show cause why, on his own authority, he was digging on other folk's land. The fervent Robert, then called the pastor, related his vision to the king, and besought him to become the advocate and patron of this cause so dear to his heart. The king, amused at his simplicity, turned to his courtiers, asking "How seems it to you? Robert was cited before me as his judge, and now requires me to be his advocate!" Sympathy was with the strange delinquent, and the king bought for Robert, later called the Palmer, the field which he had dug, and in which the monastery was built, of which he became prior.¹

Since Robert Palmer was a full professed Carthusian monk of such experience as to have been intrusted with the important office of procurator of the London charterhouse, when St. Anne's was founded in 1381, the pilgrimage should have been dated earlier than the reign of Wenceslaus, who became emperor in 1378. Else the story has nothing irreconcilable with known facts. Richard II., at the in-

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*, vol. vi, p. 286.

stance of William, Lord Zouche of Haringworth, did buy, or somehow procure, a field from Sir Baldwin de Freyville, knight, out of the latter's demesne of Shorteley within the Liberty of Coventry, and granted it on 18th March, 1382, in mortmain to John de Netherbury the first prior. It was named "Shorteley feld," and measured fourteen acres, extending from a footpath towards London on the east to a stream called Shirbourn on the west, and from a ditch on the south to a mill called "Bushelemilne" on the north.¹ In obtaining this field, the king unknowingly committed an injustice; a certain Roger Ledecote had been possessed of the manor of Shorteley, and on his death the entail passed to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of John Barn-desley of Chestreton; the husband and wife remained in possession thereof until they were disinherited by Sir Baldwin de Freyville. It was on a parcel of this manor that St. Anne's Charterhouse had been built when they recovered the manor by an assize which they brought against Sir Baldwin. The king, who promised compensation for "the field," died before giving any, and so late as 1414 Barndesley was petitioning Henry V. for it.²

According to a fragment of annals³ of the monastery, a little group of Carthusians, relying on Lord Zouche's surety for its sufficient endowment, and on the authority of John Luscote, Prior of the House of the Salutation, London, and provincial visitor, arrived at Coventry before the actual grant of the field. Prior Luscote sent thither first three of his own monks, his procurator, Robert the Palmer, the "first promoter" of the new foundation, his vicar, John Netherbury, and Edmund Dallyng. They arrived at Coventry on the eve of St. Andrew the Apostle (the year is not mentioned), and began by dwelling in the hermitage of St. Anne there, presumably a building previously erected and now vacant. Later three monks from Beauvale were associated with them as well as four new members of the Order professed at Coventry. For seven years they lived in the hermitage; then Lord Zouche persuaded Sir Baldwin de Freyville to give the fourteen-acre field to the king for the building site of the charterhouse.

¹ Patent Roll, 5 Richard II., pt. ii., m. 22.

² *Rolls of Parliament*, vol. iv., p. 29.

³ Printed by Dugdale, *Monasticon* (ed. 1830), vi., p. 16, app. i.-iv. ("Ex veteri pergamena in bibl. Hattoniana a° 1640").

In the following Lent, says this fragment, Lord Zouche sickened unto death and could not fulfil his intention further, but King Richard, at the special instance of Queen Anne his consort, took upon himself the full foundation, by his charter giving the same fourteen acres to the monks for their perpetual habitation forever. Seven years backwards from the date of the grant of Shorteley Field to the Carthusians, 18th March, 1382, gives 1375 as the year of their coming to Coventry.

Lord Zouche died on St. George's Day following, having appointed on his death-bed 100 marks to be paid for the sustentation of the prior and convent of the house of St. Anne yearly, until they should be sufficiently endowed by his heirs; but his confessor and others frustrated his purpose, and his executors contributed towards the house only £60 out of his legacy. However, the Carthusians found other friends. Richard Luff, sometime mayor of the city of Coventry, and John Botener, another citizen, spent much in making ponds for them, and then in building, or helping to build, the choir of the church, the cloister and other edifices; besides the three cells nearest the chapter house on the side of the eastern cloister they expended altogether 40 marks. John Holmeton of Sleaford contributed £180 towards the erection of the choir, and through him the corner cell at the western corner of the cloister was made at the expense of £20 out of the goods of William Tilney, whose executor he was. The cell fourth from the church on the eastern side was built by Dame Margery Byri of Newerke, who gave £20 towards it, and a book "with Isaiah and Jeremy glossed." The fifth and last cell on the eastern side was built with £20 from Dame Margaret Tylney of Rotston, who contributed also £10 towards the window at the end of the choir. The sixth cell, the first on the southern side of the cloister, was built with a gift of £20 from John Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln, the seventh next to it with the like sum from Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. These seven cells were all erected before the church.

In 1385 King Richard, on returning from Scotland about the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, arrived at Coventry on Saturday within the octave of the same feast. Riding along the highway he came to the monastery of St. Anne, and with his own hands laid the first stone in the

foundation of the church, at the east end of the choir, "proclaiming himself publicly before the lords and great people then present, and before the mayor and citizens of Coventry to be the founder of that charterhouse," and announcing his desire to complete it.

After this, the eighth cell—that is, the third in the southern side—was erected with £20 from Adam Botener, a citizen of Coventry; the ninth, next to it, with £20 from the goods of Sir Nigel Loryng, procured for the convent by Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London; the tenth, in the corner on the western side, with the goods of William Tylney above said; and the eleventh cell, the next on the west, with £20 of the goods of Sir John Morton, canon of Lichfield, who also gave a book containing part of the Bible.¹

The hermitage of St. Anne, from which the Carthusians moved, apparently did not belong to them. It is suggested here that it may have been connected with the chapel of St. Anne, near the priory, which with its demesne lands, Thomas, then prior of the charterhouse, had at farm for ninety-nine years from the master and brethren of the Guild of the Holy Trinity and SS. John the Baptist and Katherine by indenture in 18 Henry VIII., in exchange for "xi le leys and ix le buttis" of pasture in the fields called the "Charterhouse leys."² When the monks transferred themselves to their own site, John de Netherbury had been appointed their prior, and to him the king granted "Shorteley field."

Lord Zouche is sometimes mentioned as the founder of the charterhouse of Coventry, but really it owed more to Richard II. On 18th November, 1382, the king gave licence to its monks, who had no possessions besides the plot granted by him in the preceding March, to acquire in mortmain advowsons of churches to be appropriated by them to the clear yearly value of £100 beyond the portions to be assigned to the vicars.³ Two years later he granted them in frankalmoin the advowson of the church of Walton on Trent, but this after ten years they relinquished when he licensed them to acquire as part of their foundation and maintenance from the abbot and convent of Aulnay in Normandy, the alien priory of Limber with its property in Kirtlington and Ashby Mears, and the advowsons of the churches of Limber,

¹ *Monasticon*, vi., p. 16 (as before).

² *Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII.*, No. 3740.

³ Patent Roll, 6 Richard II., pt. i., m. 38 d.

Kirtlington, and Ashby Mears, and the other possessions of that priory, for the yearly rent to the king of 25 marks during the war with France.¹ In 1385 Richard II. granted to them in full satisfaction of the licence above mentioned the advowson of the church of Ecclesfield, then lately belonging to the abbey of St. Wandrille in Normandy, and licence to appropriate it in mortmain.² The £100 value was, however, found insufficient to support a prior and twelve monks with their "servants and household," by which may be understood the converses and hired servants; the king therefore on 8th March, 1387, that they might pray for his good estate while living, and for his soul when dead, and for the souls of his father and other persons, licensed the convent to acquire other spiritual property to the value of another £50.³ To make up this annual sum he allowed them in 1390 to have in mortmain from the Benedictine abbot of St. Georges of Bocherville in Normandy the manor or alien priory of Edith Weston, in Co. Rutland, of the yearly value of 24 marks, subject to the annual rent to himself of 11s. 2d., which, however, he remitted during war with France.⁴ And in 1396 for £15 paid to the Hanaper, he licensed the alienation in mortmain to them by John, Abbot of St. Mary, St. Pierre sur Dives, in the diocese of Séez, of the manor or priory of Wolfricheston, alias Wolfriston, Co. Warwick, of the yearly value of £20, and by the Abbot of St. Mary, St. Sever, in the diocese of Coutances, of the priory of Haugham, Co. Lincoln, of the yearly value of 12 marks.⁵ These were confirmed to the convent of St. Anne, Coventry, in 1398 with pardon of the farms due for the custody of the two priories and their lands.⁶

Probably about this time Robert Palmer succeeded John de Netherbury, the first prior, and if it was true that he was known personally to the king, he may have suggested to him an increase in the size of his community. Be that as it may, on 21st May, 1399, Richard II. granted, as from the preceding Easter, during the war with France, to Robert, the prior, and to the convent of the Carthusian house of

¹ Patent Roll, 8 Richard II., pt. i., m. 8; and 16 Richard II., pt. iii., m. 26.

² *Ibid.*, 9 Richard II., pt. i., m. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, 10 Richard II., pt. ii., m. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 14 Richard II., pt. i., m. 15.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 Richard II., pt. i., m. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 21 Richard II., pt. iii., m. 9.

St. Anne, Coventry, and their successors, for the better and more seemly augmentation of divine service therein, and because the king has determined that the house shall be enlarged to a convent of monk-chaplains in addition to the monks at present there, of the following alien priories with all their possessions in England and Wales, in the king's hand on account of the war—viz., Loders, Co. Dorset, belonging to the abbey of Montebourg in Normandy, rendering £80 yearly to the king; Wotton with Monkland, Co. Hereford, belonging to the abbey of Conches in Normandy, rendering £53 6s. 8d. yearly to the king; Long Benington, Lincoln, with Field Dalling, Co. Norfolk, belonging to the abbey of Savigny in Normandy, rendering £50 yearly to the king; and Haugh, Co. Lincoln, belonging to the abbey of Cherbourg in Normandy, rendering £20 yearly to the king, discharged from the payment of those sums and from all other charges due to the king.¹

The monk-chaplains mentioned above who were those of the community to be especially charged with the intercessory masses and orisons imposed by their founder are evidence how closely the Carthusians in accepting the burden of a multiplication of ecclesiastical services were getting into line with the religion of other monastic Orders.

Another remarkable innovation is to be noted in the Coventry charterhouse. Contrary to the old Carthusian idea of seclusion, and of silence even in the lay-brothers' quarters, a school for boys was established within its very walls. This also was imposed on the convent by the king, but it should be remembered that the Carthusian dual arrangement of a house of religious proper, and of a house of lay-brothers where all the secular work of the community was transacted, made the admission of a school possible without the entire subversion of St. Bruno's intention. It is scarcely conceivable that the boy-clerks were educated anywhere within the precincts of the priory of St. Anne save in the quarters of the converses. Certainly Guigo I. and the statutes had laid down that boys were not to be received for the novitiate, but these pupils imposed by their royal patron were not to be trained for monastic life. Whether the monks themselves taught them is a question which cannot be answered; the probability is that they hired a master or masters for the purpose from outside.

¹ *Ibid.*, 22 Richard II., pt. iii., m. 4.

In 1393 Richard II. had given licence for the alienation in mortmain by the abbot of the Benedictine house of SS. Serge and Bachus in Angers to the prior and convent of St. Anne, Coventry, of the manors or priories of Swavesey Drye and Drayton, and the advowson of Swavesey and the vicarage thereof, discharged of all farms and rent due to the king, save only 65 marks payable yearly after the lapse of six years to the warden and scholars of the king's hall, Cambridge, in discharge of the king's obligation to pay them that sum.¹ On 21st May, 1399, the king released to the Carthusian prior and convent of St. Anne this farm of 65 marks, on condition that they supported forever within the bounds of their house twelve poor clerks, of the age of seven to seventeen years, to pray for the good estate of the king and queen, for their souls after death, and the souls of the late Queen Anne, the king's parents, and of all the faithful departed.²

The charterhouse's possession of Swavesey was not wholly peaceful. In 1404, Parliament being conveniently at Coventry, the Carthusians petitioned for the restitution of that priory, because Master John Judde had come with a multitude of armed people, and had forcibly entered therein, carrying off the goods and chattels of the former prior and convent to the value of £100 as well as their charters and deeds. Henry IV. therefore granted them an exemplification of the patent of Richard II.³ When peace was made between England and France the Carthusians lost their estate in the priory of Swavesey altogether, but fortunately the confiscation of the alien priories to the crown was to their benefit, and Henry V. on 8th June, 1421, granted the priory of Swavesey with all its possessions in frankalmoin to the prior and convent of the charterhouse of St. Anne by Coventry for the maintenance of the twelve poor clerks in furtherance of the grant and confirmation of Richard II. and Henry IV. not yet executed on account of their poverty, with pardon to them of any errors in the appropriation of the church, and all arrears of farms.⁴

A transaction of Robert Palmer in 1404, though not illustrative of Carthusian custom, is not without interest.

¹ Patent Roll, 17 Richard II., pt. i., m. 1.

² *Ibid.*, 22 Richard II., pt. iii., m. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 6 Henry IV., pt. i., m. 18.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 Henry V., pt. i., m. 3.

William Dalby of Exton had founded at Oakham a hospital of two chaplains and twelve poor men, and granted the advowson of this institution to the prior and convent of St. Anne at Coventry. On 26th October, 6 Henry IV., Prior Robert for 577 marks paid to his community by Dalby, granted to Simon Thorpe, warden of the hospital, a yearly rent of £20, with power to distrain on the priory's lands of Edith Weston, Co. Rutland, and a penalty of 100s. for rent one month in arrear. In 1406, the priory never having received the advowson from Dalby, who had finally granted it to Roger Flore of Oakham for 550 marks paid by Roger, renewed the grant of rent to Thorpe, the warden, attaching the forfeitures of 100s. to the warden, and 100s. to the patron, on one month's arrear.¹

In spite of the favour of Richard II. and his Lancastrian successors, the charterhouse of St. Anne was not rich. In 1419 Martin V. granted the prior and convent an indult to let at rent or farm to any persons, even to laymen, the fruits of their churches and their lands, without their being obliged to obtain the licence of their diocesans, which suggests that the community were in difficulty for funds and glad of exoneration from fees to episcopal chanceries. The relapsing of the alien priories and their estates to their French owners in time of peace must have been troublesome, and probably afforded opportunity for litigation to persons inclined to dispute their possession of such property. In 1457, their lands being "wasted by decay and unjust actions at the suit of enemies," they received from Henry VI. a mortmain licence for the acquisition of lands and rents to the value of £40 annually, the king granting to them at the same time of his alms a tun of wine yearly at Martinmas in the port of Bristol.² The favour of the next Henry, purchased through a fine of £11 11s. paid to the Hanaper, is seen in a grant of the parish church of Potterspury, Co. Northampton, of their own patronage, and of the parish church of Egge-mond (Edgmond), Co. Salop, of the patronage of the abbey of St. Peter, Shrewsbury, conditioned with provision for the sufficient endowment of the vicarages, and for certain yearly sums to be distributed among the poor of the parishes; in return the Coventry Carthusians were to pray daily for the good estate of the king, his consort and mother, and to

¹ *Ibid.*, 6 Henry IV., pt. i., m. 19; 8 Henry IV., pt. i., m. 27.

² *Ibid.*, 36 Henry VI., pt. i., m. 2.

celebrate the mass of the Holy Spirit weekly for the king during his life, and a solemn obit yearly at some convenient time about Michaelmas for his soul after his departure.¹

The commissioners for the ecclesiastical valuation under Henry VIII. returned the gross yearly value of all the appropriations, pensions, and rents belonging to the charter-house of St. Anne, Coventry, as £251 5s. 9d. Out of this income, besides certain small payments, such as 6s. 8d. yearly to the chamber of the city of Coventry for murage of their tenements within that city, the commissioners made an allowance of £77 6s. 9d. to the convent for alms which they were bound to dispense.² The items of this sum were as follows :

	£	s.	d.
Allowed to them for maintenance of twelve poor scholars within the said house as ordained by the foundation and appointment of the kings of England, founders - - - -	30	0	0
Allowed for alms given yearly to the Warden of the Hospital of Oakham, Co. Rutland, for maintenance of the poor there as appears by composition made between them - - - -	26	13	4
Allowed for alms given within the parish of Potterspury by composition yearly - -		3	4
For alms within the parish of Wulstan - -	2	13	4
Allowed for alms given to the Carmelite Friars of Coventry as by composition - - -		3	4
Allowed to them for alms given yearly to the poor dwelling within the city of Coventry, and they are bound by composition for the souls of divers their benefactors - - - -		10	1
Allowed to them for certain alms given on Holy Thursday at the maundy and the washing of the feet of the poor within the monastery in bread, beer and herrings - - - -	2	13	4
And allowed to them for certain daily alms given at the door of the monastery to the poor dwelling in and near the city of Coventry, in bread and ale to 30 quarters of wheat yearly, price the quarter 5s., and 30 quarters of brew made into beer and given to the same at 3s. 4d. the quarter, in the whole yearly - - -	14	10	0

¹ Patent Roll, 10 Henry VII., m. 37 (3).

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iii., p. 53.

No cartulary of this house is known to exist, from which might have been drawn some explanation of the Maundy Thursday alms, and the daily dole at the door of the monastery. It may be observed that both were in flagrant contradiction of the opinion and custom of the early Chartreux. Guigo I., indeed, allowed that bread or anything else according to means might be given to secular poor, but these were not to be admitted, save rarely, under the roof, and not to flock about the monastery to receive alms, which should rather be sent to them in the neighbouring towns; else, as he remarked, he and his fellow solitaries might as well have settled in the streets, instead of retiring to places difficult of access. This divergence from Carthusian early custom, like the innovation of the school, need not denote a departure in austerity in the inner life of this charterhouse, though both denote a less rigid attitude towards the outer world. It is to be regretted that no information concerning the school is available.

The clear annual value of the property of the charterhouse of St. Anne, Coventry, according to the *Valor* of Henry VIII., was £131 6s. 4d. Being so poor it could not be included among the "great solemn monasteries of the realm" where religion was right well kept, according to the statement in the preamble to the Act for suppression of the lesser religious houses. Nevertheless, the commissioners for the survey of monasteries in the county of Warwick not above the clear yearly value of £200 reported favourably of the inmates. The monks, they said, were twelve with the prior, "all priests in virtue and contemplation and religion excellent"; the number of "servants and persons having their living of the same house" were twenty-one, of whom three were professed converses, six "yoman servants," and twelve "childern brought up in virtue and lerning found there of almes." The house was in "very good repair and so, well maintained and kept." The value of the convent's movable goods, stock and store, and debts owing to the house, was £31 18s. 5d. The sale value of the bells, lead, and buildings the commissioners gave as £89 7s. 6d. From $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of wood other sums mentioned might be obtained. The priory was in debt for various causes £90 5s.¹ After the suppression of St. Anne's priory, a few small debts remained in 30 and 31 Henry VIII., as 3s. 4d.

¹ Exchequer T.R., *Miscellaneous Book*, 154, f. 125.

to Joan Garton out of 10s. rent which should have been paid to her late husband for certain land which Prior Tarleton occupied for the use of his hospice; 55s. to Thomas Eburall, late serving-man of the priory, for his wages and livery from Michaelmas, 29 Henry VIII.; 12s. 6d. to Walter Rothe of Warwick, being the price of 4 quarters of peas delivered by the prior's order in 28 Henry VIII.; 60s. 2d. to Richard Parker for fish for the guest-house; and 34s. 2d. to Thomas Kevett of the city of Coventry, cloth-worker, for money advanced by him to John Boucher, late prior, for the use of the guest-house.¹

The destruction of the monastic buildings, as usual, began with the stripping off the lead. Henry Johnson, plumber, was paid £7 19s. 4d. for melting and casting the lead from the church and structures of the charterhouse into "cxii les sowes" or "plockes," weighing altogether 56½ fothers, at the rate of 2s. 6d. the fother.²

The site of the priory of St. Anne was granted with other former monastic property to Richard Andrews and Leonard Chamberlain of Woodstock, Co. Oxford, on 17th June, 1542.³ Some trifling remains, and a dwelling-house called the Charterhouse, are the only relics of the Carthusians at Coventry.⁴

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF THE VISITATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY, IN THE ISLE OF AXHOLME

The seventh charterhouse⁵ of the English province, the House of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, was at Epworth in the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire. "By Milwood Park side stode the right fair monasterie of the Carthusianes, wher one of the Mulbraies Dukes of North-folk, was buried in a tumbe of Alabaster. Mr. Candish hath now turned the monasterie to a goodly manor place." Thus concisely did Leland the antiquary tell the story

¹ *Ministers' Accounts, Henry VIII.*, No. 7339.

² *Ibid.*

³ Patent Roll, 34 Henry VIII., pt. iv., m. 16.

⁴ Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 12.

⁵ The Benedictine priory at Totnes in Devonshire, alleged by some Carthusian writers to have been converted by William de la Zouche into a Carthusian monastery in 1383, and returned three years later to the Benedictines, may be discounted for lack of evidence (see Le Couteulx, *Annales*, sub anno 1383, and Dom Hendriks, as above, p. 12).

of its destruction, having viewed it but a few years after the suppression of the community.

Obscurely among the trees of Methelwude, or Milwood, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some canons were serving God in a house under the dedication of St. Mary; by an undated charter Henry, son of Henry de Beltoft, confirmed to them in perpetual alms land held of his father at Kelkefeld, occupied by Emma his aunt before her death; by another undated charter Thomas, son of Robert de Crasland, gave a strip of land upon "Amutherude" towards the light in the chapel of "St. Mary of Methelwude." In 1333, John, Bishop of Llandaff, issued an indulgence of forty days to the faithful who should contribute to the building or repair of the chapel of Methelwude in the Isle of Axholme.¹ The religious light of that unknown house seems to have been wholly extinguished forty years later; but the chapel of the canons served as the beginnings of the church of the Priory in the Wood, as the charterhouse was often called. In the fragment of the founder's deed, to be found in the few existing pages of the Axholme chartulary,² he speaks of the repair and new building of the church and houses, which shows that to some extent the edifices already on the site intended for the charterhouse were to be used for it.

During the pontificate of Urban VI., Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, made representations to that pope that the number of monks in the Benedictine priory at Kirby in the diocese of Lichfield, founded and endowed by his progenitors for seven religious, and subjected by them to the Abbey of St. Nicholas, Angers, had for long not been kept up, had, indeed, even dwindled to two, that the rule was not observed, the goods of the priory not expended on pious uses, and its rights neglected; further, that on account of the dissolute life of the prior and French monks there, and of their servants who quarrelled with the English, and on account of the war with France, the buildings were partially falling, wherefore he desired that the priory should be turned to better uses. At the earl's desire Urban VI. ordered the Bishop of Lichfield to transfer the priory—making due provision for the prior and monks, if there were

¹ British Museum Add. Charter, 20849; Harl. Ch., 48140; Add. Ch., 20610.

² Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 2/24.

any—to the Carthusians and to convert it into a house of their Order. For some reason the mandate was not executed, and meanwhile Mowbray changed his mind as to the site of the charterhouse. In 1396, having been petitioned by the earl to that effect, Boniface IX. sent a mandate to the Archbishop of York to grant licence to Nottingham, upon obtaining King Richard's licence, to found on his demesne in the Isle of Axholme a Carthusian house in honour of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist and all Saints, and to transfer to it the priory of Kirby, which was to be separated from St. Nicholas, and to appropriate to the intended charterhouse, which was to be for a prior and twelve monks, the churches of Belton and Epworth in the island.¹

The earl had certainly been rather slow in carrying out his intentions, for the mandate of Urban VI. had been issued in 1386, and his dilatoriness vexed the Carthusians. He had informed the priors of Hull and Coventry, then Visitors of the English province, of his purpose to found the house, and the general chapter had selected its future head. Yet it was not till after the mandate of Boniface IX. that he gave them his charter of foundation. In this he declares that to the honour of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, and Edward, King and Confessor, and for the special devotion which he has for the Feast of the Visitation of Blessed Virgin Mary, newly instituted by the pope, and for the healthful estate of King Richard and his own and of their souls when dead, and the souls of his parents, ancestors, and children, he proposes to found "a house, abbey, or monastery," for a prior and thirty monks of the Carthusian Order in his manor or place called "the Prior's of the Wode," near his park, "the Methelwode," in the Isle of Axholme, to be called the Monastery of the Visitation of St. Mary. He states that to the government of this house both in spiritual and temporal things, the religious and discreet man, brother John de Moreby, a Carthusian monk, with the assent of all the priors and religious of the Order, had been canonically elected prior, and therefore he confirms to him and his fellow-monks for the perpetual site and foundation of the said monastery

¹ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1362-1404, p. 537. The mandate of Urban VI. to the Bishop of Lichfield is in full in the Axholme Cartulary (Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 2/24).

his said manor, with a rent of 20 marks yearly from the manor of Epworth, also for their sustentation the alien priory of Monkskirby of his advowson and patronage, and the advowsons of the churches of Epworth and Belton within the Isle, which he has caused to be appropriated to them by apostolic authority. A licence of Richard II.¹ to the effect of the earl's charter was granted on 7th July, 1395, but Nottingham, in the following year, obtained another² dated 26th June, with a more explicit clause relating to the Benedictine property. By this the king allowed the grant of 100 acres at Epworth to the charterhouse "when it shall be founded," and also licensed the Abbot of St. Nicholas, Angers, to grant to the prior and monks of the charterhouse the priory of Monkskirby, with the manors of Newbold on Avon, Coppeston, and Walton, Co. Warwick, and the advowsons of the churches of Monkskirby and Newbold, and of the churches of Withybrook, Wappenbury, and Sharnford, and for the appropriation of these churches to the charterhouse, instead of to the Abbey of St. Nicholas. A clause was further added to acquit the Carthusians of the farm of £40 yearly due to the king when the priory of Monkskirby should be in his hands, on account of war between him and "his adversary of France," or by occasion of the Schism.

The new charterhouse had not yet begun to be erected, though it was at least ten years since Thomas Mowbray had had the papal permission. The Prior of St. Michael at Kingston-upon-Hull, wishing to hurry matters, spent certain sums towards it himself, apparently out of the resources of his own house, but afterwards regretted his expenditure, for he perceived the founder immersed in the affairs of the kingdom, growing lukewarm in his purpose, and he requested the general chapter, then (because of the Schism which had divided the Order) sitting at Seitz, that he might be refunded. Meanwhile, however, the other Visitor of the English province, the Prior of St. Anne's, Coventry, had written to the chapter that things were not so desperate, and that the earl would assuredly carry out his intention. The worthy prior at Kingston was exhorted to patience, therefore, and to wait to be refunded

¹ The fifth document in the Axholme Cartulary.

² Patent Roll, 20 Richard II., pt. ii., m. 14, printed in *Monasticon*, vi., p. 25.

until the house should be built. The building was really commenced about 1397, according to the records of the general chapter of that year, where the "lord earl of Nottingham of England" is mentioned as having begun "a solemn house of the Order."¹ It may be surmised that the funds advanced by the Prior of St. Michael's were employed in altering and adapting the existing buildings of the departed canons at Milwood.

In the eighth year of his pontificate Boniface IX. issued a bull of the Indulgence of the Portiuncula, in favour of the new charterhouse. With a view both to the preservation of the chapel of St. Mary of the Priory, anciently called of the Wood in the Isle of Axholme, near to which Thomas, Earl of Nottingham, had caused to be built (or proposed to do so) a house of the Carthusian Order, and to the completion of that house, the pope by this granted to all penitent and confessed persons, who yearly on the Feast of the Visitation of Blessed Virgin Mary on 22nd July should visit the chapel, contributing towards its maintenance and the building of the charterhouse, that indulgence and remission of all post-baptismal sins which those had who yearly visited the Church of St. Mary in Portiuncula, called of the Angels, outside the walls of Assisi on 1st and 2nd August. A copy of the bull, which contains the full legend of the original Indulgence of the Portiuncula, was made by a notary on 14th July, 1398, in the inn of John Gaugee at Gainsborough by request of Prior John Moreby there present, and witnessed by Robert de Selby, rector of the parish church of Sibsthorpe, and Sir Robert Barton and Sir Richard Hodesake, chaplains of the Lincoln diocese, and Robert Veer, a layman of the York diocese.² After this the House of the Visitation ought to have grown apace.

On May 23rd, 1399, the prior and convent of the new

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*, sub anno 1397.

² *Monasticon*, vi., p. 26, from the original in the Court of Augmentations. It may be noted here that Boniface IX. granted the same indulgence for seven years, in 1399, to penitents who from the first to the second vespers on the feasts of the Assumption and Annunciation should visit and give alms for the conservation of the church of the Carthusian priory of the Mother of God, near London, for which purpose he declared that women might enter the church, its choir, and the cloister of the priory (*Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1396-1404, p. 256).

charterhouse purchased the royal licence to grant the advowson of the church of Wappenbury, Co. Warwick, to the abbot and convent of Sulby, Co. Northants, and to their successors; on the same day issued a licence for the same abbot and convent to alienate in mortmain 4 messuages, 100 acres of land, 30 acres of meadow, and 18 marks of rent in Ouston, Haxay, Epworth, and Belton, in the Isle of "Haxholme," to the prior and convent of the House of the Visitation called "le Priours of the Wode."¹ This addition to the estates of the Carthusians of Axholme must have been doubly welcome, for in that very year the new king, Henry IV., restored the priory of Monkskirby to a Benedictine, Prior John Godimer, again allowing the presentation thereto to the Abbot of St. Nicholas, Angers. Further, he obtained letters from Boniface IX. annulling the appropriation of this alien priory to the Carthusians, and inhibiting the Archbishop of York, or Bishop of Lichfield, from proceeding against Prior Godimer.²

By 1405 the French had become actively hostile to Henry IV., which explains why the prior of the Axholme charterhouse could, as of right, complain of, and obtain a commission of inquiry into, the wastes, sales, and destruction committed by John Marchal of Palyngton on property in Walton le Strete, parcel of the priory of Monkskirby, demised to him for life by William Grawelers, late prior, after that priory had come to the hands of Richard II. on account of war with France.³ Henry IV., though he granted the commission, seems not to have acknowledged the right of the Carthusian prior to Monkskirby during the war, for on 13th July, 1405, he gave the custody thereof to Sir John Robsart, or Robessard, until the Benedictine prior thereof, who had fled with all his goods on the Earl Marshal being captured there, should declare before the king and council the cause of his flight, which if reasonable, the custodian was to answer to him for the issues of the property.⁴

Now Sir John Robsart, perhaps, was no friend to the

¹ Patent Roll, 22 Richard II., pt. iii., m. 3, and pt. i., m. 21.

² *Ibid.*, 1 Henry IV., pt. ii., m. 13, and *Calendar of Papal Letters*, v., p. 438.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1405-1408, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

Carthusians. When Thomas Mowbray, on founding the charterhouse, obtained the royal licence to transfer Monkskirby and its possessions to them, on Saturday, Easter Eve, 1399, he made a release to King Richard and to Dan John Moreby the prior designate of the House of the Visitation, lately founded in the Isle of Axholme, and to his successors and fellow-monks of all claim to the manor of Monkskirby. His interest was that of a lessee. It had been demised to his father, Kynan,¹ before him for a term of twenty-five years; the then prior after the demise having sold some, and carrying off the more valuable, movables, fled across the sea and never reappeared. When Kynan Robessard died, his son John succeeded to his term in the farm of the priory or manor, and when that was up, secured for himself from the Abbot of St. Nicholas a new term of twenty-four years. The Duke of Norfolk, as Mowbray was created in 1397, bought Sir John Robessart's release for 100 marks down and an annuity of 50 marks. Sir John perhaps regretted the bargain; it was on his information that Henry IV. returned the priory to the Benedictine Godimer. Whether his custody of Monkskirby had anything to do with the forcible dispossession of the Carthusians of which the prior and convent of Axholme complained to the king and to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, is not evident. In an undated petition to the primate, their papally constituted protector, after relating the above-mentioned transactions between the Robsarts and the Benedictines, and the appropriation of Kirby Priory to themselves, and the purchase of Sir John's release, they stated that on Tuesday next before the last Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a certain William Colman of Coventry, William Bosevyle, Robert Fox, and many others came to that priory in the absence of their receiver, and took £25 12s. 1d. in cash from a chest there, and carried off muniments and other goods of the petitioners, and had ever since occupied the priory, spending its issues at will, to the grave peril of their souls and against the papal privilege granted to the petitioners. The monks, therefore, besought the archbishop to aid them in getting their property restored to them, for they had nothing else to afford them a livelihood save the 100 acres given to them

¹ Canonus (Robessart), perhaps the same as "Cananus," which Mr. Trice Martin in the *Record Interpreter* translates as "Kynan."

for their dwelling-place.¹ The result of the petition does not appear. As to Robsart, John, Prior of Epworth, as an official document styles him, instituted a suit in Chancery against him. Sir John failed to present himself when summoned to show cause why the king's letters granting him the custody of Monkiskirby should not be revoked; judgment therefore was given against him, and Henry V., in October, 1413, recalled his father's letters to him.²

Meanwhile John, the useless rector of the plantation of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, as Prior Moreby signed himself, had been endeavouring to set matters with regard to the Priory of Monkiskirby on a better footing in relation to the Abbey of St. Nicholas. To put an end to frequent disputes he had proposed that even during war the Angevin Benedictines might receive 8 or 10 marks yearly out of the revenues of Kirby; but he could not satisfy them. In a somewhat despairing mood, he wrote from London on 10th March, 1413, to Jacques Huay, Prior of the Chartreuse of Parc, near Le Mans, that the more he laboured to treat with them, the more difficult he found them. The searcher of the heart and reins, he said, knew that he did not covet to possess himself unjustly of other people's goods, nor to deprive them of any right. He asked the Prior of Parc, who was presumably acting as intermediary, whether he should come himself, or send someone to him, or to them; supposing he were in office so long, if there were any hope of concord, he would come the next year to the chapter, for the sake of this very business, so that (provided a safe-conduct might be had) he could either on his outward, or homeward, journey bring matters to a good end. It was for the perpetuity of their house that he and his convent desired to have their endowment secure forever, and they wished to live without contention as became the servants of God.³

John Moreby might well be uneasy about the endowment; the yearly rental of his charterhouse's property in the Isle of Axholme only amounted to £11 13s. 8d. at this

¹ *Ancient Petitions*, file 116, No. 5770, and Cotton Charter, iv. 22. There exists also another petition of the Axholme Carthusians addressed to the king, against their dispossession by the Benedictine John Godimer (*Ancient Petitions*, file 178, No. 8870).

² Patent Rolls, 1 Henry V., pt. iii., m. 4.

³ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, vol. vii., p. 333, where passages of this letter are given.

period.¹ But his anxiety had a termination, when, after the confiscation of the alien priories, Henry V. on 28th June, 1415, granted in mortmain to the Carthusians of Epworth the priory of Kirby and the manors of Newbold on Avon, Coppeton and Walton, and licence to his kinsman John, Earl Marshal, to transfer the same to them and to give them in frankalmoin for their maintenance a piece of ground called Coliercrop in Ouston and 20 marks from his manor of Epworth. The king added the gift from himself of a tun of wine, or two pipes of Gascon wine, to be received yearly in the port of Kingston-upon-Hull, for their maintenance and for the masses celebrated in their house.²

Poverty, or a too small number of monks, or other failure to come up to the standard demanded by the general chapter (now for some years reunited and sitting at the Grande Chartreuse for the whole Order), caused that body to delay incorporating the House of the Visitation of St. Mary of Axholme until 1432.³ In that session they commissioned the Visitors of the English province, the Priors of Beauvale and London, to appoint the prior and the monks to be sent thither, for though the documents of the English Government call him prior, the head of a charterhouse which had not been incorporated had only the name of rector among themselves, and the rector was not always continued as prior after the act of incorporation. The visitors may have sent too many monks, or vocations may have swelled the number of the convent at Epworth, for a petition to Henry VI. complained that their monastery was insufficiently endowed and that they had not within the Isle of Axholme, or without for sixty miles, any possessions for their sustenance and for the repair of their houses and other charges. The king consequently in 1445 granted licence to them to acquire in frankalmoin land, rent and services, not held in chief, to the value of £50 a year to maintain them and enable them to keep up divine service; in return they were to pray for the good estate of the king and his consort and for their souls after death.⁴ Two years later Henry VI. licensed John, Duke of Norfolk, to grant to

¹ *Rentals and Surveys*, roll 394.

² Patent Roll, 3 Henry V., pt. ii., m. 39.

³ Bodleian Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 122^v.

⁴ Patent Roll, 23 Henry VI., pt. ii., m. 10.

them in mortmain the advowson of the parish church of Sileby in the diocese of Lincoln, with licence to the Carthusians to appropriate the church.¹ This, beyond the provision to be made for the vicar, was worth annually 14 marks. The community, though anxious to increase the number of cells in proportion to the growing number of the monks, and to complete their buildings, which had been begun "with wondrous skill and great cost," did not effect the appropriation until 1450.²

Henceforth the possessions of the charterhouse at Axholme were slowly augmented. The commissioners of Henry VIII. returned the clear yearly value of all its property in the counties of Lincoln, Warwick, Leicester, Nottingham and York as £237 15s. 2½d., after they had made certain allowances out of their gross income, such as the item of two barrels of herrings, which the monks were bound to distribute every Lent to the poor, for the soul of Roger Mowbray, one of their founders, and which cost 23s.³

After the dissolution, on May 12, 1540, Henry VIII. for £348 8s. 4d. granted the charterhouse in the Isle of Axholme, with certain adjacent estates in Ouston and Hawkesey in the Isle, to John Candysshe of Westbutterwyke in the Isle of Axholme.⁴

Like the Priory of God's Place at Hinton, the Priory of the Visitation of St. Mary was transformed into a gentleman's manor-house. It had been surrounded with a moat inclosing a space of not less than eight acres. Within a few years of 1839 the steeple of the chapel was still standing and used as a dovecote, according to a writer of that date, who doubtless meant thereby the tower of the conventual church. "The original building was of brick coyned with great ashlar stones," which, like parts of the large window-sills and other carved stones, were utilised in the erection of farm buildings and for other purposes in the neighbourhood.⁵ If this scanty description of its ruins suggests a departure from primitive Carthusian simplicity in the fabric of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 26 Henry VI., pt. i., m. 18.

² V. C. H., *Lincolnshire: The Priory of Axholme*, by Miss Rose Graham, who gives here the reference (Linc. Epis. Reg. Memo., Lumley, f. 49).

³ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iv., p. 135.

⁴ Patent Roll, 32 Henry VIII., pt. iv., m. 6.

⁵ Rev. W. B. Stonehouse, *History and Topography of the Isle of Axholme* (1839), p. 253.

Priory in the Wood, it also suggests that the English heads of the Order merely followed, or allowed to be followed, the styles of architecture, whether Decorated or Perpendicular, then in vogue when the later charterhouses were erected, for ornament was of the essence of these fourteenth and fifteenth century styles.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHARTERHOUSES OF MOUNTGRACE, SHEEN, AND PERTH

OF the three charterhouses latest established in these islands, two were royal foundations, and one had for founder a noble of the king's kindred. Though the last, the Vale of Virtues at Perth, was only for four years a member of the English Carthusian province, it was at other times subjected to the English provincial Visitors by the chapter general; therefore a notice of that monastery has been included here.

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF MOUNTGRACE IN EAST HARLSEY, CO. YORK

Thomas de Holland, Duke of Surrey, grandson of Thomas de Holland and Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent, obtained a licence to found a house of Carthusians in the twenty-first year of the reign of his uncle Richard II. His charter of foundation, preserved among Sir Henry Ingilby's manuscripts at Ripley Castle, commences with "a beautiful large initial letter, coloured and gilt," showing "the Virgin in an oval, supported by two monks; at the side is the founder (with his armorial bearings on his mantle) kneeling, and a bishop behind him." The seal appended bears an equestrian figure of the Duke.¹

In this document² the founder declares his special devotion and "very strong affection" to the Carthusian Order above all others, and his admiration of the monks and their simple observance. Therefore to the honour of God and of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas and out of affection for the feasts of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and of St. Nicholas, he founded a house of the Carthusian Order within his manor of Bordelby, near Cleveland in Co. York, which he wished to be called "the House of Mountgrace of Ingelby in honour and perpetual

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report vi., p. 353.

² Printed by Dugdale in *Monasticon*, vi., p. 23.

memory of the blessed feast aforesaid." With the assent of the prior of the Grande Chartreuse, he made Dan Robert Tredewy (or Trethewy) prior thereof, and gave to him and his monks in frankalmoin the manor of Bordelby with its appurtenances for the erection of their dwelling place. In return the prior and monks and their successors were to have in special remembrance in masses and prayers the good estate of Richard II. and Queen Isabella, of himself and Joan his wife, and of John de Holland, Duke of Exeter, and of John de Ingelby and Ellen his wife, and of their souls when departed, and of the souls of the late Queen Anne, Edmund, formerly Earl of Kent, and Margaret his wife, of Joan, late Princess of Wales, the founder's grandmother, and of his father and grandfather, Earls of Kent, of Alice his mother, his ancestors and heirs, and of Thomas de Ingelby and Katharine his wife, and of other persons mentioned.

Bordelby, or Bordleby, is in the parish of East Harlsey, in the North Riding, about eight miles from Northallerton: John de Ingelby evidently a benefactor of the new community, if not fellow-founder with the Duke, had some estate there, for in 1397-8 "he had leave to hear mass in a chapel or oratory in his manor of Bordelby"; and though Lucy, widow of Edmund, Earl of Kent, had the advowson of Mountgrace Priory in 1423, fifteen years later Sir William Ingelby died possessed of it.¹

The Duke of Surrey, having selected a site for the dwellings of the Carthusians, purchased for them a further endowment from the king. Upon payment by him of £1,000, Richard II. at his request, on 20th April, 1398, granted to Robert Trethewy, prior nominate of the charterhouse of Mountgrace and his fellow-monks during war with France the alien priory of Ware, Co. Hertford, with all its possessions, then in the king's hands because of the war, quit of the yearly rent of £245, payable to him while the war lasted. In the next year also, at the supplication of his nephew, Duke Thomas, Richard II. granted to them the alien priory of Hinckley, Co. Leicester, belonging to the Abbey of St. Mary at Lire in Normandy, discharged of the rents customarily paid during war with France; a few months later, on 28th May, 1399, he granted to them the alien priories of Hinckley, Co. Leicester, Wareham, Co. Dorset, Carisbrooke

¹ *Inquisition post mortem*, 2 Henry VI., No. 35, and 17 Henry VI., No. 9.

in Co. Southants, and all other possessions in England of the Abbey of Lire during the war, for £54 yearly, payable to the exchequer instead of certain rents due to the king.¹

On 30th March, 1399, the new community of Mountgrace had a mark of favour from Richard II. himself in a charter which really was a summary of all the liberties and immunities from taxation which had ever been allowed to individual charterhouses in England. They were to be free with regard to the election of their prior and their Carthusian customs, and quit of danegeld, scutage and all tolls, and of works of castles and bridges, of murage and of all other tallages; even if the property of other religious were taxed theirs was to be immune. There was to be no regard of forest within their boundaries. Their lands liable to a murder fine were to be quit from it, and they themselves might have the fines imposed on their tenants and servants by the justices. They might work and take the profits of all lead-mines found on their grounds.²

After the deposition of Richard "the redeles," as William Langland named him, Thomas, Duke of Surrey, was among the factious nobles with whom Henry of Lancaster had to contend at the outset of his reign. Brawls in the new king's first Parliament developed into the abortive attempt in 1400 to reinstate Richard II. The short-lived rebellion ended in the flight of the leaders, some of whom, and among them Surrey, were lawlessly slain by the adherents of Henry. The duke, with the Earl of Salisbury, was captured at Cirencester, and beheaded by the citizens. His body was buried in the abbey there, and his head set up on London Bridge, remaining there until his widow had leave to take it down. Finally both head and body were buried at Mountgrace.³

When its founder thus lost his life, the monastery of Mountgrace was not yet built.⁴ But the monks seem to have found a friend in his kinsman the Duke of Exeter, for in 1417 the general chapter granted "to the prior and convent of

¹ Patent Roll, 21 Richard II., pt. iii., m. 12; 22 Richard II., pt. ii., m. 5, and pt. iii., m. 11.

² Charter Roll, 21-23 Richard II., m. 2. The like charter was granted to the charterhouses of London, Coventry and Axholme.

³ D.N.B. and *Yorks Archaeological Society*, vol. vii.; *History of Mountgrace*, by William Brown, F.S.A.

⁴ Charter Roll, 19 Henry VI., m. 22.

the house of Mountgrace the sepulture of the illustrious prince of Exeter who built and endowed five cells in the same." This concession was apparently a licence to inter his body within their walls. His son Thomas frequently sent alms to the general chapter, who in return ordered in every house yearly a mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or seven psalms in the case of those not celebrating, to be said for him; in 1427 after his death they appointed a trental for him as a continual benefactor to the chapter and to individual houses.¹

The charterhouse of Mountgrace had a rather precarious means of subsistence, for the main part of its revenues was from alien priories, possession whereof was intermittent. In an undated petition² to the king (probably Henry IV.) the prior and convent complained of his having granted the alien priory of Ware to "William Herberd a monk," presumably a Benedictine and subject of the Abbot of Lire, the mother-house. However, for 40 marks they said, they came to an agreement with Herberd, who was "sworn on the book" before many witnesses to keep to it, and surrendered his patent to the hands of "William Gascon, sergeant at law"; but nevertheless he made "great suit" in the king's "very high presence," and to the "very wise lords" of Parliament, and got the Carthusians ousted. They therefore petitioned, regard being had to the £1,000 paid to Richard II. for them to have it, and to their having nothing else to depend on save their site, that their possession of Ware might be ratified. But it was not restored to them at this time. Henry IV. preferred to assign them yearly £100 at the exchequer until they should be provided with other lands of the same annual value of £245, and consoled them with a tun of red Gascon wine to be received yearly at Michaelmas in the port of Kingston-upon-Hull.³ Another petition⁴ in which they reported themselves as a community of nine members ("ix en ordre en la dit priorie"), resulted in a confirmation by Henry V. of his father's gift of wine, but instead of the £100 from the exchequer they were to have that sum yearly, with right to distrain, from the farm and

¹ Bodleian Rawlinson MS., No. 318, f. 108^v, and Lambeth MS., 413, f. 65.

² P.R.O., *Ancient Petitions*, file 128, No. 6368.

³ Patent Roll, 2 Henry IV., pt. iv., m. 121.

⁴ *Ancient Petitions*, file 186, No. 9299.

issues of the alien priory of Ware during war with France.¹ This was not the full possession during war for which the monks of Mountgrace had hoped; it was only natural if they felt somewhat bitter when in 1415 Henry included the cell or alien priory of Ware among the endowments of his foundation at Sheen, albeit his grant to this new charterhouse was expressly charged with this yearly sum.²

Later the prior and convent of Mountgrace were compelled (for, to judge by the tone of an order of the Carthusian general chapter to the prior of Sheen, their action had not been voluntary) to give up the patents of the grants relating to Ware and of the £100 made to them by Richard II., Henry IV. and Henry V. In return, the last-named king granted to them in frankalmoin the alien priory of Long Benington in Co. Lincoln, and Field Dalling in Co. Norfolk, belonging to the abbey of Savigny in Normandy, the alien priory of Haugh in Co. Lincoln, belonging to the Abbot of Cherbourg, and the alien priory of Minting in Co. Lincoln, belonging to the Abbot of Saint-Benoît sur Loire in France, with licence for them to acquire the same from those foreign monasteries; if the revenues of these estates did not amount to £100, the deficiency was to be made up at the exchequer.³ This arrangement was not satisfactory in the opinion of the general chapter, to whom the prior of Mountgrace seems to have appealed; for one thing Haugh was part of the possessions of Queen Joanna,⁴ and he could only have the reversion of it. The authorities at the Grande Chartreuse wrote to the English provincial visitors that, since Dan John Widrington, the Prior of Sheen, had testified in his own letters to them that his house of Bethlehem was sufficiently endowed, he should do without the possessions of other people, and that since the charterhouse of Mountgrace has been deprived not only of Ware, which had been assigned to it on its first foundation, but also of its compensation from the queen's lands, he ought not to be enriched by another's loss. They ordained therefore that the house of Bethlehem was to procure satisfaction to the house of Mountgrace from the king, or pay to that community £100 during the queen's life, and that after her death the priory of Mountgrace

¹ Patent Roll, 1 Henry V., pt. v., m. 30.

² Charter Roll, 3-4 Henry V., m. 20.

³ Patent Roll, 9 Henry V., pt. ii., m. 9.

⁴ *Inquisitions postmortem*, 15 Henry VI., No. 48.

should recover the estates granted to them out of her possessions according to the king's appointment.¹ A register or catalogue of charters and documents relating to the property of Sheen charterhouse supplies evidence of obedience to this order from headquarters, in an entry mentioning an ordinance of the visitors in reference to the matter, and a quit claim made on the other hand by the prior and convent of Mountgrace of right in the priories of Ware, Carisbrooke, and Wareham.²

Henry V. probably intended no slight to the Carthusians of Mountgrace in depriving them of the coveted priory of Ware, for in the same year that he gave it to Sheen charterhouse, he granted to them at the request of his uncle, Thomas, Earl of Dorset, the alien priory of Hinckly in Co. Leicester, formerly granted to them during war by Richard II., in full endowment and maintenance of five monk chaplains of their house to pray for the good estate of the king and the earl and of their souls after death, and of the souls of their ancestors and heirs.³ But the real trouble was the lack of permanency of possession of an alien priory, which on restoration of peace was liable (until all such foreign cells were finally resumed by the crown) to be returned to the French abbot to which it was subject, or to his representative. Once more they sent a petition, about 1483, to the Duke of Gloucester, protector of England, as to a similar deprivation as that by the monk Herberd. This time they complained regarding the priories of Haugh and Myntyng, of which they had been in continual occupation since Queen Joanna's death, stating that John Burdett, a canon, on the presentation of the Abbot of Cherbourg had been instituted to the priory of Haugh by the vicar general of Lincoln. They prayed that he might be examined to show by what authority this was done, and that they might be restored to their said possession.⁴ The result does not appear.

Another difficulty of the charterhouse of the Assumption was the frequently disturbed state of the kingdom, for though secluded from the world, the Carthusians might take no part in the political strife between the Red and White Roses,

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 53.

² Cotton MS., Otho B. xiv., f. 98.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, vol. for 1413-1416, p. 355.

⁴ *Ancient Petitions*, file 295.

yet the civil wars, besides probably hindering the gathering in of rents, without doubt encouraged that evil of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, maintenance, which too often perverted the course of justice in the law-courts. Thus the monks of Mountgrace by petition to the king in Parliament praying for a ratification of their deeds, represented to Henry VI. how Thomas, Duke of Surrey, having founded their house in his manor of Bordelby, died (as they delicately put it) soon after he had begun to build the monastery, which therefore in large part remained unfinished "to the no little annoyance and loss of the prior and convent and their servants"; and how the community dare not proceed further in building the monastery, for the malignity of the times, and especially of those who without scruples feigned titles and got up fictitious quarrels, disturbing simple persons without right or cause.¹

In 1448 Henry VI. licensed Robert Leek, prior of the charterhouse of Mountgrace, and his convent, whose possessions were small, to acquire in mortmain lands to the annual value of £40, and in 1456 he licensed Sir James Strangways and Elizabeth his wife to alienate to Prior Robert the advowson of the church of Beighton.² A later member of this knight's family was interred at Mountgrace, and his widow, Dame Jane, bequeathed by will on 28th October, 1500, 10 marks for the prior and his brethren to do an obit for the souls of herself and her husband.³ Sir Thomas Strangways on 2nd September, 1522, bequeathed his body for burial at Mountgrace, "Where as the prior of the same house Thynkes best," leaving the community a horse and 60s. for the brothers to pray for his soul, and 20s. to the prior to pray for his soul and all Christian souls "that God would have prayed for." "Also," he added, "I will that the Priest that synges at our Lady Chapell of Mountgrace shall synge there still for them that he synges for, for the space of iii yeres be commyn and gone, and he to have unto his wages as he hath had before, and that is to say iii li. in the yere." On his death another priest was to be substituted at the same salary.⁴ This chapel was on the top of the hill behind

¹ Charter Roll, 19 Henry VI., m. 22 (printed in *Monasticon*, vi., p. 23).

² Patent Rolls, 27 Henry VI., pt. ii., m. 9; and 34 Henry VI., m. 20.

³ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iv., p. 186.

⁴ *Ibid.*, v., p. 155.

the priory; the monks perhaps had the supervision of it, but its connection with the charterhouse is not evident; if as alleged they used its ground as cemetery, their servants would be buried there and not the members of the community, whose last resting place was within the cloister. Said to have been founded so late as 1515, it was a place of pilgrimage to the "popishly affected" until 1614.¹

The Carthusians of Mountgrace found a benefactor in Edward IV.; in 1462 he granted to them in frankalmoin the manor of Atherston, Co. Warwick, once parcel of the alien priory of Great Ogbourne, Co. Wilts, for the relief of the poor estate of their house and towards the expenses of persons gathering there weekly. The last part of the king's intention suggests a somewhat extensive hospitality. He also granted to Prior Robert and his convent in 1471 the manor or alien priory of Begger, Co. York, with its lands and rents, formerly property of the Cistercians of Bégard in Brittany. In return the monks of Mountgrace were to pray for the good estate of the king, and for his soul after death, and for the souls of the members of his family, and to undertake to celebrate daily within their house the three masses of St. Mary, of the Holy Trinity, and of St. Erasmus.²

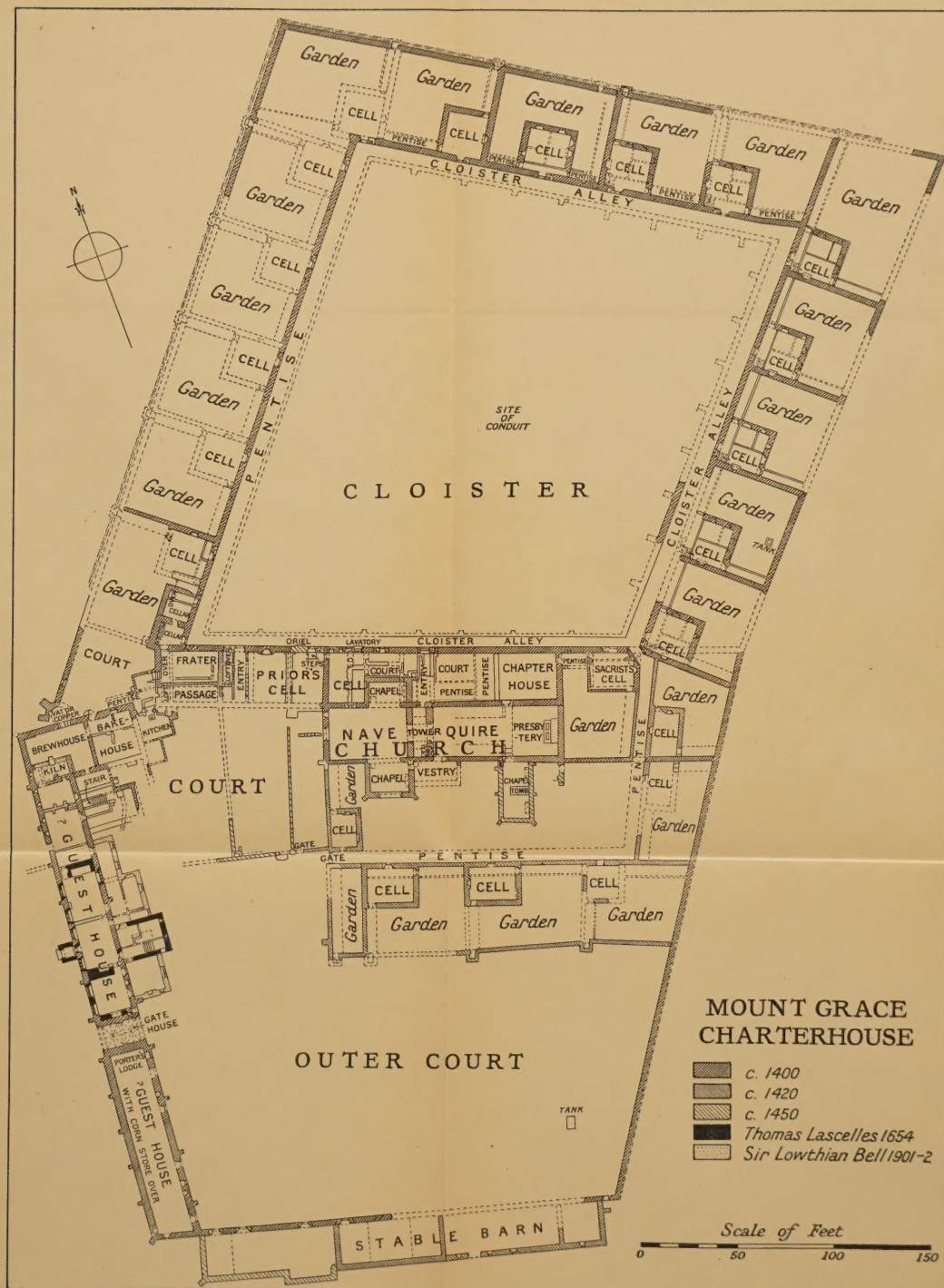
Of other sort of benefactions may be noted the bequest in 1401 by Dame Isabella Fauconbergh of Cleveland of her best furred mantle to the prior, and the bequest in 1402 by Sir John Depeden, knight, to the house of Mountgrace of £6 13s. 4d. besides 10 marks granted to the same for the repair of a seat (?) (*pro reparatione j sellæ*) not yet finished, and to the prior a picture of the crucifixion (*i tabulam cum crucifixione pictam*).³ William de Anthorp, rector of Dighton, desiring to be buried in the church of St. Mary of Mountgrace, in 1432-3 bequeathed to the prior and convent a silver cup gilt, twelve spoons, and a book called *Pupilla Oculi*.⁴ Elizabeth Swinburne, gentlewoman, on 12th October, 1502, left to the house and convent of Mountgrace a pair of beads, 50 of them of gold and 100 of coral with all the "gaudyes of" of gold, and a gold pendant to the beads, on condition that Elizabeth Swinburne, her mother, and

¹ *Yorks Archæological Society*, vol. vii.; *History of Mountgrace*, p. 480.

² Patent Roll, 1 Edward IV., pt. iv., m. 11; and 11 Edward IV., pt. ii., m. 16.

³ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, i., pp. 282, 294.

⁴ Register of Wills at York, iii., 351.



her daughter Elizabeth should be sisters of the same house forever.¹

Though not the poorest of the charterhouses, Mountgrace priory was never rich. Its possessions lay in the counties of York, Derby, Westmorland, Lincoln, Leicester, Warwick, Norfolk and Essex, but in 21 Henry VIII. the gross value thereof only amounted to £382 5s. 11½d. and the clear yearly value to £323 2s. 10½d.²

After the dissolution, on 16th February, 1540, John Cheyne of Dayton, Co. Bucks, had a lease from the king for twenty-one years of the site of the monastery, including the cloister garth, church and belfry, and cemetery, and various closes and lands at Mountgrace, East Harlsey, and elsewhere in Yorkshire, and in the following year the reversion of this property after that term was granted to Sir James Strangways, knight.³

Of the considerable remains of the charterhouse of the Assumption, Sir W. H. St. John Hope has given a full description in the Yorkshire Archæological Society's vol. xviii. From this the details below have been taken.

The site is "on rising ground on the west side of a high range of hills, running north and south, and now well covered with wood." The buildings stand on artificially levelled soil, and "are disposed round two irregular four-sided courts on different levels, forming together what may be described as an elongated pentagon." Southward from the gatehouse is a two-storeyed building, probably the guest-house, with a corn-store over it. Stables and other offices were grouped round this lesser court.

The church is complete as to its plan, and most of it is standing nearly to its full height. The area of the great cloister is intact, with the ruins of many of its cells that surrounded it, each in its little garden. The outer court is also still enclosed by walls and buildings prior in date to the suppression, and contains a second series of cells and gardens. The cells were of two storeys, all 27 feet square internally. The area of each cell was divided by wooden partitions resting on stone curbs into (1) a lobby on the side of the cloister to which was a door; (2) a living-room 16 by 10½ feet within, with a fireplace and a window towards

¹ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iv., p. 208.

² *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v., p. 84.

³ P.R.O., *Ministers' Accounts* 4,630.

the garden; (3) a smaller room for bedroom and oratory; (4) a still smaller chamber which was the study. At one end of the lobby was a doorway to the garden; at the other, stairs led to the upper floor, which was apparently one room for manual work. There being no sign of whitewash or plastering, the cells were probably wainscoted. Outside was a small garderobe of stone built over an open drain with an ever-running stream of water which was carried past the ends of all the gardens. Each cell had a supply of fresh water for domestic purposes by a lead pipe coming from a conduit in the middle of the cloister.

The church, "originally an aisleless parallellogram," was divided externally by buttresses into four bays, and measured internally 88 feet in length and 25 feet in width, towards the west increased to 27 feet. The tower was in the centre between the choirs of the monks and the lay-brothers. The presbytery was in a bay eastward; a chapel thrown out transept-wise from the nave on the south and another on the north were added later in the fifteenth century. To carry the tower, two strong walls, $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart and pierced with tall pointed arches, were built across the church. The tower internally measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ feet. There is a chamber in the tower with openings into the choir and nave. North of the church was the chapter house, and eastward of this the sacrist's cell. Northwards was the great cloister.

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF JESUS OF BETHLEHEM AT SHEEN IN SURREY

This was the name which Henry V. chose for the Carthusian monastery established by him on the north side of his own manor of Sheen, later more generally known as Richmond. This charterhouse, close to the royal residence, convenient for the royal patronage, or for the royal interference perhaps, could scarcely have avoided courtly influence. The site, given by the founder by charter¹ on 25th September, 1414, contained 1,725 feet in length and 1,305 feet 8 inches in breadth, "running from Hokelot by Diversbusshe on the south to Armetteslote on the north." This was for the habitation, as he explained, for John

¹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, vol. v., p. 469.

Wydryngton, the first prior, and his monks; in addition, he gave them the alien priory of Grenwych and Lewesham, Co. Kent, and all the property of the abbey of Fécamp in Normandy, then in the king's hands because of war with France, without the charge of any farm to the king. Also he granted to the new community all acquittances from taxes, and liberties similar to those conceded to their Order in England by former sovereigns.¹ The monks of course were to pray for the king and his relatives, living and dead, and for the peace and quiet of the people and realm.

Next year, by another charter, Henry V. made to the Carthusians of Sheen a further grant, including the cell or alien priory of Ware, in Co. Hertford, the alien priory of Noyon and Neufmarché in Normandy, belonging to the abbey of St. Evroul, the alien priory of Lewesham and Greenwich belonging to the abbey of St. Peter, Ghent, and the alien priory of Hayling belonging to the abbey of Lesne, alias St. Peter of Jumièges, with all the lands, churches, and possessions of the abbey of Lire, except the priory of Hinckley, Co. Leicester, after the death of the present tenants for life, without rendering any rent to the king or his heirs. He also provided that in case these estates should be recovered against them the Carthusians were to receive £400 from the Hanaper of the Chancery and other sources specified. The priory of Ware, so long as it should be in their hands, he charged with the yearly payment of £1,000 to the prior and convent of Mountgrace.²

The lordship of Middleton Cheney was part of the property of Sheen charterhouse, and in 1417 the prior and monks had the royal licence to manumit William Smert and his son, two of the bondmen of that manor, by letters patent under their common seal.³

The new charterhouse was within the diocese of Winchester; at some date between 1415 and 1418 Henry Beaufort, then Bishop of that see, commissioned Benedict, Bishop of Bangor, to lay the foundation-stone.⁴ The

¹ Cf. the ample charter of 1399 (Charter Roll, 21-22 Richard II. m. 2).

² Charter Roll, 3-4 Henry V., m. 20.

³ Patent Roll, 5 Henry V., m. 25.

⁴ Cotton MS., Otho B. xiv., f. 96. Benedict Nichols was Bishop of Bangor from 1408 to 1418.

king took care that the monks had efficient help in the erection of their buildings. On 20th March, 1417, he commissioned John Hertishorne, sergeant-at-arms, Walter Walton, "fremason," Edmund Byce, citizen and "iron-monger" of London, and Thomas Kellowe, to take stone-cutters, carpenters, tilers, labourers, and other workmen, for the works of his house of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen of the Carthusian Order, and a boat for carrying stone, timber, and other necessities thither by water. On 22nd March, two other men, Arnald Porter of Holand, mason, and Henry Bryker of Holand, tiler, were commissioned by him to take tilers and other workmen for making tiles for the charterhouse. Five years later the building was still going on, for on 26th May, 1422, Thomas Kellowe, William Symond the elder, and William Chamberlayn had a like commission for workmen and a boat for conveying materials.¹ In 1457, when alterations or additions were being made at Sheen, the general chapter ordered the prior of Mountgrace to send at his earliest convenience his converse, brother William the carpenter, to the house of Jesus of Bethlehem, and to let him remain there until the convent could go into new cells.² The monastery at Sheen was the largest charterhouse in England. Henry V., in 1415, bequeathed to it, with an injunction to his executors to look to the matter, 1,000 marks for the building of its upper, or, as he termed it, greater house, which he said he intended for forty monks.³ An enigmatical note, said by John Aubrey to have been in a manuscript copy of Florence of Worcester at Cambridge, gives clearly, at any rate, the number of the monks' dwellings as thirty, and the height of the walls of the cloister everywhere as 3 rods 9 feet.⁴ The date of the completion of the monastery is not discoverable. The church was being enlarged very many years later by a chapel with three altars.⁵

The general chapter could hardly help being content with the ample provision made by Henry V. for his foundation. In 1417 they formally incorporated "the new

¹ Patent Rolls, 4 Henry V., m. 3 d.; 5 Henry V., m. 28 d.; 10 Henry V., m. 10 d.

² Bodleian Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 140^v.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera*, ix., p. 280.

⁴ *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey*, v., p. 340.

⁵ Cotton MS., Otho B. xiv, f. 96.

plantation of Jesus of Bethlehem near Sheen in England, to the praise of Almighty God, the Blessed Virgin Mary, and All Saints, and at the instance of the illustrious King of England." Also, they promoted the rector thereof, Dan John Wydryngton, to be prior thereof. The request of the community for a monk from Beauvale they committed to the discretion of the visitors the priors of Witham and London.¹ John Wydryngton presided over the Carthusians of Sheen only until 1422, John Buckingham then being instituted; he was at some date transferred to the House of the Salutation, London, where he became procurator according to a mention of his death in 1431.²

Since none are recorded, it may be supposed that the authorities at the Grande Chartreuse made no objections to a charge which Henry V. imposed on their brethren of Sheen. He had founded "a perpetual reclusory of a recluse chaplain, perpetual and incorporate," on land within the precincts of the House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen, and decreed that it should be called the reclusory of Bethlehem of Shene. He appointed John Kingeslowe as the first recluse chaplain, and ordered the prior to induct him. That he and his successors might be provided with suitable food and clothing and a sufficient habitation, and so be more free for orisons and divine praises and holy contemplation, the king endowed the Carthusians with more ample possessions and privileges to the effect that they should support the charge of the reclusory and recluse with his two servants, at the rate of 20 marks, according to the royal estimate, which sum they were to pay yearly to the recluse as well as repairing the reclusory at their own expense when necessary. Therefore, on 8th August, 1417, Henry V. licensed the prior and convent to grant to the recluse a yearly rent of 20 marks from their priory or manor of Lewesham, 100s. to be the penalty when the rent was in arrear forty days.³ At some later date the monks seem to have added a garden to the reclusory, for among the muniments of the charterhouse of Sheen were two indentures⁴ between the prior and convent and Sir Robert Jacson, recluse there, relating to a garden newly walled and

¹ Bodleian Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 108v.

² Lambeth MS., 413, under the years 1422 and 1431.

³ Patent Roll, 5 Henry V., m. 22.

⁴ Cotton MS., Otho B. xiv., f. 100.

the annual rent of 8d. to be paid for it. The name of another of these recluses comes from Oxford. "Master John Dygon, bachelor of both laws," "priest and recluse of the royal reclusory of Shene," copied MS. xciii., belonging to Magdalen College, one article of which is Walter Hilton's letter to Adam Horsley on his proposing to enter the Carthusian Order.

Two later royal favours to Sheen charterhouse may be noted here. Edward IV., in 1466, licensed the prior and monks to make a subterranean conduit from a spring called "Welway," otherwise "Pikewelleswell," to their house, and to repair the pipes of the conduit when necessary, the supply of water from a spring called Hillesden Well in Sheen, whence Henry V. had allowed them to make a conduit, being insufficient.¹ Henry VIII. in his sixth year granted them to have a coroner of their own choosing in their monastery and in the River Thames, as far as mid-stream, running through their lands in Sheen. This concession might have been obtained with a view to greater seclusion.²

The grant of the priory of Ware to the Carthusians of Sheen had aggrieved their brethren of Mountgrace. The grants to them of other alien monastic estates were cause of a long-standing quarrel with the continental Benedictines to whom they had belonged. The monks of St. Evroul in Normandy at once remonstrated when they knew that Henry V. had given to them their priory or cell of Noyon and Neufmarché. At a chapter perhaps called to deliberate on so serious a matter, their abbot, Michael, for himself and his community wrote a letter on 17th October, 1416, to the prior and convent of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen. Charity, he said, compelled him to congratulate the Carthusian fathers and brothers on their foundation, but to warn them against laying it unjustly or unlawfully, lest they should be offering an accursed sacrifice, and hereafter have to suffer the vengeance of the strict Judge for violation of justice. He reminded them how his own monastery from its first institution had been largely founded and endowed by the kings of England, then dukes of Normandy, by the earls of Leicester and other noble English lords, so that before the beginning of the wars they drew £2,000

¹ Patent Roll, 6 Edward IV., pt. i., m. 17.

² *Ibid.*, 6 Henry VIII., pt. ii., m. 32.

French money from their rents in England. During war, however, the kings, for their own use, caused their rents to be gathered by the monks sent thither from the abbey. In consequence, their monastery had been gradually reduced from forty to scarce twenty monks. And now recently a religious, one Richard Baussain, had come to them from the King of England to inform him, among other matters, that he had founded this charterhouse and had put in the Carthusians there, and had granted to them the foresaid rents, and what was worse, intended to invest them (the Carthusians) with the hereditary ownership of their land and rents. "This, fathers and brothers," he wrote, "justice suffers not, religion allows not, the tradition of the Fathers does not permit." These rents the monks of St. Évrout had long possessed; their title had been confirmed by popes, kings of England, archbishops and bishops. No human being might take their right from them, so long and in so many ways confirmed. Frequency of war could not deprive them of it, he argued, for they were apart from war, and cultivators of peace. By what right could that belong to the monks of Sheen which they of St. Évrout had lost by no right? Whether by royal right? But that which had been given by the king was no longer the king's. Whether by right from the Pope? But power is given to him for edification, not for destruction; therefore the popes are wont only to confirm what is just and lawful. He urged the Carthusians to do nothing against their neighbours which they would not allow against themselves, and that one church should not devour another.¹

This letter, whatever the answer to it, was without effect. The Abbot of St. Évrout later took his claim to the Roman Court, with the result that Cardinal Albergati on 31st May, 1427, wrote to the Carthusians of Sheen urging them to restore without further contention the abbey's property, which they seemed to be wrongly occupying, although by royal authority. "For it is very unworthy, religious fathers," he said, "that among men of such perfection, so grave a fault should be committed as not to fear to make gain out of other people's loss." Neither did this letter end the dispute, and the Benedictines subsequently carried their claim

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, vii., pp. 415-418. The letter was communicated to Dom Le Couteulx by one of the Congregation of St. Maur.

to the Council of Basle.¹ Whatever encouragement they found there was useless, for the possession of alien priories was a question for the English king and Parliament to decide.

Meanwhile the Flemish community which had owned the priory or manor of Lewesham and Greenwich had a like grievance against the charterhouse of Sheen. In 1433 warning was sent from the Grande Chartreuse to the Prior of the House of Jesus of Bethlehem that the abbot and convent of St. Peter, near Ghent, had written to the general chapter complaining of that charterhouse for holding, and having long kept, certain possessions of theirs, concerning which they intended to convene the said house to the Council of Basle. At the instance of the abbot the council committed the cause first to Branda, Bishop of Porto, and afterwards to James Clant, a Canon of St. Severin, Cologne, a judge of causes brought to Basle. The latter, after Eugenius IV. had transferred the council to Ferrara, by a definitive sentence adjudged the manors of Lewesham and Greenwich to the Abbey of St. Peter, condemning the Carthusians both as to the profits received from the manor during their occupancy, and as to costs, which latter he subsequently "taxed at 200 florins of the camera of good gold and just weight." It was another thing to get the sentence obeyed. The English Carthusians, with their king to uphold them, retained possession. Then the Benedictines, after the death of Eugenius IV., impetrated letters in their favour from Nicholas V., on the strength of which they threatened the community at Sheen with excommunication, and fastened fulminatory documents against them on the doors of the church of the Grande Chartreuse and in several other places. The Carthusian chapter general on this, in 1450, urged their brethren at Sheen to consult the king and lawyers on the matter in dispute, and show themselves obedient sons of God's Church and of the pope, lest the Order should suffer any scandal or detriment. The monks of Sheen then petitioned the pope, setting forth their side of the quarrel; with result that Nicholas V. declared on 10th December, 1451, that the community at Ghent had rather extorted, than im-

¹ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, vii., p. 559. Dom Le Couteulx does not quote his authority for the cardinal's letter. His *Annales* were not continued beyond this point.

petrated, the letters in their favour from him, when for fear of the pestilence he had left Rome for Spoleto, and that the executory letters of fulmination had been issued without his knowledge, and were null; in fact, he rehabilitated the Carthusians.¹

Apparently the monks of St. Peter kept up their claim for a few more years, for in 1456 the general chapter sent a message from the Grande Chartreuse to the prior of Sheen to the effect that they considered the long-standing complaint against him was to the obloquy of the charterhouse and should be appeased.² The prior of Sheen must finally have convinced the authorities of his Order that the claims of the foreign religious houses to property which had been confiscated forever by the English crown could not be recognised, and compensation would have implied recognition, even could his community have afforded compensation if their numbers were to be maintained according to the intention of Henry V., the alien priories and manors forming a large part of their endowment.

The estates of Sheen charterhouse, besides the property in Surrey, were scattered in the counties of Northampton, Lincoln, Oxford, Buckingham, Berkshire, Gloucester, Wiltshire, Worcester, Hereford and the Marches of Wales, Warwick, Stafford, Hertford, Dorset, Somerset, Hampshire, Cambridge, Leicester, Sussex, Kent, Essex, Middlesex, and London. The largest property was at Hayling and Carisbrooke, the farm of which priory alone came to £133 6s. 8d.³ Before its dissolution the clear value of all its possessions came to £777 12s. 0½d.⁴

The site was granted, in 1540, to Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, later Duke of Somerset, and upon his attainder in 1552, to Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, who made it his residence.⁵ Thither, at some time in the reign of Edward VI., came Stow the antiquary, and was shown the alleged body of James IV., said to have been found on

¹ Bodleian Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 123^v. *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1447-1455, p. 237, and Lambeth MS., 413, under the year 1450.

² Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 139^v. The abbey of St. Peter is not mentioned in this passage, which may perhaps refer to another matter of dispute.

³ Abstract of *Ministers' Accounts*, 35 Henry VIII., in *Monasticon*, vi., p. 23.

⁴ *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, ii., pp. 51-54.

⁵ *Monasticon*, vi., p. 23.

the Field of Flodden "lapped in lead, close to the head and body, throwne into a wast roome amongst the olde timber, leade, and other rubble." Workmen "for their foolish pleasure" afterwards hewed off the head, but Lancelot Young, "Maister glasier to her Maiestie, feeling a sweet savour to come from thence," carried it to his house in Wood Street, and finally had it buried by the sexton, along with other bones that had been taken out of the neighbouring Church of St. Michael.¹ Whether the body was that of the King of Scots or not, the incident is typical of the spirit of lawless irreverence evoked by the destruction of monasteries and their churches, and the desecration of holy places and holy things.

How under Queen Mary Tudor the Carthusians returned a while to Sheen belongs to another part of this book. Today no vestige remains of the latest member of the English Carthusian province, the House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen.

THE CHARTERHOUSE OF THE VALE OF VIRTUES, PERTH

On 12th February, 1423, James I. of Scotland married Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, and was set free to govern his own people. Thomas de Holland, Duke of Surrey, the founder of the charterhouse of Mountgrace, was the maternal uncle of his bride, and her uncles on her father's side, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas, Earl of Exeter, were both benefactors of the Carthusian Order. If it was her influence which prompted James to found a charterhouse, it was natural that he should look to Mountgrace for assistance in his project. The prior of that community and Dan Bryce, a professed member thereof, went to Scotland to survey with their own eyes the site chosen by the king at Perth, and to make all necessary inquiries. They reported to the Grande Chartreuse that he intended the monastery to be for the accommodation of thirteen monks and their attendant lay-brothers and servants, and to endow it with 200 merks, and to establish it with the usual Carthusian privileges. Subsequently, on 19th August, 1426, the general chapter sent a written authorisation to James for the erection of a charterhouse near the burgh of Perth, trusting that with God's blessing

¹ Stow's *Survey of London* (ed. by C. L. Kingsford, 1908), i., p. 298.

his purpose would be carried to a good issue. Further, they informed the king that they had dispatched a letter to the Prior of Mountgrace, directing him to provide two monks, should James desire it, to guide him in the erection of the buildings in accordance with Carthusian regulations.¹ The Dan Bryce above mentioned was perhaps made rector of this new plantation, and may be the same as Dan Bryce (Brictius and Brixius) Montgomery, its second prior.

Scotch authorities² give the years 1429 and 1430 as the date of the foundation of the charterhouse of the Vale of Virtues, as James I. willed the monastery at Perth to be called; but either would seem to be the year of completion rather than institution, since it was incorporated in 1430 by the general chapter, who rarely passed an act of incorporation of a house within the first twelve months of its existence. The chapter, in the same session, appointed Oswald Cordis the first prior; according to some a Bavarian, to others an Englishman, he was a professed monk of, and at one time vicar of, the Grande Chartreuse. Other monks were sent from other foreign houses, presumably as more agreeable to the King of Scots than if they had come from England. Even a converse, Brother John, was at first, with consent of the general chapter, dispatched from the Chartreuse of Liget, though a year later the Prior of the Vale of Virtues was bidden to send him to a house in the province of Picardy where there were mature lay-brothers to teach him his profession, which he could not learn in the new plantation in Scotland.³

The endowments of the Scotch charterhouse consisted for the most part in small yearly rents issuing from tenements in Perth.⁴ The murder of James I. in 1437 perhaps frustrated further grants, for, to judge by the not infrequent injunctions of the general chapter to the Prior of the Vale of Virtues to pay his community's debts, the resources of the latter appear to have been insufficient. The interment of their founder, and later of his queen, within their walls, though an honour, was no compensation for a scanty endowment, and in 1446 the chapter general bade the

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report vi., app., p. 713.*

² Dempster, lib. i., *Apparatu ad Historium Scoticam*, 416; *Chronicle of Perth* (Maitland Club).

³ Rawlinson MS., D 318, f. 119^v.

⁴ *Historical MSS. Commission, Report vi., app., p. 713.*

Priors of Antwerp and Ghent, the Visitors of the province of Further Picardy, to which the Scotch monastery was united, confer with James II. on the necessities of the Perth charterhouse.¹ The appeal was not in vain, and that king "did much good to the House of the Vale of Virtues," but after his death by 1461 it was in such difficulties, owing to the dearness and scarcity of corn in consequence of bad weather, that the general chapter allowed the payment of its remaining debts to be deferred for a while.²

About the year 1456 Perth charterhouse was added to the English province, the Prior of Beauvale, then chief Visitor of the English Carthusians, being enjoined by the general chapter to visit it, and to get the community to discharge their debts to the priories of Montdieu and Abbeville, incurred by hospitality to one of their number. In 1460 again, at request of the King of Scots, it was separated from the English province, and united to that of Geneva. On occasion, however, the English provincial priors were specially directed thither, as in 1478 when John Ingelby, Prior of Sheen, with Dom Lawrence Buret, procurator of the Grande Chartreuse, by order of the Carthusian authorities, visited it. They found there under Prior John David fourteen monks, a novice and two converses, and that the house was well provided, having in yearly rent £407 3s. Scots. Continual hostility between England and Scotland forbade a closer union with the English province; enmity might lead to resentment at visitations by English provincials, and perhaps accounts for some of the delay from 1456 to 1477 to pay 20 nobles due to the Prior of Beauvale for the expenses of his visit.³ In fact, except for the four years from 1456 to 1460 the priory of the Vale of Virtues was a foreign charterhouse to the English Carthusians. Being external to their province, further details of its history are not pertinent to the purpose of this book, and it suffices to say here that it perished under the zeal of the followers of John Knox.

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 170.

² Le Couteulx, *Annales*, vii., p. 582 *seq.* (account of Perth charterhouse).

³ *Ibid.*, and Lambeth MS., 413, under dates above quoted.

CHAPTER V

THE GENERAL CHAPTER AND THE ENGLISH PROVINCE

THE centre of Carthusian authority was in the general chapter, which met yearly at the Grande Chartreuse to provide for the maintenance of the customs and statutes, to remove abuses and when necessary, while preserving the spirit of the older statutes, to make new regulations. It was the duty of all the priors of the Order, unless hindered by reasonable cause, to be present; but those of the English, and of two or three other distant provinces, were excused from attending except in leap-year. The English charter-houses, also on account of their remoteness, were among those to whom it was granted that the vicar with the elder monks might confirm an election of the prior by the convent, if there was no prior to those parts who could be summoned to confirm it.¹ For the same reason the general chapter of 1261 had included them among those houses of which the visitations were to be made only in leap-year unless otherwise ordered from the Grande Chartreuse;² but later the institution of an English province with native visitors able to visit more frequently abrogated this rule. Though the local priors might for just causes be excused, one of their provincial priors or visitors must of obligation put in an appearance every leap-year at the general chapter. The journey to the Grande Chartreuse must have been always tedious to the English monks, and in time of war dangerous; indeed, during hostilities between England and France it might have been difficult to obtain the requisite passports. In 1377 when, under John of Gaunt, war with France was recommencing, Thomas, Prior of Witham, and Adam, Prior of Hinton, were stopped from crossing the sea, and on the 2nd October, being brought before the council at Westminster, were forbidden to do so without special licence.³

¹ *Statuta Antiqua Ordinis Carthusiani*, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 1143.

² *Ibid.*, col. 1135.

³ Close Roll, 1 Richard II., m. 31 d.

If any prior were unable to attend the general chapter, he must send his procurator, or, if that were inconvenient, a monk of his house, or, failing that because of the distance, a messenger with letters.

The members of the general chapter were the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, who was always *ex officio* the president or moderator of the assembly, all the other priors present, and the monks of the Grande Chartreuse, the monks of the other charterhouses being represented by their priors. Out of the number of the priors present and of the monks of the Grande Chartreuse were chosen, by the method of election,¹ fixed by Pope Alexander IV. in 1256, eight diffinitors, in whom with the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse rested the real government and the responsibility of final decisions in disputed points. The authority of the prior as president—later he was frequently called the general prior—lasted for the following twelvemonth, nor might that authority be delegated to another save with his own consent and that of the diffinitors. The diffinitors, before the assembly broke up, nominated four of the priors of not too remote charterhouses whom he might summon at need to a private or interim chapter for consultation and decisions on questions of common import during the twelvemonth before the meeting of the next general chapter. The four priors when summoned must go without delay to the Grande Chartreuse; their decisions had the force of those of the general chapter until it assembled, but were nevertheless liable to emendation when laid before that body.² The time of this annual

¹ See before, pt. i., chap. v. The bull of Alexander IV. in 1256, enforcing a fairer election of the diffinitors of the general chapter, established the representative character of that assembly, especially in that part of it in which the government really lay. It may be observed that Dom Bede Jarrett, O.P. (*The English Dominicans*, 1921, pp. 126-127), while admitting the Cistercian origin of the monastic government by assemblies, claims for St. Dominic the idea of government by an elective and representative body and suggests Dominican influence at the Council of Lateran in 1215. But the capitular system of the Cistercians alone is held up as an example of perfection by the decree of that Council ordering the adoption of general chapters and provincial visitations. With regard to the Carthusians, the bull of Alexander IV. seems to have been really the outcome of disputes within the Order itself, owing to a sense of injustice and a desire of more complete representation in the government among some of its members.

² *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. ii., cap. xxviii., xxix., give the regulations for the general and private chapters.

gathering of the Carthusians was two weeks before Easter. The Ancient Statutes forbade that priors coming to it should stop more than two nights anywhere on the way, and more than one at Grenoble. They were to avoid asking permission to enter the Grande Chartreuse before the chapter; if a prior did happen to arrive the day before, he might only speak to the procurator, or to either of the kitcheners. Each prior might bring as companion but one converse, and perhaps a servant, since the New Statutes of 1368 forbade the servants of persons of the Order coming to the chapter to bring swords or great knives within the boundaries, these having to be left with the bridge-keepers. These later statutes also appoint that the priors and others coming to the Chartreuse and crossing the bridge, even with permission, before the Saturday preceding the general chapter should pay daily for each animal (horse or mule) four groats of Tours.¹ In 1422, by which time their numbers had increased, and therefore their sojourn must have been a burden on the hospitality of the mother-house, it was enacted that priors arriving on the Saturday before the general chapter and staying until the following Saturday must pay per head two groats daily of good money, as well as for their animals.² Every prior was to bring the names of the departed of his house; if he brought any alms to the chapter, the sums were to be divided according to the wishes of the donors, but not to be distributed to the other priors until a declaration of them had been made to the chapter.

On the third Sunday after the octave of Easter all the priors ascended to the upper house before supper, which was served to them in the refectory, those who had not arrived at the proper hour supping after compline. Supper over, they met in the cloister, or the cemetery, and listened to an address from the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, followed by the reading of such briefs (mortuary rolls) as time allowed before compline. On the three days of the chapter the monks of the Grande Chartreuse were allowed to come out of their cells after prime and none, but not after vespers or between dinner and none without the prior's licence. During the sermon at a general chapter any guests, religious or secular, might be present, but directly after, or after a meal in the refectory, the procurator was to conduct

¹ *Nova Statuta*, pt. ii., cap. vii.

² Bodleian Rawlinson MS., 318, f. 113.

them back to the guest-house. On the first day the lay-brothers went to the upper house for mass, after which they returned to their own house; even if required by their own priors, unless by licence of the general prior, it was not permissible for them to go up again on the first two days of the chapter, or for their priors to go down to them. However, on the Sunday and Monday and Tuesday, after supper the procurator went down to them with two of the priors, of whom one propounded the word of God to them. After mass, at a sign from the general prior a bell was rung and all in silence assembled in the chapter house.¹ After the psalm *Ad Te levavi*, certain prayers and suffrages were offered, a bishop if present, and if not the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse or someone deputed by him, conducting; a sermon followed delivered by him or his deputy. Then after the departure of any guests the business of the chapter began with the reading of the mortuary rolls or briefs and the commemoration of deceased members of the Order. The assembly dealt next with the questions or proposals brought by the priors from the various charterhouses. These might relate to ceremonial or liturgical points, or doubts as to Carthusian practice, or to matters of discipline, or even to the meaning of Latin words occurring in the statutes or in capitular injunctions.

Some of the questions determined and sent back to England with their answers by the general chapter of 1356 through William de Cokkyng, Prior of Witham, one of the diffinitors of the same chapter, were for guidance as to when the monks should bow to the prior, as to what biblical books should be read in the refectory or elsewhere, and as to how certain words should be pronounced, also as to whether the monks ought to keep the vigil of the burial of converses dying outside the upper house, and whether a monk absent from the divine office through continual sickness must confess at each chapter when able to be present. Further, the English monks had been puzzled about the meaning of some words in the statutes; they were told that the "cellaria" were the places where wine was stored near the vineyards, that "auricularia"

¹ The Ancient Statutes really say "in the dormitory of the brothers"—that is, the common dormitory which the converses used when they had to sleep in the upper house. Evidently at that date, 1259, no chapter house had as yet been built at the Grande Chartreuse (*cf. La Grande Chartreuse par un Chartreux*, Lyons, 1898, p. 243).

were little pillows, that a "birettus" was what prelates and doctors wore on the crown of their heads. The answers brought back from the chapter general of 1368 by John Luscote, Prior of God's Place, Hinton, were to questions mainly liturgical. One was an ascetic detail: "What are the ages excused from the rigour of fasting? Answer: The impotent. There is no certain age excused, for some are stronger at seventy than others at fifty. It rests at the discretion of the prior."¹

The New Statutes of 1368 contain some regulations concerning the correspondence with the general chapter. From these it appears that everyone of the Order was at liberty to give information to the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse and the chapter on matters necessary, behoveful or harmful to his house, but prolixity was to be avoided, else let the writers expect no reply. Priors were to confess in the chapter, or, in case of absence by writing, if they had neglected to bring such letters, or had hindered such being written. Anyone writing maliciously, or mendaciously, false information against his prior or persons of the Order was to be put, like a forger or cheat, under the discipline meted to the criminous at the pleasure of the Order—that is, of the general chapter. Persons of the Order were strictly forbidden to induce their founders or other secular individuals to write to the general chapter for them, or to divulge to such the private affairs of their houses, or any excesses of inmates, or the discipline. Appeal, however, might be made to the prior and general chapter against corrective discipline where there was grave and manifest injustice, but the appellant was to be severely punished if his appeal were itself pronounced unjust by the supreme authorities. Subjects might not appeal in person, but by letter, and the priors were bound to provide them with a messenger and the expenses.²

When anyone present had anything to propose to the chapter the rest were to keep silent.³ The New Statutes, designed for the preservation of Carthusian severity, laid down that whosoever persistently, after being warned by the prior and diffinitors, proposed an enactment by which the ancient rigour of the Order might be diminished, should

¹ Rawlinson MS., 318, ff. 73-81, 83-86.

² *Nova Statuta*, pt. ii., cap. vii.

³ *Ibid.*

be punished by the chapter as a rebel. Daily during its assembly, at a fit opportunity the prior and diffinitors withdrew to consider the matters laid before them, returning after recording their decisions in writing. Things requiring longer time for deliberation might be deputed by the diffinitors to other competent members of the Order, the final decision being reserved to the general chapter. The diffinitors might determine on nothing which had not been proposed in the hearing of that chapter. No statutes might be withdrawn without urgent cause. The definitions of the chapter were revealed on the third day, when they also named the four priors who were to form the interim chapter with the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse during the following twelvemonth. All business being ended, those priors who confessed to any excesses received discipline, and all were charged with the performance on return to their own houses of the usual offices for those relations, benefactors and servants, and participators in the spiritual goods of the Order, whose names had been announced to the chapter.

Then two of the priors were appointed to draw up an account of expenses connected with the chapter to be passed by the diffinitors. When all was done, after an admonition from the general prior and his parting Benedicite, the foreign priors, having bidden goodbye to those religious of the Chartreuse chancing to be present, descended to the lower house chanting vespers on the way. There the converses, being congregated in chapter, heard a sermon from the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse or by someone appointed by him, and listened to such ordinances of the chapter as were judged proper to be rehearsed to them. On the morrow after a very early celebration without singing of a mass of the Holy Spirit, all those who had come for the chapter departed, and such new institutions as ought to be known to them were read to the brethren of the Chartreuse.

By no means the least important business of the general chapter was the appointment of the provincial visitors and the regulation of the visitations. According to Dom Le Couteulx,¹ the Carthusian system of visitation was instituted in 1248. The ordinances relating thereto are among the statutes of the general chapter of 1259.² These

¹ *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*, under the year 1248.

² *Statuta Antiqua*, pt. ii., cap. xxx.

direct the selection of the visitors from the priors every two years, care being had lest a visitor visit his own visitor, or the prior of the house of his own profession, or the house of which one of his own monks was prior—a counsel difficult to carry out in a province numerically as small as that of England, where infant charterhouses had to be started by monks drawn here and there from the older communities. The statutes give the following directions for a visitation :—The monks of the house visited are to be assembled under their prior, and the visitors, after certain prayers, shall make an exhortation to them on the observance of the rule, obedience and reverence to their pastors; then after the form of visitation being read to them, they are to be admonished to answer truthfully, without reserve for love or hate or fear, whatever should be asked them concerning the prior, themselves, the converses, and state of the whole house. But no one was to be accused openly, unless his fault could be proved, and no one to incur penalty where positive proof was lacking. On an inquisition for proof of delinquencies, instead of an oath the precept of obedience was to suffice, except in grave cases, when the Visitors might for the revelation of the full truth use the threat of excommunication, or exact an oath. Inquisition concerning monks and converses was to be made through the monks and converses, but seculars might be called in as witnesses against the prior or his subjects, if the evidence given by the community were insufficient. Visitors, however, were warned not to believe every spirit, nor to condemn anyone on mere suspicion. As a preliminary to the inquiries the records (*charta*) of the former visitors were to be read before all, and then the prior and monks returning to their cells, the visitors had to question them individually. Any prior fearing the visitation, and therefore extorting any sort of bargains with his monks or lay-brothers, was to be put out of his seat in church and go without mass until the next chapter. Careful inquiry was to be made whether the last visitation had been observed, and whoever had been guilty in disregarding it, prelate or subject, should be severely punished as disobedient to God and the general chapter; the injunctions of the visitors as officials of that assembly were to be considered as emanating from the chapter. Diligent inquiry also was to be made into the conduct of the prior, as to whether he were carnally or secularly

minded, whether he were negligent in his office, or corrected excesses, administering due reproofs, and whether he set a good example in going to church, or in abstinence and observance of the statutes. The prior himself was to be interrogated about the peace of the house, his own and that of the monks and converses, and the reason was to be demanded if he said there was not peace. Then the monks were to be interrogated as to their observance of Carthusian rule, their conduct towards their superiors, reverence in church, if they duly confessed their faults in chapter and were humble when blamed, and so on. There was to be further inquiry on the temporal state of the house, as to whether it had any burden of debt and for how much, and blame lay with the prior if it was found heavily indebted. On all these matters the prior, monks, converses, and *redditi* were to be questioned singly. Anyone knowing aught against the prior or against any of the community, worthy of correction, was bound to intimate it to the visitors, but not openly before the whole convent unless it could be proved. The convicted, whether through their own confession or through witnesses, were to be punished according to the fault; but no one was to be sent out of his house for punishment, unless his worst enemies were in the house. The prior was to be enjoined to withdraw no "humanity" from anyone who had spoken against him, and the monks to molest none in word or deed who had uttered anything against them. The visitors having weighed everything which they had heard, were then to write down what they thought good to decree thereon; and after perusing the writings of the preceding visitors, they were to add any observations they had to make on these to their own decrees, deleting the earlier ones; then having recited to the monks what concerned the monks, and to the lay-brothers what concerned the lay-brothers, they were to hand their own visitorial documents with their seals attached to the prior or the sacrist to be preserved. These records of the visitation were to be read yearly on the feast of St. John the Evangelist, and on the Tuesday in Easter week. Similar, or duplicate records of those left in the houses visited, were to be sent to the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, with the expenses of the houses visited. Where a visitation was but a two days' journey from their own priories, the visitors were to pay their own expenses, otherwise the house,

or houses, visited could be charged for everything for themselves, their servants and horses, but "with modesty and honesty."

The visitors, though having full power to correct excesses, were in no case to release a prior from office without special licence from the general chapter, unless owing to delay some great harm might befall the house or some scandal the Order; when this happened they must write faithfully to the diffinitors the cause of the release or deposition of the prior. The visitors were to look to it that they left the houses visited in peace, saving the discipline of correction, and left no questions to the general chapter which could be determined by their own judgment. In case of a catastrophe such as a fire, the visitors at the request of the prior and monks might distribute a convent. Though delinquents, even the incorrigible, were to be punished in their own houses to cause the other inmates to fear, the quarrelsome might also be distributed, nor might the houses to which the visitors sent them refuse them.

Besides the general visitations, there were occasionally others of private or special character, such as where any houses of the Order might be disputing among themselves, in which case the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, on application from the house suffering injury, was willing to nominate two priors to inquire into the matter and to settle the dispute, contumacy against their sentence being punishable in a prior by loss of mass, except that for a burial or for the profession of a novice, until the next general chapter, and in a monk or converse by being considered "outside the convent."

The statutes of 1368 added a few more directions as to visitors.¹ One of them seems to denote on the part of heads of houses at that period either an unworthy clinging to office when unfit, or else a desire to be independent of the prior and general chapter in refusing or neglecting to ask "mercy" (or leave to resign) from them. Because some of the priors rarely or never ask mercy according to the laudable use of former fathers, we enjoin on the visitors, say the diffinitors of 1368, that they command the priors, so often as there seems reasonable cause, to ask before themselves mercy from the office of prior, but they are only to

¹ *Nova Statuta*, pt. ii., cap. viii.

release them from office in cases contained in the Ancient Statutes without special licence from the prior and general chapter. Other officials of a charterhouse might be released from their charge as should seem expedient to the visitors. The latter are urged also strongly to reprehend those priors who on slight pretext afforded opportunity to their monks to go out for walks beyond their houses, and to give them "good discipline" for such faults, and if it seemed good to them, to restrain the licences for the walks, and to forbid the monks thus licensed to eat outside the enclosure of their own houses. To obviate the danger to their souls and scandals to the Order arising from the wandering about of its members, they ordained as a "perpetual and irrefragable statute" that no person for whatever crime or delinquency should be sent forth from his own house, but was there to be punished; if, however, he should be so perverse that, relying on his relations or friends in his own house, he could not be duly corrected or punished, then, and not otherwise, the visitors, having God before their eyes, might send such a person from his house and place him in another under fit discipline. In this case his prior was to have him conducted at his proper charges to the house appointed by the visitors with their letters as credentials, and to pay to that house the expenses of his sojourn there at a rate fixed by the Order. A monk thus sent away must go without the colloquy lest his perverse words and manners corrupt the rest where he was housed. The visitors were to send no one outside the province which they visited without licence from the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, except the priors who were to be dispatched to the provinces of their last professions. Visitors who revealed to any other than the prior and diffinitors of the general chapter the excesses of houses visited by them, or the ill reports of the inmates, were to be very severely punished at the chapter. They were also bidden to be careful lest the converses, or *redditi*, or servants, got to know, or should be inquisitive about, the shortcomings revealed, or the manner of the visitation. Further, they were enjoined to inquire diligently whether the houses visited had sufficient prisons, and to impose penalties against negligence in procuring such according to their means. To ensure respect to visitorial decrees, it was enacted that what had been once forbidden by the visitors was to be understood to be always forbidden

until the prohibition were revoked by the general chapter or by the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, or by other visitors. The visitors, of whom there were two as a rule to a province, might themselves be removed from office by the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse for any reasonable cause.

The first name recorded of a native visitor of the English province, which was instituted in 1367, is that of John Luscope, but that of his coadjutor, if he had one, does not appear. As Prior of God's Place, Hinton, he was present at the Grande Chartreuse for the general chapter of 1368. The Carthusian annalist Dom Charles Le Couteulx¹ says that he was appointed Visitor in 1370, when the assembled fathers of the Order, having at his own request released him from the priorate of Hinton, submitted to his discretion all matters of discipline throughout England, and also put him into the office of rector, or temporary overseer, of Sir Walter Mauny's infant charterhouse near London, which they then and there incorporated into the Order.

In 1378 the catastrophe of the Great Schism befell Western Christendom; it was reflected in miniature in the Carthusian Order, the hostility between pope and anti-pope being represented by the enmity between two rival general chapters.

In 1379 the Order was still maintaining a neutral attitude towards the two popes, while pouring out prayers for the restoration of peace and unity. But when the French king took up the claims of Clement VII., many of the French Chartreuses openly deserted Urban VI., although the Grande Chartreuse as yet held a middle course between the claimants until the chapter of the following year. Urban meanwhile, to preserve the unity of the Order, appointed John, prior of the charterhouse of Trisulti in Lombardy, as general Visitor of the Order, giving him authority over all the houses, and all the powers of a general chapter as to correction and reformation, the deposition of priors, or imprisoning monks, empowering him further to absolve any who on account of their partisanship with himself might incur excommunication from the "nursling of perdition" Robert, cardinal priest of the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles, daring to call himself Pope Clement, and, on the other hand,

¹ *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis*, under date 1398, the year of John Luscope's death.

to use ecclesiastical censures against those who refused to acknowledge himself, Urban.

When the general chapter met on 22nd April in 1380, both popes sent their envoys to endeavour to persuade, or force, their adherence, but the priors could not decide which was the true pope. On the suggestion of William, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, the diffinitors agreed that during the schism, each prior with his convent should adhere to the diocesan bishop, and that the prayers should run "for the good estate, peace and unity of the Roman Church, and for our Lord the Pope," without naming him. This did not satisfy the papal envoys on either side, who insisted on the name being inserted. Then the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, succumbing to the reasoning or to the threats of the Bishop of Grenoble and the Count of Savoy, with his own hand inserted the name of Clement in the prayers. The supporters of Urban, who had come from all parts of Europe, were dismayed and withdrew from the chapter in bitterness of spirit, but it was still intended that there should be a bond between the partisans at least in the observance of Carthusian customs. Not long after, the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse wrote to all the houses of the Order in Germany, Picardy, and Flanders (England is not mentioned) to obey him as their superior, but Pope Urban sent out mandates that they were to adhere to him as the Vicar of Christ, and moreover, bade the general Visitor appointed by him to hold another chapter. This was held by the Carthusian supporters of Urban in Florence in May, 1380, and his name was inserted by them into their prayers. Thus in the Order, as in the Church, schism was established.¹ England, like the Empire, adhered to the cause of Urban VI. Prior John Luscote, it is said, strove with all his might to prevent the English Carthusians being torn as it were from the mother house; but the English charterhouses necessarily following their sovereign's lead, he was compelled to submit to that general chapter which took part with Pope Urban, and which eventually confirmed him in his office. He died in 1398, more than twelve years before the breach was healed in the Church or in his Order.

Among the *Acta* of the general chapter of 1380 (our authority, Dom Le Couteulx, does not say of which party)

¹ For the foregoing and later details of the Carthusian schism see Le Couteulx, *Annales*, under the years mentioned.

is a licence to the house of Witham in England to enter into fellowship with the brethren of the Premonstratensian community at Titchfield, in the diocese of Winchester, and a prohibition to Dan Walter and another monk not named of the house at London, who were asking licence to transfer themselves to the house at Rome or anywhere across the sea, to withdraw from where they were unless they had first the written consent of the priors to whom they wished to go.

In 1381 the general chapter at Rome declared the Carthusians of Clement's party to be schismatics, and forbade communication with them by word or letter during the schism. In 1382 a second general chapter at Rome condemned all general chapters and private held at the Grande Chartreuse since 1379, and also condemned all of the Order still remaining neutral. On the other hand, the monks of the Grande Chartreuse in chapter condemned the chapters, general and private, held anywhere outside their own Chartreuse in Savoy since the death of Gregory XI.

In 1383 the Carthusian adherents of Urban transferred the seat of their general chapter to the charterhouse of Seitz in Austria. Thence, in 1385, must have come the special concession to the English priors and convents of the Order, that whereas, on account of the thinness of the cloth in England, the Carthusian fashion of putting felt or thick cloth upon their straw beds could not be conveniently observed, they might place a sack between the straw and the cloth, provided that all, and not merely some, of the priors in England consented to this ordinance as necessary. The heads of the charterhouses here were doubtless unanimous, for next year came the more definite permission to all persons of the Order of the province of England who liked to do so to keep a cloth of the coarse linen commonly called "canevas" between the cloth of the bed and the straw.¹

Urban VI. died in 1389, and in 1391 the Carthusian priors of his party under his successor, Boniface IX., met in general chapter at Florence and appointed the charterhouse of Seitz to be the head house instead of the Grande Chartreuse, and its prior to be the general prior instead of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, until the "pestiferous schism" should be taken away. The Austrian

¹ Rawlinson MS., 318, f. 99.

charterhouse was remote from England ; therefore, in consideration of the long distance and the dangers of the roads and of the sea, the visitors of the English province were, in 1395, excused from coming to the general chapter there, but the English priors were enjoined to contribute in future to the expenses of the visitors of lower Germany, or any others who came in their stead. Two ordinances passed at the same time show a desire, in spite of the breach with the Grande Chartreuse, to uphold Carthusian tradition. One directs the priors to see that the *donati*, certain of whom were not ashamed to go about in unbecoming short garments, dressed in conformity to the statutes. The other forbade a monk to fish within the bounds of his monastery, and ordered that there should be a space between the cells as was customary in the Order.

The schism in the Carthusian Order ended after the meeting of the Council of Pisa, when the rival popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., had been deposed and Alexander V. elected. Reunited, the priors met as of old at the Grande Chartreuse, and in the Acta of the general chapter of 1411 they recorded their acceptance of Alexander V. as the true pontiff of the universal church. It was then decided that the ordinances made by the head Chartreuse of either obedience were to be binding, if the heads of each approved, until the next chapter, as there had not been time to consider them.¹ The general chapter of the following year repealed all the constitutions and ordinances passed by either party during the schism and since the compilation of the New Statutes of 1368, and so removed the traces of former variance.²

¹ Rawlinson MS., 318, f. 99.

² Le Couteulx, *op. cit.*, under the year 1412.

CHAPTER VI

SOME CAPITULAR ACTS AFTER THE SCHISM

THE reunion of the Carthusian Order was not effected without serious outlay, though the sum is not mentioned in the available records of the general chapters; the Council of Constance, where presumably they had representatives, as they certainly had later at the Council of Basle, also entailed expense. In 1424, to meet a debt of 840 francs, which was a part of these costs, the Grande Chartreuse having discharged 108 francs, the provincial visitors were enjoined to exact 4 francs from every house of the Order, the payment to be made within the next two years.¹ As to the later council, a capitular ordinance in 1433 appointed the contribution of a ducat by every charterhouse towards the maintenance of the Carthusian priors resident at Basle,² and an ordinance of the following year states the whole Carthusian contribution towards the charges of that council, as stipulated by composition with the latter, to be 700 ducats, a sum to cause no dismay, the chapter alleged, since other ecclesiastical bodies were paying at the rate of three times as much.³ Another common expense from the year 1413 was the maintenance of a proctor at Rome, on account of "much business" at the papal court, some of which, no doubt, was the obtaining ratifications of bulls and privileges granted by the popes of both parties during the Schism. In 1430 the chapter appointed that for the maintenance of their proctor at the Roman court and of his servant in victuals and clothing, every province should contribute 6 ducats, the quota of each house of a province to be apportioned and collected by the visitors of the province.⁴

Whether the Carthusians had any weight in the counsels of prelates and princes at Basle, or at Rome, their general

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 50.

² *Ibid.*, f. 96.

³ Bodleian Rawlinson MS., D. 318; f. 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 103, 120.

chapter at home was meanwhile endeavouring to bring peace to a distracted Christendom by yearly appointing prayers and masses to secure heavenly aid against heretics, whether these were engaged in persecuting members of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, or in despoiling and slaying "the clerks and religious" of Bohemia, as well as for the benefit of the Holy Roman Church generally.¹

Within its own horizon, the Order after thirty years of division had cause for solicitude—namely, the possible divergence from Carthusian custom and, still worse, a possible laxity in discipline, especially in those charterhouses which, owing to the Schism, had been separated from the mother community in France. Thus, in 1412 the houses of the Order in Lombardy, Germany, and England had to be informed of the manner of celebrating the festivals of St. Anne and St. Thomas Aquinas, observed at the Grande Chartreuse, and in the following year various liturgical enactments were put into the "charter" (or special record of capitular acts and directions concerning a particular province) sent into England, and the prior of the London charterhouse was bidden to conform himself to the Order as to the festivals of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Even so late as 1498 the English province was at variance with headquarters in its weekly practice of saying the hours of the Blessed Virgin on Saturday.²

That the English monks were by no means always compliant to the injunctions of their superiors is witnessed by an indult of Eugenius IV. Previous to the issue of this document in 1441, the provincial visitors had tried to set them right on liturgical matters, with result, after an appeal to Rome, that by papal favour their authority could be flouted. For "the priors and brethren of the realm of England of the Carthusian Order" petitioned the pope, stating that whereas "in times past there were wont to be celebrated in their houses the feasts of SS. Edward, Edmund, and Oswald, kings and martyrs, the translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, the feasts of SS. Hugh and Wulfstan, bishops and confessors, and of Edward, king and confessor, natives of the said realm and inscribed in the catalogue of saints, the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary and its octave, and of St. George the Martyr,

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 114.

² *Ibid.*, ff. 103-104^v, 160^v.

and also on every Saturday, when other feasts did not prevent a commemoration of the Virgin, with singing, but that divers visitors, coming from parts in which perhaps the said feasts are not celebrated, and wishing to assimilate the ordinances, ceremonies, and observances of feasts in the said houses to their own rites, have caused the offices and histories, which the said priors and brethren were wont to use on the said feasts, to be deleted from their books and breviaries and have forbidden them to perform the said office of Our Lady on Saturdays, wherefore the devotion of the faithful daily waxes cold and manifold scandals have arisen," and adding that it would be fit that they should not differ from other religious of the realm in the celebration of feasts, requested licence to do so. Eugenius granted their petition accordingly.¹ No information is obtainable as to how the general chapter regarded this papal indult. Certainly on quite another subject that assembly in 1466 refused to allow a papal licence involving a breach of their statutes. When an unnamed lady of Picardy obtained the pope's permission for herself and ten other women to enter any Carthusian monastery, they bade all the monks of the Order offer forcible resistance should she avail herself of it.²

The liking of the English Carthusians to assimilate their liturgical practice to local usage had evinced itself earlier than the above occasion. In 1421, the Prior of St. Anne's charterhouse, Coventry, and the other priors of this island, had perpetual silence imposed on them by the general chapter as to conforming themselves to the religious and secular clerks of the said island in the office of the Blessed Virgin, since it would have been against the statute about uniformity in the Divine Office. Further, if they troubled the general chapter any more the guilty were to do three abstinences on bread and water.³ Again, at some unnamed date one of the questions answered for them, and recorded in a manuscript of the London charterhouse, was whether on account of a parish church being within their boundaries not far distant from their house, the converses working there ought to follow the secular mode of attending festivals or not. The reply was hardly amiable. They were told

¹ *Calendar of Papal Registers*, 1431-1447, p. 201.

² Lambeth MS., 413, f. 368.

³ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 115^v.

to keep to what was written in everything, and then they would not have to ask so many questions.¹

On a report of their visitors, the Prior of Witham and the rector of the "new plantation" of Sheen, rebuke in 1417 was sent to the English monks for their way of singing; they were bidden make a pause in the middle of the verses after the manner observed at the Chartreuse long enough to say the words *Ave Maria plena gratia Dominus tecum*, and also to moderate their loud singing, which, moreover, was a great exertion to many.²

In certain of the charterhouses in England a more serious offence had to be rebuked in 1416. Some of the monks here had the effrontery to eat and drink with company in their cells. So flagrant a breach of the Carthusian rule of solitude in any except prior or procurator, who might eat with another only outside the cell, merited a severe prohibition with the punishment attached of an abstinence and the deprivation of wine and pittance at the meal in the refectory, and if a prior neglected to enforce the prohibition he was to observe an abstinence and to be out of his seat for a week.³ The Italian Carthusians some years later were guilty of a worse laxity; their visitors had been granting inordinately lengthy walks, even to several leagues beyond the monastic bounds, with permission to eat and drink outside. The chapter of 1424 revoked all such licences.

By the last-named chapter⁴ an ordinance was passed against the "curiously" painted pictures on the altars of some of the charterhouses, and other paintings in windows and elsewhere with coats of arms of secular persons and figures of women, all contrary to "the holy simplicity and humility of the Order." These were to be removed, and the provincial visitors were to punish those priors who disobeyed the injunction. This offence was perhaps common to the Carthusians of all nationalities, but the custom also reprehended by the same chapter, of permitting monastic servants to wear parti-coloured clothes even when they went out in attendance on the priors,

¹ Cotton MS., Caligula A. ii., ff. 145-148.

² Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 107.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 106.

⁴ For the acts of this chapter see Lambeth MS., 413, f. 50, and Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 114.

was peculiar to the English. As to dress, by 1441 among the priors and procurators generally there had crept in "a truly detestable abuse"; they had taken to wearing on a journey a cape or mantle without a hood, or even a secular cloak; strict commands were consequently issued that all Carthusians on going abroad should use the cape and hood sewn to it according to the statutes, so that it might be known that they were Carthusians.¹ A more secular out-door dress might have its convenience for presidents of houses and procurators who for slight pretexts quitted home to frequent lords' courts and fairs and markets, and busied themselves in litigation, involving their convents in heavy expenses, and while they stayed in granges of their monasteries, left the charge of their communities to vicars. Against such, an ordinance was passed in 1446.²

Another failing of the English communities was espied perhaps by the foreign Visitor of their province, the Prior of Antwerp, who for some reason had been, in 1424, appointed to that office, instead of an Englishman, with an associate to be selected by himself. Anyway, next year the general chapter stated that "forasmuch as the houses in the province of England have not boundaries of their possessions according to the tenor of the statutes, therefore to each house of the same province we grant twenty leagues English in circuit in which to acquire rent for the future."³

If the matters reprehended seem of little moment, it should be remembered that the venerable fathers at the Grande Chartreuse considered that laxity in small things was but the first step in a declension from a disciplinary system for the preservation of which the assembling in general chapter had from the first been instituted. This insistence of these chapters from early times on uniformity, and on conformity with customs, lesser and greater, observed at the Grande Chartreuse, helped to establish that solidarity of their Order which even the Schism could not break. For while outwardly divided by that catastrophe, they had been spiritually at one, so that it was quite easy for the two Carthusian parties to reunite after thirty years of separation.

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 128.

² Lambeth MS., 413, f. 169^v.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 57.

The fathers of the Order, nevertheless, were always aware of the risks, and perhaps actual harm, incurred by that separation, and were set on obviating them. Therefore, in 1413 they naturally laid special stress on the importance of the provincial priors being present at the general chapters. That year they ordained,¹ because of the multiplication of the charterhouses in divers parts of the world, and of the difficulty of some in attending, that out of every province one visitor at least must always come to the chapter, and that the houses of his province must contribute towards his expenses, so that, however, no single house should be precluded by this from paying the expenses of its own prior, did he wish to be present. Any visitor legitimately prevented from coming must send another prior to give information on the affairs of his province. In 1417 the English visitors, who were bound to come only every leap year, were directed, when they did not come, to send letters to the nearest priors of the province of Further Picardy—viz., those of Bruges, Guelders, and Antwerp; satisfaction for their expenses was to be made to them “after their good discretion.”² The visitors were exhorted to show a good example in the observances of the Order and to check any insolence in their servants during their visitations.

The chapter of 1414 directed the visitors to inquire about and to stop any customs in individual houses which might have been introduced against the “sobriety of the Order,” such as the pittances frequently granted on days of abstinence and at other times. In 1420, after enacting that no person of the Order might trouble his prior or the visitors for licence to betake himself to doctors upon pain of discipline at the will of the Order, the chapter reverted to these “excesses or rather abuses” in pittances, and laid down that on the “days of pittances” not more than five eggs, including those used in the pottage, or the equivalent of five eggs, if fish happened to be served to the monks, was to be allowed; but on the days of abstinence, some simple pottage, merely, with a light drink might be permitted to those who humbly asked for it, if the prior thought it reasonable. This ordinance was not to be put on to the “charters” of the provinces where there had been no abuse of pittances; since it appears among those sent to the London charterhouse,

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 104.

² *Ibid.*, f. 108^v.

the English priors were probably transgressors.¹ Three years later the chapter was still inveighing against this kind of abuse.² Some priors continued to allow larger pittances, good wine, and frequent walks (*spaciamenta*) and "other blandishments of carnal desires" to the detriment of their houses, so much indulgence being judged to provoke their subjects to instability. Were a monk to be so discontented with his president's decision as to appeal to headquarters in France, according to an enactment of 1428, he was to be confined in his cell, and to keep the rule as to food "without mercy" until his appeal could be approved, or rejected by the general chapter; and should he be rebellious he was to be closely imprisoned.³

It was known that there were continual departures from the older observances, and that there was even real laxity here and there, growing as the years of the century were passing. Experience taught, no doubt, that some change was inevitable since the days of Guigo's Customs, or even since the last compilation of the Carthusian statutes in 1368. Men under an advancing civilisation with its attendant increase in luxury, physical, intellectual, and devotional, though as yet capable of following St. Bruno's ideals, must have found it increasingly difficult to adapt themselves in detail to the bare asceticism of the early Chartreux. On these accounts a reformation of the Order might seem desirable. Therefore in 1440 the general chapter bade all the visitors to consult the other priors and experienced monks of their provinces, and to make a list of everything which "according to God and regular observance" should occur to them as desirable to be reformed, or changed, or, wholly or partly, to be revoked. They were to have their proposals with them at the coming chapter ready for consideration during the year by the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, who would finally present the suggested alterations to the diffinitors of a future general chapter. The project seems to have dwindled merely to the order in 1442 of a new compilation of the Ancient and New Statutes to be made by the visitors with the help of the other priors and most experienced monks.⁴

Not only had the world changed, but the Carthusian fathers had to acknowledge that the character of the Order

¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 105^v, 110^v.

² *Ibid.*, f. 117^v.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 113^v.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 127^v and 128.

itself had altered during the course of centuries. A capitular enactment of 1442 runs: "Whereas our sacred Order in pristine times was called eremitic and rarely had a mass, it has now by the gift of God spread far and wide towards the holy offshoots of the monastic state, and we ordain that priors and procurators and other rectors of our houses, and nuns, who by reason of the business of their houses have to work both within and without the bounds, and to present themselves before magnates and other courtiers, may for the sake of decency of the clerical state and order, be shaved once a week," and the claustral monks every fifteen days.¹ Perhaps the fifteenth-century Carthusians had not the repulsive appearance of the friends of Peter the Venerable.

Before this date other wise alterations had been made in the treatment of the dying. Since 1422 the kiss appointed to be given in the article of death was to be left to the discretion of the prior and monks. Also the dying religious need no longer be laid on the blessed ashes, but it was to suffice if his bed was sprinkled with them; and if risk might be incurred by keeping the body in the church, it was to be buried before the celebration of mass for the departed.² In this connection may be mentioned a prohibition by the chapter of 1443 of a practice prevailing in some houses—namely, that when the convent visited the cell of a monk *in extremis*, they read to him "the recommendation of St. Anselm commonly so called," which "if diligently weighed will be acknowledged to belong rather to the lay than to the monastic state" added the chapter. This may have been an English practice, as the London charterhouse was notified of the prohibition.³

The Carthusian ordinances passed in the hundred years after the schism are not many. A practical enactment in 1414 licensed all the charterhouses with the consent of the convent and of at least one visitor to sell or alienate the possessions of the community for its benefit; the proceeds were to be spent on more profitable property. In the same

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 129v.

² *Ibid.*, f. 112.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 130, and Lambeth MS., 413, f. 155. Canon Jenkins has suggested to me that the "recommendation" is perhaps *Meditatio v. in S. Anselmi Opera* (ed. Gerberon, 4th ed., Paris, 1721, pp. 211-212), *Vnde vivat anima et vnde vivat caro; et de gloria bonæ animæ et de infelicitate malæ animæ quando exeunt de corpore.*

year the general chapter granted that for the future the election of a prior might be confirmed by the two priors (or one, if two were not available) who should be summoned to preside over the process of election according to the earlier statute.¹

Since the lay-brothers were the bread-winners of the Carthusian community, the following ordinance of 1432 is natural, though conceived in a narrow spirit: "Whereas the status of the converses is to be occupied in labours and not in letters, wherefore according to the statutes they are not permitted to have books, and each of them ought to remain in the calling which he has taken up, some of them, nevertheless, aspire on the contrary to the state of clerk or monk in order to serve in the ministry of the altar, being unfit, and trouble their presidents thereupon: We forbid all presidents to admit them to any status than that to which they are vowed, or the visitors to give them licence. If any of them seem to their presidents to be fit, let them bring them with them to the general chapter to be examined, and licence be granted or denied according to the judgment of the diffinitors."² Later the converses gave another cause for displeasure. The priors were exhorted in 1466 to see that they more strictly observed the rule especially as to silence, for it was noted that in some charterhouses they talked to anyone whom they chose, and for as long as they liked.³

Fugitive and vagabond monks, since the days when expulsion was abolished and monastic prisons introduced instead, were a perennial source of trouble and scandal to the Order. In 1416 the priors and others were admonished to seize them when found; but a fugitive taken by anyone but his own prior was to be sent back under good custody to the house of his last profession, if not three days distant, or else to be imprisoned in the next nearest house until the meeting of the general chapter, who would determine who should pay the costs of the prisoner. A head of any house who should refuse to receive a fugitive dispatched to him was to go without wine or pittance until the next general chapter.⁴ Later it was added that presidents of houses were to compel a returned fugitive to resume his habit if found without it, for a religious ought never to be without

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 106.

² Lambeth MS., 413, f. 96.

³ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 150.

⁴ *Ibid.* f. 106.

the habit of his Order. Judging by an injunction given in 1439 to a Hungarian charterhouse, it appears that an unhappy fugitive, though atoning for having run away, if he had eaten flesh during his flight, was to be imprisoned on return.¹

Vagabondage, the wandering from monastery to monastery, was in part due to the indiscretion of superiors. Monks and converses would often come to a charterhouse on false pretences; such were not to be received to profession without licence from the general chapter, to whom their names and cause of previous flight must be sent, so that their cases might be examined by that authority and by the visitors of the provinces to which they had belonged.² In the next century, even the Carthusian refugees from the Elizabethan Government, though the state of affairs in England must have been well known, had to wait for their licence from the Grand Chartreuse, before they might be professed at the charterhouse of Val-de-Grace at Bruges, so careful was the Order on this point. In 1483 priors were admonished not to bestow money or other gift on fugitives, or wanderers of the Order, and if they did so, they were not to hope to receive anything back from the communities among whom these had been professed. In 1490 the general chapter, having learnt by experience that the translation of persons of the Order from place to place fostered the inclination to flight and apostacy, enjoined on the visitors to avoid transferring any religious from his own house save in a case of urgent necessity.³

In 1475 it was enacted that priors or other officials who gave money for the bundles of goods of transferred monks were to be dismissed from their administration, as this encouraged the vice of proprietorship. Where the distance was too great for their packs to be carried, the prior receiving them might supply them with what was necessary, and get indemnity from the charterhouses whence they had come.⁴ Owing to certain complaints, the contents of these bundles was in 1498 limited to two tunics, three cowls, three tunicles, a vest (?),⁵ two pairs of breeches, three of socks,

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 133.

² Ordinance of 1445, in Lambeth MS., 413, f. 163.

³ Cotton MS., Caligula A. ii., ff. 200, 203.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 195.

⁵ The word in the MS. (Caligula A. ii., f. 205) is *gerdetorium*, apparently one of the many variants of the word *gardecorsium* (Fr. garde-corps), *wardecocium*, *warhotium* etc. (see Du Cange's Glossary).

two small cowls for sleeping in, a breviary, a book of collects, and the statutes if the monk had written them out, or had otherwise acquired them. Anyone who carried away more, unless it were something of little value granted by his prior, was to be regarded as guilty of private ownership, and as an excommunicated thief, and to be under the general discipline of the Order. A concrete instance of the Carthusian horror of any attempt at proprietorship occurs earlier, in the action of the chapter general of 1424 in directing that a deceased monk, Johannes Pererii (neither his nationality nor house is named), must be exhumed from the cemetery and cast forth from the place of the faithful, and be deprived of every benefit of the Order and of everybody's prayers, because he had been found to have borrowed and spent fifteen florins without the knowledge and licence of his prior.¹

To carry out the correct Carthusian view as to ownership was not always easy, for it was just a little difficult for devout folk, not of the Carthusian spirit, to understand why a gift of love, perhaps, to some revered father of a community, or of remembrance to some brother, or friend, shut off from intercourse with them behind the walls of a charterhouse, must be rejected, or bestowed at the will of the prior on some other monk for whom they did not care; or to comprehend why benefactions intended for particular monks in return for prayers were liable to be diverted to the general benefit of the whole convent. To give offence to faithful benefactors was neither gracious nor politic. As the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God near Smithfield grew in popular esteem, wealthy Londoners, often maybe out of sheer commiseration for the harsh abnegation of the holy men whom they admired, persisted in conditioning their grants of property to the community with special gifts for particular monks. Some of the priors had allowed these gifts, permitting the monks on whom little sums of money might be thus bestowed to spend it for themselves on books, or on improvements of their cells, or on sick relatives. But John Ingelby, Prior of Sheen, chief visitor at the time of the English province, with his fellow visitor, expressed disapproval, to such discontent of the convent that he felt it necessary to put before the general chapter in 1494 a set of questions on behalf of the London

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 50.

charterhouse.¹ Two of these were: (1) Whether a prior might concede that a donor could give a sum of money to any person of the Order on condition that that sum should be spent to the use of single persons of the Order? (2) If anyone wished to give an old book, or other thing, to a particular person for life, might a prior license the latter to receive it? Both of these being answered in the negative, the next, partly dependent on them, had an answer in the affirmative, viz.: After a sum of money, book, or aught else had been received with the prior's consent, might the prior or his successor, the recipient being unwilling, put it to another use than that expressed in the donor's wish? Then the visitor asked, If anyone gave money to a member of the Order with the prior's leave without expressing any special intention, or condition, might the money be kept in the hands of the prior, or procurator, or anyone else, to the particular use of the recipient? Whether the prior might license the sick and aged to keep a small sum of money, say 4d. or 6d. English, to spend on medicine, or other good uses. If anyone should wish to give money to a member of the Order to spend at the judgment of the latter on pious uses, such as the repair of the church ornaments, or help of the poor friends of the recipient, might the prior give licence to him? Whether lands or rents might be received in perpetuity by any house of the Order on condition that the money yearly issuing thence be divided between the conventuals of that house. All these last questions the chapter negated.

Some of the community of the House of the Salutation were not satisfied with the replies, and in 1496 their vicar wrote an explanatory letter to Peter, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse. The questions, he said, had arisen in consequence of two benefactions especially. John Atherley, deceased, who had a perpetual anniversary in the charterhouse, had assigned certain rents to the monastery, apportioning out of them yearly forever 6s. 8d. each to the prior and procurator, in return for their prayers, and this had been allowed in the days of four priors. One John Plummer likewise had granted to the convent certain tenements in perpetuity, and at the instance of some of the monks, with

¹ For the correspondence on the subject in 1494 and 1496 between the English Carthusians and the Grande Chartreuse see Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 158 *seq.*

the prior's approval, had appointed that yearly on his anniversary 20s. out of the rent from these tenements was to be divided among the priests of the charterhouse celebrating it. And this was done until the last visitation, when the visitors put all the sums assigned to the use of particular monks into the hands of the procurator as common property. After the visitation, however, the monks, naturally resenting the deprivation of what had hitherto been allowed to them, procured the money which had been particularly allotted to them. Wherefore Dan John Ingelby had laid his questions before the chapter general. When the answer of the latter was received, some of the monks were content; others "vehemently murmured." Their prior then called in Ingelby again to hold a colloquy on the matter. The visitor exhorted the monks to peace, and holding the schedule of questions in his hands, decreed that the first must be approved of, but as for the rest, he said: "I have the authority of the chapter general, and dispense with this schedule, and if there are any who hold the contrary, let them write to the future chapter."

The diffinitors of the chapter of that year, 1496, thought that to reserve these sums for the use of particular monks savoured of simony, and commanded that they were to be put into the common purse, and approved of the answers of the former chapter.

In 1422 persons of the Order were forbidden to administer baptism, on pain, if a prior or procurator, of deprivation of office, and if a subject, of imprisonment.¹ There was an injunction² to visitors in 1493 to inquire as to persons of the Order practising medicine and attending secular men and women, as alleged to the chapter; and there was an ordinance in 1499 against the practice of alchemy.³ These three capitular decrees testify to a tendency in some houses to break away entirely from the older Carthusian seclusion, and indeed from the old Carthusian purpose of divine contemplation.

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 112.

² Cotton MS., Caligula A. ii., f. 204.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 204. This ordinance, promulgated only in certain provinces in 1499, was extended to all the Carthusian provinces in 1504.

CHAPTER VII

SIDE-LIGHTS ON ENGLISH CARTHUSIAN LIFE AND DISCIPLINE

THE foregoing pages have shown that the whole Carthusian Order was ruled by its general chapter. The local priors, their monks, converses, and *redditi*, were all alike subjects of that assembly and its president, the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, and might not even appeal to the Pope without its permission. Of the Englishmen who lived under its discipline scant information is to be had; even concerning the very few who attained any notoriety almost nothing can be produced. During the fateful Tudor period, indeed, we find among the inmates of the charterhouses martyrs, confessors, time-servers, or cowards perhaps, and false brethren, and men bewildered at the forcible loosening of the stern discipline which had bound them together in one faith and practice. But in the earlier centuries, the scattered entries in the various official documents rarely tell anything of the personality of the religious whose names they preserve.

Thus the registers of the diocese of Bath and Wells record a licence to the Bishop of Cork in 1311 to confer the first tonsure on Brother Ingram, a converse of Hinton charterhouse, and a letter of Prior Thomas Wyne of that convent to Bishop Bowett to inform him that Walter Wylley, a monk and brother of the House of God's Place, late rector of the church of Weston in Gordano, had on the 17th December, 1403, promised and made profession to the Carthusian Order before God, the Blessed Mary and All Saints, and before the prior and other monks in the chapter house.¹ The proof of age of George de Cantilupe, attached to a bundle of inquisitions on his lands, supplies the fact that Peter, Prior of Hinton, had been also a secular priest; as one of the witnesses, he testified on the vigil of SS. Philip and James, 1 Edward I., that George was born at Abergavenny on Good

¹ *Somerset Record Society: Register of John de Droghensford*, i., p. 45; *Register of Henry Bowett*, p. 44.

Friday in 35 or 36 Henry III., and this he knew because at the time he was chaplain to William de Cantilupe, the grandfather of George.¹ A curious motive for entering the Carthusian Order is found in a papal indult granted in 1454 to John Fayrfax, one of the Augustinian canons of Gisburne. In his recent petition he had shown "that matins are wont to be sung in the said monastery in the night without light, and that he deems himself to be unworthy to celebrate masses therein daily, wherefore as well as for other reasons, he cannot with a quiet mind and a whole conscience remain there," and so had asked to be allowed to transfer himself to the Carthusian house of Mountgrace, or to any other house of that Order, and to make his profession therein. The pope granted the desired permission by this indult.² We learn of the robbery of a Somersetshire lay-brother from the entry on a patent roll of the pardon of an accessory to the felony. Walter, a brother of the "charthous," in a place called Chiklade Ridge, Co. Wilts., on the Wednesday before St. Andrew, 39 Edward III., was seized by Robert Huntele and others, and robbed of a horse worth 100s. and of 20s. in money, and was carried away to the house of John Hat in Semele, in the same county.³

Of records more intimate than the above concerning the men who passed from the world into the Carthusian silence, and of their life within the cloister, after the biography of St. Hugh and the fragment of the Witham chronicle, there is none until the fifteenth century, when an unknown monk wrote the chronicle of the foundation of the London charterhouse. Two pages of this are devoted to notes of pious gossip had with his contemporaries (presumably during the infrequent permitted times of conversation) concerning the monks of the House of the Salutation of an earlier generation. Having for informants Dan John Nevyll, Dan Thomas Gorwey, and Dan William Atherly (or Hatherley), sometime Prior of Hinton, all three of them priests and professed monks at that date of the London house, he gives a curious account of Dan John Homersley, evidently a much revered member of the community, who was received into the Order in 1393 and died in 1450.⁴

¹ *Inquisitions post-mortem*, 1 Edward I., No. 16.

² *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1447-1455, p. 672.

³ Patent Roll, 41 Edward III., pt. i., m. 5.

⁴ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 192.

This venerable Father Homersley was a simple and gentle soul, closing his lips against evil, and speaking rarely and briefly even good things, for he preached the word of God with his hands. That is, he busied himself incessantly in writing out sacred books for the church, for the refectory and for the cells. When he had written any he would carry them to the prior's cell, not caring to lend them to anyone else, or to have them put anywhere else, and having left them with the prior would go back to his own cell in silence. Being soberly content with the food and clothing of the Order, any gift of money thrust upon him, he forthwith took to the cell of the prior, and if he did not find him, put it on the ground by the cell, laying a tile on the top of it, caring no more about it. He never missed church on account of sickness, unless too ill to walk. For, he said, it was as good to him to be ill in church as in his cell. He dwelt in the one founded by William, Earl of Suffolk, on the eastern side of the cloister, on whose door there was a verse beginning with the letter T. Though like other holy men he had visitations from both good and evil spirits, he seems to have distrusted his own visions on these occasions; on his father and mother appearing to him once after compline, talking to him of eternal rest, he would not speak to them, remembering how the fathers in the desert had been deluded by spirits. Certain abstinences which he kept up in his old age he alleged to have been imposed on him by the Lord Himself because of his taciturnity in another vision where Christ had appeared to him. More interesting is the tale that the "Blessed Patroness" of the London charterhouse appeared to him accompanied by the spirit of a deceased priest who in life, according to his means, had been used to supply the parchment to Homersley, to point out and bid him correct an error in something which he had written. The old monk was not without shrewdness. When Prior John Maplestedde came to visit him with a swollen face, Dan Homersley respectfully advised him to get some medicine for the malady which caused it. The prior said that he required none but Homersley's prayers. The chronicler intimates that by these he was healed on the morrow. A few days after Prior Maplestedde's death Dan Thomas Gorwey went to Father Homersley to inquire whether the prior's soul would have been received to everlasting glory, for he was a man of holy life.

True, said Homersley, his life was holy as to himself, but because it was not perfect as to his subjects, not yet had the gate of the heavenly kingdom opened to him. "Saunz doute" (for this was his swear word), "saunz doute," he added, "he takes upon himself a perilous charge, whoever takes the office of prelate." When Homersley himself died, he was buried, as he had desired, at the feet of the first prior, John Luscote, whose clerk he had been before he entered religion.

In connection with a vision of demons Dan Thomas Clough is mentioned; he dwelt in the cell over whose door the verses began with Y, and suffered from some leprous malady in shins and feet, which prevented his leaving his cell for several days. Homersley also one night saw the soul of King Henry V. delivered from purgatory and about to enter the realm of eternal bliss, as did also an anchorite enclosed near St. Margaret's, Westminster, according to a tale told by Dan Homersley himself to a converse.¹

Visions or dreams of the above nature are not peculiar to Carthusian contemplative life, though excessive asceticism and seclusion might in some kind of minds conduce to an inclination to visualise subjective thoughts objectively. It may be noted that tales of English Carthusian visionaries of this sort are all somewhat late. A contemporary almost of Fathers Homersley and Clough was Dan Stephen of Hinton charterhouse, whose alleged interview with his patron saint, the Magdalen, is related by Petrus Dorlandus in form of a dialogue too long to be quoted here.² Towards the end of the same century was Father William Tynbygh, sometime prior of the London charterhouse, who, though at the reading of the gospel "In the beginning was the Word," he was rapt to paradise, was found by the *infirmarius*, having missed him one time at matins, lying on the floor wounded, and his cell in confusion, after a conflict with demons.³ The translation by the imagination of an inner struggle into concrete form is no rare occurrence in the lives of religious solitaries from the days of St. Anthony

¹ For these tales see P.R.O., Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous book*, 61, f. 15. These and other quaint details are given in full translation in Sir W. St. J. Hope's *History of the London Charterhouse*, pp. 60-63.

² Dorlandus, *Chronicle of the Carthusian Order*, book v., chap. vi. For an abridged translation of the whole passage in this chronicle see E. M. Thompson, *Somerset Carthusians*, pp. 270-274.

³ Chauncy, *Passio xviii Carthusianorum*, cap. vi.

onwards. Of experiences of greater value, or of mystical nature, such as might be looked for in communities of contemplatives, there are no records concerning the English Carthusians.

As to discipline, there is more light than on the spiritual life of the English charterhouses, although the disciplinary details are too scanty to afford any real picture of their condition in this respect at any period. For this the reports of the provincial visitors, had they been available, would have been valuable. Failing these, the records of acts of the general chapter are the most illuminating documents. After every session there were sent, usually through the provincial priors returning from the Grande Chartreuse, besides any correspondence, "charters," as they were called, for the local priors. These documents contained the mortuary roll of the session, ordinances newly passed or confirmed for general observance, and particular injunctions to the different communities with regard to special cases, or as guidance in government. The charters and correspondence of a province, if not brought by the provincial, were dispatched by another messenger, apparently all together in one bag, from which the convent where he first arrived had to take out what concerned themselves. There was no precedence of one charterhouse over another; thus, though Witham was the eldest community in England, if the charters came first to the House of the Salutation in London, they were to be opened there and then sent on further.¹ For every convent had to copy the matters for general observance as well as to receive the orders sent for its own edification. A provincial prior sometimes kept a record not only of the injunctions sent to his own house, but also of those sent to other houses of his province. A collection of these charters from the year 1411 to 1503, formerly belonging to the London charterhouse, forms part of the Bodleian Rawlinson Manuscript, D. 318; it contains also a little of the correspondence between the English monks and the Grande Chartreuse, mostly questions and answers of which examples have been quoted in the previous chapter.

A more detailed manuscript containing the acts of the general chapter for part of the same period as the above is No. 413 in the Archbishop's Library at Lambeth Palace.

¹ Bodleian Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 99^v.

This seems to have belonged to a German or Dutch or Flemish house, judging by the numerous obits of persons religious and secular of German or Dutch or Flemish nationality; some of the writing is unmistakably German in character, especially in the latter half of the volume, where there is the curious arrangement of a different scribe for almost every leaf, even in the case of a sentence running on from the bottom of the preceding page. The particular injunctions of the chapter concern, as a rule, only the provinces of England, of Nearer and of Further Picardy, which included, besides the houses in French Picardy, all those of Flanders and Holland. The records of the chapters are set down almost always in the same order throughout. First the date of the assembly is entered, and that of Septuagesima of the following year, then the performance of a hundred briefs (the requests for prayers accompanying the mortuary notices sent to them), followed by the obits, since the last chapter, of important benefactors and friends, kings, prelates, or other ecclesiastics or religious, for whom trentals were to be celebrated, those of Carthusian priors, monks, nuns, and converses, and lastly those of secular persons, men and women in separate lists, for whom as benefactors, or as members of their fraternity, or fellowship in the spiritual goods of prayer and good works, the Carthusians were bound to pray. Next comes a list of subjects for which special masses or prayers were to be offered throughout the Order, as the peace and reformation of the Church, the Emperor, the King of Bohemia, the King of France, the Duke of Milan, the Council of Basle, and later for peace in the kingdoms of France and England, showing how anxiously the Carthusians from their seclusion watched events in Europe. Next were set down the capitular ordinances of the session, then the matters of importance to the various provinces, including besides particular injunctions, the answers to the local priors, who to mark their dependence on the general chapter had to ask for mercy, or release from office, every year, but rarely got it, the form of refusal being, "To the prior of the house of N. let not mercy be done," and of release, "To the prior of the house of N. mercy is," or "let mercy be, done." Lastly came the list of visitors appointed to each province, and of the provincial priors chosen to give absolution in certain cases for which the Carthusians had papal privilege. Un-

fortunately no manuscript of the acts of the chapter at the Grande Chartreuse for an earlier period than that contained in the two above mentioned has been available to the present writer, and the Lambeth MS. 413, full as it is, is in some respects disappointing. The capitular injunctions to English priors are there, but too often their import is partially or wholly obscured because there is no record of what led up to them; letters from heads of houses are mentioned, but the contents are tantalisingly withheld from us; we read therein of monks transferred without finding the reason, or in prison without discovering their fault or crime.

Criminality in the ordinary sense, save that due to insanity, was probably rarer than persistent insubordination and apostacy, the desertion of the habit or Order, punishable in early times by expulsion, and in later by imprisonment. Mere weariness of a restricted life might lead to apostacy, as was perhaps the case of John Russell, the apostate lay-brother of Witham, for whose reconciliation desired by himself a papal mandate was issued in 1340.¹ William de Standich, a monk of the same house, in 1339 obtained a safe conduct from Edward III. for three years for the prosecution of his convent's business, both within the realm and beyond the seas.² His journey abroad gave him an opportunity of business of his own; for some cause he went to the pope without his superior's permission, a fault according to Carthusian statutes equivalent to apostacy, but he, too, secured a papal mandate in 1341 for his reconciliation.³ More serious, no doubt, was the apostacy, years later, of John Parlebien and Richard Barbour, two professed monks of the House of God's Place at Hinton. They had been there six years and then in 1391, not only without leave, but contrary to express prohibition, put off their habits and fled away. The rule now was that fugitives were to be seized and imprisoned, but the English priors, in spite of their diligence, were unable to get these men, and on 14th April next year, Adam, the Prior of Hinton, wrote to William, Bishop of Winchester, then chancellor, to ask for warrants against them. Subsequently John Orewell and John Lovell, the king's sergeant-at-arms,

¹ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1305-1342, p. 549.

² Patent Roll, 13 Edward III., pt. ii., m. 28.

³ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1305-1342, p. 552.

were commissioned to seize them and to deliver them to Prior Adam for punishment.¹

For whatever reason, the prison as punishment appears rather frequently in the dealings of the general chapter with the religious of the English province after the Schism. In 1420 the prior at London wrote for the relief of a prisoner in the House of the Salutation. In 1422 a prisoner belonging to Beauvale was at the Grande Chartreuse, and his prior was enjoined to fetch him home and pay the year's expenses as he was wont to the Chartreuse, or else to send money for building a new prison, as the prisoner had destroyed several places where he had been confined, and not only was he a charge, but also a scandal to religious and secular persons. Meantime the Prior of St. Michael, Hull, had had Brother William, a clerk-*redditus*, imprisoned at the Chartreuse for some years; the brother appears to have been allowed to return to England, since in 1423 the prior was ordered to come to the chapter of the following year to bring him back to be imprisoned and to pay his expenses of the years 1419 to 1421, as he had only sent the money for the preceding year. Instead of going to the chapter he sent 24 francs by the prior of the London charterhouse out of 9 nobles owing for his prisoner in 1417, and 18 nobles for 1423 and 1424. He was given, unless he could show that he had made another payment, until the last day in May of the following year to discharge his debt; else after that he was to abstain from wine and water. Along with the money, probably, the London prior took the clerk-*redditus*, for the Prior of Witham, to whom the Prior of St. Michael had paid £5 for doing so, for his failure in that matter in 1425 was ordered to refund that sum by Michaelmas, deducting 4 nobles for going to the chapter, and to abstain from wine and beer until he had paid it. Though in 1427 the prior of the Hull charterhouse was bidden take Brother William home, that unfortunate man remained in captivity at the Chartreuse until he was released by death in 1435, when a trental throughout the whole Order was "mercifully" granted to him by the general chapter.²

¹ P.R.O., *Chancery Warrants*, Series I., file 1787, and Patent Roll, 14 Richard II., pt. ii., m. 16 d.

² Lambeth MS., 413, ff. 42^v, 53, 57, 112, and 116; Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 117.

In 1425 the general chapter ordered the prior of the London charterhouse to send his monk, Dan John Wells, with the money for his costs to any other house in the province to be imprisoned. Two years later it was decided that he must pay the Carthusians at Hull 8 nobles annually for keeping him, apparently as guest and not as prisoner. In 1439 it was left to the discretion of the visitors whether this same monk, then a guest at Mountgrace, should return to the house of his profession, the House of the Salutation in London, or be sent to another. Whatever their decision, the name of John Wellis, a professed monk of the charterhouse of Hinton, who is perhaps the same man, occurs among the obits recorded in 1445.¹

One monk certainly deserved his punishment. This was Dan Henry, whose latest profession had been made at Hinton; he had been previously at the charterhouse at Bruges; there he had falsified a letter directed to the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse and the general chapter "whereby befell not a few scandals," as was found after his departure. "Therefore," ran the sentence of the chapter of 1443, "as a forger let him be delivered to prison, whence, if he merit it by humble penitence, he may be delivered by the visitors of the province, and when brought out let him remain under the general discipline of the Order at the will of the Order."²

A contemporary of Dan Henry at the charterhouse of God's Place was William Everton. In 1449 the general chapter enjoined on him to be obedient to his prior, and to live in silence and peace, and putting off "carnal affections" to work out his salvation; nor was he to write letters to anyone without his prior's licence under pain of the general discipline of the Order. Further, it was enjoined on the visitors, if Dan William scandalised the Order any more by his perverse manners, to coerce him by the penalty of the prison. Some while afterwards he was transferred to Mountgrace; that community in 1455, when he was a monk at Sheen, were anxious that he should not be sent back to them; it was probably owing to the decision of the visitors, nevertheless, to place him there, that the Prior of Mountgrace was dispensed by the chapter general from the obligation of having William Everton in his house, but in 1457 the

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, ff. 57, 163; Rawlinson MS., D. 318, ff. 117, 127.

² Lambeth MS., 413, f. 156.

dispensation was withdrawn. About six years later Dan William, being transferred to Beauvale, was especially committed to the prior thereof, then chief Visitor, who was to put him in any other house of the province where he might work out his salvation with more consolation, and not to permit him to be molested in anything. The provincial evidently chose to try him with the Carthusians of Axholme; thence, after making another profession, he must have been dispatched on a visit to Italy, since in 1464 the general chapter bade the Prior of Axholme send next year to the Prior of Florence 2 ducats spent for his professed monk Dan William Everton. In 1466 he was in England again, living with the Carthusians at Kingston; these he somehow offended and they deprived him of voice and place in their convent. The general chapter heard of the incident from both sides and bade the Prior of St. Michael's signify the crime for which Everton had been deprived, and Dan William himself have patience. The last mention of his name in the acts of the general chapter is in 1470, when that body refused an unspecified request concerning him made by the Prior of Beauvale as against the statutes.¹

Though threatened with imprisonment for misconduct earlier in his career, the removals of this monk from charterhouse to charterhouse were evidently intended for his spiritual, if not mental, health. The transfer of a subject to another community indeed was by no means always a matter of discipline. Severe as the Carthusians were, they did not wholly disregard the physical well-being of their brethren, where ill-health was a hindrance to the observance of their rule. Thus the general chapter of 1422 gave permission to the Prior of the House of the Salutation, London, to send his monk Peter Justinani to the Visitors of Lombardy "to dwell in the land of his birth in case he should not be able to adapt himself to the English food" and keep his health. In 1467 the prior of the London charterhouse was ordered not to fail to send to the next chapter 3 ducats for the House of the Holy Cross at Rome for the expenses of Dan Peter of his community; this might be the same man if for any reason he had not made a later profession in any Italian Certosa.²

¹ *Ibid.*, 413, ff. 160, 335, 348, 407; Rawlinson MS., D. 318, ff. 137, 140.

² Lambeth MS., 413, ff. 42, 376.

Dan Richard Dixton of Axholme may have been suffering from a mental malady during his ten months' stay at the Chartreuse of Mont-Dieu, whose prior, as well as for the return of money lent to him and his cost in clothes, claimed compensation for damages done by him, which suggests the violence of a disordered mind. In the following year, 1471, the Prior of Axholme was ordered to pay to the Prior of Witham at his next visitation his debt to the French prior, who had paid 10 crowns in France for Dan Richard, and 3 crowns for his clothes. The death of Dan Richard Dixton, then a professed monk of Hinton charterhouse, on 16th August is recorded in 1473; he must have died in the charterhouse of St. Martin at Naples, since the Prior of Hinton was still owing that community in 1474 2 ducats for him from the previous year.¹

One hundred and fifty years before Dan Richard, another English Carthusian was for some reason sent to the Chartreuse of Mont-Dieu; this was the monk John from Witham, for whom his prior Luke wrote a kind of passport appealing to all the faithful to help him on his way.²

Why the Prior of Sheen was in so much hurry to be rid of his monk Dan Anthony for a time, as to dispatch him to Further Picardy before being certified as to any prior there being willing to receive him, does not appear, but the chapter of 1426 commanded him for his carelessness to be put out of his seat for fifteen days, and enjoined on him to fetch the monk back at once to his house at his own expense.³

Richard Trumpington (or Trumpynton) was sent from his convent clearly for misconduct. He was a clerk-*redditus* of the House of the Salutation at London, and had worn the regular habit of his grade in the Carthusian Order for fourteen years, when in 1425 he obtained an indult from Pope Martin V. to be promoted to all, even priest's, orders and to minister therein, "notwithstanding that before entering the said Order, he, when an unmarried clerk, married before the church after the custom of the country, and long cohabited with a woman whom he knew to have been married before, who had assured him that she had remained a *virgo intacta* and who had died before he entered

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, ff. 407, 416, 433, 455.

² P.R.O., Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 3/42.

³ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 64^v.

religion."¹ The very next year he was severely mentioned by the Carthusian general chapter; it was very glad to hear that God had granted him partial amendment, but if he returned to his accustomed insolencies he was to be sent forth from the London charterhouse according to the command of the transmarine Visitors (the Prior of Antwerp and another continental prior). Later he was a monk at Beauvale, where he was bidden remain "at the will of the Order" in 1434. After two years the injunction was issued, "let Dan Richard Trumpynton remain at the house of Sheen where he is now placed, and there let him make his profession with consent of the prior and convent of Sheen." He desired to return to the house of his first profession, London; the chapter committed his case to the Visitors, "so that if it could be done with the peace of the prior and convent, both sides being heard, the favour might be done to him, not otherwise." His former misbehaviour had damaged him in the esteem of the London community, but he was allowed to go back to them, and died a professed monk of the House of the Salutation in 1454.²

As English Carthusians were sometimes sent to a continental house of the Order, so a foreign Carthusian might be sent occasionally as guest or prisoner to an English charterhouse. The Prior of Beauvale, in 1429, was bidden send Dom John Joliis, for instance, in safe company and custody from Beauvale to the charterhouse of the Holy Spirit at Gosnay, where he had been last professed, and to inform the Prior of Valenciennes—presumably the provincial of that district—the amount which he had spent in maintaining him and in conveying him back. The Prior of Valenciennes was ordered to see that the Prior of Gosnay paid these charges and to send the money to the English prior by the persons who brought the monk over.³

There is in the Public Record Office some interesting correspondence of English priors relating mainly to the transfer of monks which may be quoted here as illustrating the Carthusian discipline within a few years of the suppression of the religious houses. An unstable postulant seems to be the subject of the first in date, a letter to the

¹ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1417-1431, p. 410.

² Lambeth MS., 413, ff. 116, 224; Rawlinson MS., D. 318, ff. 124^v, 127^v.

³ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 79, and Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 119.

parson of Thetford from William, prior of the London charterhouse, doubtless William Tynbygh, who held that office from 1500 to 1529.¹

After due recommendacion in our Savyour Jhesu. With loue and thankis for your charitable demenure vnto William Hoope the whiche I desyre yowe in charite to contynue. And where ye desyre to haue knowlege howe soon the seyd William may be receyuyd vnto our religion, I do thynke verely, in as myche as he was onys in our religion and went out of hit, and seth at divers tymes hathe be at poynt to be receuyd to the same, and of his own vnstabilnes hathe go from his poyntmentes, that my brethren will not receue hym agayn to our religion withoute that they may vndirstand in hym by long tyme contynuall stabilite in sad and virtues lyuyng The whiche Almighty God for his grete mercy graunte hym, if so be his wille. Sir ye shall receue at our Lady day Annunciation of J Newell of Shipdham vj.s.viiiid. for William Hoope and I prey yowe to favour hym and to helpe hym in godnes And Almighty God euer preserue yowe. Writt in the Charterhous by London the xiiii day of Feuerere with the hand of youris
William there Prior.

(Addressed) To Master William Ordeere parson of Seynte Petir in Thetforde.²

A letter from Richard (Peers, Perys, or Pers), Prior of Witham, relates to another unsatisfactory subject. The Prior of Sheen mentioned in this and the following correspondence was Dan John Jonbourne, the chief visitor of the English province for many years previous to 1532 :

Right wurshipfull fader in our Lord, i recommede me vnto you with vere glad desyre to here of your good helth. Oure gest danne William Bakster desyreth you to have an answer of hys letter late sent vnto you. He is vere busy in desyryng to cum home to you agayne ; God knawyth iff he wold stabyll hymself he might lyve with us in grete rest and quyettnes. And I am sure non of our cloyster gyveth hym contrary cause. He hath writyne a nother letter now to the fader of Shene to have hys wyll fulfylled.

¹ Dom L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 71-73.

² *State Papers Domestic*, Henry VIII., vol. xcii., f. 95.

I pray God it be not ad ruinam eius, but to hys profyt and wurship of our relygion. He wold have no spekyng of hys transgression but it is not in my power to stop mannys mowthis. Our Savyour Jhesu stabyll him in goodnes, and preserve you and youris from all adversyteis Amen. Writyn at Witham in hast the xxth day of July. Fader we have sent you brevys¹ for our brother dan William Burton, Jhesu have his sowle. We beseche you they may be conveyed shortly.

Per filium vestrum Ricardum priorem ibidem Christi inutilem.

(*Addressed*) Venerabili in Christo patri domino priori domus cartusiensis prope London' dentur.²

Five other letters, of date about 1528-29, concern chiefly Dan Alnett Hales (his name is spelt variously) of the House of the Salutation. The case of the monk of Mountgrace, William Barker, also mentioned therein, is clear enough. He was an "apostate" in the monastic sense, for whom prison was the usual punishment. But the prior of the London charterhouse to whom the provincial intended to send him did not wish to have him as a prisoner. He desired also, in return for receiving him, that he might be "discharged," or free of the cost of the keep, of his own monk, Alnett Hales, at Mountgrace. The first of the five letters is the provincial's answer to the prior at London. He gives his reasons for the advisability of prison for Dan William, but as to "brother Halys"—the Carthusians called their fellow-monks brothers—he did not know what he had cost the House of Mountgrace. Dan Alnett had been sent thither, perhaps, as a change from his own community, for he seems to have been suffering from some nervous, or mental disorder. The Prior of Mountgrace found him a tiresome inmate, and before the close of a twelvemonth hurried him off without licence from the chapter general or the provincial, and with insufficient clothing, to the charterhouse at Axholme. Here Prior Jonbourn (of Sheen), the then provincial, coming thither in visitation, found him, as he informed the Prior of the House of the Salutation, and evidently decided to leave him.

¹ The mortuary rolls or letters announcing the monk's death.

² *State Papers Domestic*, Henry VIII., vol. xcii., f. 94.

But Hales himself would fain be home again, or anywhere else than at Axholme. He wrote piteously to his own "father prior" asking him to take him back, or to use his influence with the Prior of Sheen to receive him, or else to send him to Witham, where there were vacant cells; he could not bear the cold of the north. The tone of his letter, containing suspicions and fancies concerning others of the convent, his fear of the probably imaginary "many enemies and foes in the north," suggest a crazed mind. Prior Robert of Axholme himself was anxious to be rid of him, and wrote to the London prior to take him away; not only had he come to him lacking necessary clothing and bedding, but he found him also too weak for the duties of his profession in fasting, reading, and singing, and some of his own monks being old and feeble, he wanted a strong man. In fact, Dan Alnett was a real nuisance with his continual crying to be sent home, and his suspicions as to the envy or laughter of the brethren. If any brother spat or coughed in his presence, he said that they did it in derision of him. His own prior must have declined to have him back, for the prior and convent of Axholme petitioned Prior Jonbourn to send him to Coventry, whither he was himself contented to go, for they feared that, if he were not removed, he would be "lost," and would stand "in jeopardy." The provincial therefore wrote to the prior of the London charterhouse to let him go to the Carthusians of Coventry.

Finally, Dan Alnett Hales was removed to Witham charterhouse; on the suppression of that priory Henry VIII. assigned a pension to him with the other monks of that convent. The five letters concerning him are given below in the order in which they seem to have been written:

I

Wyrshypfull Father, I recommend me to you with loue in our Lord Jhesu &c. I haue receyued your letter in the which as I perceyue ye desiére that iff this brother D. William Barker of Mountgrace sholde be sent to youe, that ye sholde be fully discharged of brother Halys. I can not well after ryght promyse that, for I know not . . . what charge that house is in by reason of your said brother. I shall doo that . . . me after right. Forthere more ye

desiere that yf the saide brother D. Barkare come to youe, that I sholde make hym quytte and dischargid of presonement and . . . other disciplynys, both for the church and the fratre to the entent that he seyng [our ?] charytable and fauorable delyng with hym may be the more quyett in hymself [and] the gladder to kepe the religion and that your brethern may be the gladder to receue hym and for avoydyng of sclaunder vtward. God forbede father, that I sholde discharge appostata vnder suche forme, the whiche hath ben out of the house of his profession and so out of due religion iiii wykes at the leste, hurtyng therein inspecyall his soule to the displeasure of God and to the sclaunder of the religion. Howe mych I knowe not well. But this I knowe that he was takyn in Oxforde for a spy, or a man out of due order and presented to Mr. Comyssary there and examyned what he was and from whence he come, And ther he knowlegged the trouth beyng present a bachelere of Dyuynyte, the whiche hath a brother monke in the said house of Mountgrace, and so commytted by the Auctorite of Mr. Comyssary to a strong (?) prison with yren vn to the tyme that I sent for hym. Yf this brother sholde be so shortly discharged fro the punyshementes of the Ordre, it sholde cause hym and other that be yvyll disposed the rather and in maner without eny fere to doo as he hath doon to the grete hurte of the Ordre and charynge of conscience. The cause specially that I writt to youe to take hym was to discharge your expensys and charges for your brother at Mountgrace. Therfor father I desiere youe that I may haue knolege fro youe to morowe that shalbe on Alsollenday whether ye wolle receyue hym as a man beyng in the case that he is in, And so to be punyshed after the form of the Ordre with youe. If he ordre hymself relygyously with youe in processe of tyme with youre counseyle and youre bretherne he may be more fauorably delled with. For of hymself I thynke that he wolde be with youe reasonably quyett. And if ye wyll not receyue hym so, I purpose to morowe towarde nyght to sett hym in our prison and there he shall abyde vnto suche tyme that his father priour send for hym whome. And that I trust shalbe as sone as it may convenyently. And so I desier youe that if ye woll receyue hym nowe that I maye haue knolege to morowe before fowre of the clocke after noone. For I haue kepte hym in a chambre and wyll vnto that

tyme in to the entent to haue your fulle mynde, and the more by reson of this holy feste, as God knowithe &c. From Shene in this holy feste called Alhalowentyde.

By youre bedeman

The Prior there.

(*Addressed*) Venerabili in Christo patri Priori Domus London. Ordinis Cartusiensis tradantur.¹

2

Worshypful Father I recommend [me] vnto you with desyres to heyr of your welfare. Theyr was a promys made vnto me when I was at Witham that theyr shulde be a certen of monay delyuerd vnto you, or els to brother Horde your procter to be delyuerde to me after my cumyng home, as I shuyde to the sayd brother your procter. Yf any suche money were delyuerde to you or to brother procter, I pray you to sende yt to me by William Arther our seruande beyrar of this bill. Furthermore, when I departed from Couentre from brother Procter I rode streight to the Yle of Axholme and to the Charterhowse theyr and when I came thether, I founde there Dane Alnat Halys your brother, whiche came thether from Mountgrace thre or fowre days be fore ovr cummyng. And after that we wente to Hull and to Mountgrace and came homeward agayn by Bayvall. And when we wer theyr the father of Axholme sende a bill to the father of Hull, beyng then at Bayvall, desyryng hym emongis other thingis that he wryte to hym that he wolde speyke to me that Ishulde desyre you other sende to your brother theyr such thyngis as he hath nede of, or els to wryte to the sayd father of Axholme that he shulde purvay for them in your name, and at your cost, for he lakyth many thyngis that be nedefull to hym. Then I desyred the father of Hull in so mych as he purposed to go homeward by Axholme that he shuld pray the sayd father of Axholme to sende to you a bill and wrytyng what thyngis the sayd brother had nede of. Now father you may aduyse you what shalbe beste for you to doo in this mater. For you know well that the sayd brother will not be well content withowte his necessarys as I vnderstande

¹ *State Papers Domestic*, Henry VIII., vol. xcii., f. 93. The paper has been slightly damaged, two or three words having to be supplied.

his pylche was dystroid in caryeng from Mountgrace to Axholme, and what thyng els I know not, as God knowyth who euer haue you in hys Marcyfull kepyng. From Shene in vigilia Sanctorum Martirum Cosme et Damiani. By your bedman

The Prior of Shene.

(*Addressed*) Venerabili in Christo patri Priori Domus prope London. Ordinis Cartusiensis dentur.¹

3

Worshipfful father Prior in our Lord Jhesu I hertely recommend me vnto youe and to alle my gode Bretheryn with youe beyng sory for the gret plage of Pestylence lately amongyst youe wherby iiii prestys and ii lay-bretherin be departed as I am informid and I trust they alle departed ther sollis from ther Bodys devowtly as I haue known divers syns I cam to the order ther in especially do, whiche hath specially [ca]used to make this gret labour to cum to London ayen. I pray God to contynv youe and thos that remayne on vertu and helthe to his plesur &c. Gode father Prior I sent a letter vnto youe at Michelmas by the handis of Father Prior of Shene; the effect of it was that I desyred to cum to London ayen if youe were so contentyd; if not I was contentyd to cum to Shene and ther to be professid, or els to be bound ther by the generall Chapter; by cause youe shuld be at no cost nor charge with me I offered them ij yerres probacion bothe of my condicions and abilite. A lytyll labour made by youe to father prior of Schene mowght get me thether. If the Prior of Hynton and the Prior of Axholme had not lettyn me, I trowe he had takyn me with hym. I founde hym wery gode and gentyll in his answer. If this cannot cum to pass I desyred to go to Wytham; ther be dyuers cells woyde; ther may youe easely haue me; he hath nede of compeny, and I had rather be ther ad Ordinis voluntatem, duryng the tyme that Father Prior of Wytham that nowe is, is prior then th[at I] be made an officer in any howce of the northe contry. I may so il avey with colde and aparty northern mennys condicions. I praye youe gode father Prior and father viccar and gode brother proctor, make no more labour to make me an officer in a strange howce after the

¹ *Ibid.*, f. 92.

forme as ye have don, for youe sett alle the monkis in the howce in my necke to envy at me and to diffame me and to vexe me. And when the charter cummyth then I am put in ad Ordinis voluntatem, which is a sentence rather of tyranny then of charite. Yt was Spensers hande wrytyng alle thowghehe vnruly by the Prior of Hyntons commaundment wrate it. Gode father prior and Bretheryn alle I praye youe in the honour of God and for my quyetnes if youe wyl not lett me cum home ayen, helpe me to Schene, or els to Wytham in maner aboue written. Yf not then as to the last refuge, I am contented to go to Bevall duryng Father Priors lyffe of the charterhowce of London by father visitours lycence. I love to be southwardis, and I hate bondage duryng my lyffe, except it wer in Schene. I can by no meanys here an answer from youe. I praye youe alle to be my frendis for your labour hathe caused me to have many foos and enemys in the north. I thanke youe hartely for youre gode wyllis. And our Lord Jhesu have youe alle in his blessid kepyng. Writton from Axholme the xx day of Janvarii anno domini 1528

By your son and
bedman d. Halnath H. . . .

This letter was wrytten byfore the prior of Hynton's servaunt cam to Axholme: to be reddy at all tymes yf your mynde be that I schall go to Hynton I am contentyd. If not I pray you father Prior to send me to sum of the howsis comprehendyd within this letter. I have wrytten a letter to hym of my mynde. in haste this sentence was wrytten on Saynt Vincentes day.

(Addressed) To the Ryght worshipfful Father Prior of the Charterhouce besydys London this letter be delyuered.¹

4

Jhesus.

Ryght worshipfulle father in our Lord Jhesu with herty recommendacion in the same desyryng to heer of your welfayr. Good father so it is y^t your broder Dan Halys hath beyn with us seth the fest of the Assumpcion of our Lady the father Prior of Mountgrace sentt hym vnto vs withoute auctoryte or lycence. For your pleasure and

¹ *State Papers Domestic.*, Henry VIII., vol. lii., f. 160.

quyetnes I was content to resayff hym. We haue a brother of ours at Mountgrace sent thedyr by the auctoryte of y^e generall chapyter but we hade no commaundment to tayke any other brother for hym. Owr brother is a stronge man and redyth and syngyth ryght welle; he had all thyngis with hym at hys departyng y^t was necessary for hym both to hys body and bede. Your brother is a wayke man nott abyll to beyr the burdyn of our religion, nother in fastyng redyng nor syngyng; he wanteth many thyngis necessary for hym os in rament and beddyng; hys pylche is worthe no money. I haue delyuered vnto hym a payr of blankyttis and alle other thyngis I mynystre vnto hym os I do to our brether. He continually cryith of me to send hym home to yowe and greatly we be vnquyityd by hym, for he hath syche temptacions yf any brother or seculer do spytt or host in hys presence he sayth they do it in dirision of hyme. We be both few persons in nowmber and certen of vs be old and wayk and other thay be y^t do no mase in somyche y^t we cannot be abyll to synge dyuin seruis exceptt y^t we may have sume strong persons to helpe vs. Good father we pray yowe to provyd for your brother ather to tayke hym home to yow or elles provyd some other place for hym wher he may be quyet and borne in his infyrmite; yf ye defer and provyd nott for hym he wyll mayke forther trowble Ifeyr. And yff we shalbe compellyd to tayke a brother for our brother y^t is at Mountgrace we shalbe content to resayff D. Thomas Barker y^t is with yow for our brother and after the same maner i have wryttyn to the Father Prior of Mountgrace and yff he and his brother be nott so content to doo than the father Prior of Bevall is content to resayff our brother by a lycence grauntyd vnto hym of y^e generall chapytre. And for hym we shalle have oon brother of hys place; thus good father i have shewyd vnto yow my mynd praying yow to send me your mynd agayn in wrytyng and thus our Lord preserue yow and alle your good bretherne in good lyfe long to endure. Frome the charterhouse within the Isle of Axiholme the xxiith day of January.

By your beydman
Robert Prior ther.

(Addressed) Venerabili in Christo patri Priori iuxta
Londonias domus Cartus. dentur cum honore.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. xcii., f. 87.

Wyrshipful father I recomende me to youe, with loue in our Lorde Jhesu &c. lettynge youe knowlegge that I sende vnto youe nowe by our Catour the charter that come fro the hedhouse with ii participacions and a letter for brother Hoord your Proctour, prayinge youe to sende the seide charter ayene to me as sone as ye haue takyn the cople therof that I may sende it to the father of Henton. Also I geue to your knolegge that the father of Axholme sende vnto me of late a letter with a subscripcion of his bretherne desyrynge of me dyuerse thyngis, and among other they desier that Dan Halys your brother may be sent to Coventry, for thether he is content to goo, and also gladde. And I shall nowe wrytt to youe the same woorde that they wrytt to me of hyme. And thes folowynge be ther wordis, And without he be remoued, we fere greatly he wolbe lost, therfor as your fatherhed affortymes hathe harde and knowen his desier to be at another house hathe ben and in lyke forme we pray your fatherhedde to graunt his petycion for the saluacion of his sowle and solace to his body. His mynde is soo determyned and desyrouse to b[e a]t another house that if he be not removed he standeth in great Jeopardy. But for the same his mynde and desiere we cowde be well content with him: he doth his charges right well. He is maruelously mended . . . his . . . wherfor they desier of me that I shoulde remoue hym to the same house of Coventre with shuche auctorite as I haue of the generall chapter super annum. And I haue geuen to them this aunswere, that yf Ye and the father of Coventre be content that he shalbe remoued to Couentre, then I geue lycence therto, soo that bothe your myndes be knowen before the remouynge. Father for the loue of God take ye good heede to this matter. For as it semythe, ther is Jeopardy ther in, for dischargyng of your consyence and myne who haue youe in his mercyfull kepyng. Fro Shene in this feste of Saynte Paul in haste by your bedeman

The Prior ther.

(Addressed) Venerabili in Christo priori Domus Salutationis beate Marie Ordinis cartusiensis.¹

¹ *State Papers Domestic*, Henry VIII., vol. xcii., f. 91.

A letter from the Prior of St. Anne's, Coventry, to the prior of the London charterhouse concerns two other monks out of health in body or mind, for whom change of residence was deemed advisable:

Ryght worshipfull fader in owre Lorde, with humilite and love I recommend me vnto you certyfyinge you that Y have receyvyd our fader visytors letters and yowres, wherby Y doe perceyve youre desyre to remove youre brother Dan George Rogers hydder vnto us, and to take for hym to you dan Robert Raby, Whiche also hathe made grette instans bothe to fader visytor and to you and me mony dayes to be withe you. Therefore trystynge in oure Lord hyt schalbe mooste for bothe theyre qwyetnes and helthe of body and sowle, Y am well content to fulfyll theyre dyssyres, dyssyrynge you to be good and louyng fader unto dan Roberte Raby which schalbe withe you abowte the end of thys wyeke by the grace off God, whoe have you ever and all youre gud brether in hys kepyng, amen. Fro the Charterhouse by sydes Couentre the xxii day off October.

By youre Bedeman
The Prior there.

(*Addressed*) Venerabili in Christo patri Priori domus salutacionis Matris Dei prope london. ordinis cartusiensis tradentur cum amore.¹

Robert Raby remained at the London charterhouse until death removed him in his old age in 1534.²

The Carthusian statutes contain no details of the prison appointed to every charterhouse, nor do they direct whether it was to be in the upper or in the lower house. It is likely enough that it was unfit for mental cases, but the violently insane and criminous were confined therein. If the monk Godwin of Sheen really murdered his prior in a cellar about the latter end of the year 1502,³ whatever the circumstances, he almost certainly would have been sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The tradition has some corro-

¹ *Ibid.*, f. 90.

² Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 182.

³ Manning and Bray, *Surrey*, i., p. 420. See also pt. iii., chap. i., of this book.

boration in the fact that in 1503 the diffinitors of the general chapter answered some questions of the prior of the London charterhouse (then perhaps provincial of the English convents) as to the powers of the principal Visitor, or his co-Visitor, to absolve one who had slain his own prelate of the Carthusian Order in the case of a manifest, or of a hidden, murder.¹

Though the statutes of 1368 appointed imprisonment, temporary or for life, according to the crime, instead of expulsion, a late exception to that rule appears in the history of the last years of the London charterhouse by Maurice Chauncy. Among the wicked brethren of the House of the Salutation he reckons one Dan George. This monk, hankering after the flesh-pots of Egypt, found observance of the Carthusian rule very burdensome. One evening the tedium of vespers drove him to leave the church to walk about in the chapter house, but on going in he saw the Figure on the crucifix hanging opposite the entrance turn its back on him, whereupon he went out of his mind and remained in that miserable state for half a year. But when through the prayers of the brethren he was restored to health "his conversation" was not improved. Finally he became so irreligious that with consent of the general chapter the convent expelled him from the Order.² Chauncy's Dan George—for it is improbable that there were two men of that Christian name expelled within the same period—is doubtless the Dan George Norton who we learn elsewhere found the secluded life of the Carthusian cell so oppressive that he threatened suicide, and for whom therefore John Batmanson, Prior of the House of the Salutation from 1529 to 1531, obtained a discharge from the Order. Chauncy's word "irreligious" might signify that he was utterly unable to conform himself to the Carthusian "religion"; Dan George Norton was alleged to have become a canon in the west country and to have done "very well" in that capacity.³

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 162.

² Chauncy, *Passio xviii Carthusianorum*, cap. 8 (ed. of 1888), p. 82.

³ *Calendar of Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. vi., No. 1046.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME CAPITULAR INJUNCTIONS TO ENGLISH CHARTERHOUSES

THE general chapter of the Carthusian Order existed for that Order's reformation, or at any rate for its preservation in the right Carthusian path, therefore in the acts of that assembly no picture of the perfection of any community should be sought, and no record of individual saintliness expected. Commendation was scarcely the chapter's business; this was rather reprehension, and guidance in cases of difficulty too great for the local priors, or even for the provincials, to decide. Absence of noteworthy mention of several of the English charterhouses in the capitular injunctions means that the normal Carthusian life ran smoothly within their precincts. The reprehensions transmitted testify generally that the chapter was fulfilling its purpose, but do not witness to the decadence of any particular house.

Irregularities of a minor importance, such as the manner of singing of the English Carthusians, or their divergence in observance of holy days, or in ceremonial, or even perhaps in dress and pittances, were natural occurrences, considering their remoteness from the Grande Chartreuse, and the difficulty of constant communication with their authorities. The native visitors, indeed, had authority, but if their sympathies chanced to lie with their subjects in such matters, there would be opportunity enough for departure from usual Carthusian practice. The lapses of the English visitors might have caused the occasional appointment by the general chapter of the Prior of Antwerp or other foreigner to visit the English province. The too frequent colloquies allowed in the English convents and reproved by the diffinitors of the chapter in 1478,¹ for instance, might be due to an actual slackness on their part; certainly this was the case with the feasting of priors and procurators with secular persons forbidden by the statutes and mentioned

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 87^v.

in the injunctions issued to the visitors of the English province in 1470.¹ But on other points the English provincials of that period were inclined to be sufficiently hard, for one of the same injunctions is against immoderate charges of the visitors for their expenses in visiting, of which there had been complaints, and also for their journeys to the chapter.

That the English Carthusian monks and their prelates were punctilious, on the whole, in their observance of the rule is evident from the questions sent to the diffinitors, though, incidentally, these reveal the need for a more frequent intercourse between the Grande Chartreuse and the charterhouses here. It is strange that the English monks waited until 1470 for a decree permitting them to have a fire in winter in the refectory when cold, and that they did not know at the beginning of the sixteenth century that the gloves to be worn in riding for rain or cold must be of white cloth. Still more strange was their question whether any sort of discretion might be used as to the food of the criminous and prisoners. The statutes allowed them for six months a half "tort" of convent bread and wine of the hospice, but this apparently was difficult in England. They got the answer, "All this today is left to the discretion of the prior," implying that the old regulation had been abrogated for some while without the knowledge of the English monks.²

The Carthusians in England were at some disadvantage, because their provincials attended in person at the Grande Chartreuse only every four years, and not always even so often, as the chapter complained; this meant that the greater part of their intercourse had to be by letter, with the not infrequent risk of ambiguities and misunderstandings. With regard to correspondence, the "charter" sent to the English province in 1429 contained a curious passage: "Whereas the Priors of Witham, Beauvale, London and Bethlehem (Sheen) have written to the general chapter, complaining that their writings sent to the chapter are not answered, but neglected as if they were not sons and brothers of the Order, the present chapter replies to them that, saving their peace, the said chapter answered as often as they wrote; that if the answers did not reach them, it was not

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 99^v.

² *Ibid.*, f. 161.

the fault of the chapter, but their own, for not sending a proper messenger as do the other remote provinces, and for not coming to the chapter as they are bound to do; and as the reply-letters pass through so many hands, it is no wonder if they do not reach them."¹ In appointing the Priors of London and Beauvale Visitors of the English province that same year, the chapter decreed that if one of them did not attend every leap year, 12 nobles were to be paid towards the expenses of the general chapter.² The complaint of the English priors that their correspondence was neglected was probably not wholly unfounded; the chapter was sometimes too busy to reply at once; in 1425 an answer to Dan John Roedborn of the London charterhouse was deferred because the members of the chapter of that year were "not able to occupy themselves with so many matters."³ The statutes forbade prolixity, and replies to minor questions might occasionally be omitted altogether. To keep themselves better in touch with the English communities the general chapter decreed later that one of the English visitors must come every year to the Grande Chartreuse, or if hindered, at least send over one of the priors of the province to give information on the state of the province, on the pain of going without wine.⁴

Of open disobedience to the chapter general there is little appearance. If the Prior of Sheen seemed to flout the Carthusian authorities in not making some concord with the alien Benedictines, whose property his community persisted in retaining, it was probably on account of his house's dependence on their sovereign's will, and not by choice. Nevertheless the chapter resented their attitude. After notifying them in 1450 of the fulminatory processes against them fixed on the doors of the church of the Grande Chartreuse, in 1451, because the Prior of the House of Jesus of Bethlehem had made no reply to the injunctions sent in the preceding year, and had given no satisfaction, the chapter harshly reprehended him.⁵ Its wrath no doubt was increased because this year, 1451, a citation about the same dispute with the foreign Benedictines was fixed to the doors of the church of the Grande Chartreuse actually during the

¹ *Ibid.*, f. 119.

² *Ibid.*

³ Lambeth MS., 413 f. 57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 478.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 199.

meeting of the chapter, "not without scandal of the Order," and he was bidden, following the counsel of the visitors, to conduct himself so as to content the Order, lest he should seem to bring their injunctions into contempt.

That the new community of Sheen, considering the peculiar position of this royal foundation and possibly its independent spirit, should attempt a small departure from Carthusian practice is not surprising. Their prior, having probably asked for some alteration in the manner of saying the Divine Office, was told by the chapter of 1420 to conform himself in those things to the Order according to a private answer to be sent to him; at the same time they enjoined on him to provide his house sufficiently with the necessary books of the Order.¹ Attempted divergence in their rite was not peculiar to the monks of Sheen; in fact, the Prior of Witham, then provincial, wrote to headquarters about it, with the result that the general chapter of 1422 charged the English visitors to secure uniformity in the observance of festivals throughout the province, according to the form of the Order.²

At this very date Witham charterhouse was about to fall under the displeasure of the general chapter. In 1421 that assembly had released from his office Dan William, who had been prior there since 1411, if not before, and in the spring of the next year he died. His unnamed successor had a short but troubled prelacy. At the outset he found "discordancies and doubts," on which he wrote to the Grande Chartreuse, though in so hazy a style that he was told that the next chapter would answer him if he would transmit matters more clearly than he had done. Perhaps he was as incapable of governing as of expressing himself intelligibly. For a year or two, however, no more of his perplexities appear unless, indeed, Thomas Selby was a troubler of his house. This monk in 1426 was sent to be a guest at the charterhouse of St. Anne, near Coventry, and the chapter wrote: "We impose on him, under pain of the discipline of the Order, perpetual silence as to the complaints which he does not desist from making about his absolution." The absolution meant either release from some office in the convent, or absolution for some delinquency; and the fact that after his death the chapter of 1432 granted him a trental throughout the Order "at the great instance of the

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, sub anno 1420.

² *Ibid.*, f. 42v.

priors of the houses of the English province " suggests some speciality in his case.¹

In 1427 the Prior of Witham was granted the mercy, or grace, of release from office. No blame is recorded against him, but certainly there had been under him some grave disorder at Witham, whether by his fault or not. The Prior of Beauvale, the chief Visitor, with the Prior of Coventry as his coadjutor, were commanded to go as quickly as possible to Witham to confirm the election of the new prior, or if the convent could not agree in their choice, to provide the house with one on behalf of the general chapter. Also on the same authority they were forthwith to consign to prison Dan Robert, the sacristan, who had been rebellious and disobedient to the prior, and who to augment his fault had introduced secular persons into the cloister, thereby causing scandal and obloquy. Two other monks, who had hindered the prior in the execution of his office, even to the laying violent hands upon him, were to be imprisoned for one month. All three offenders were to lose their voice in the election for that turn, and were to have no pittance on the Mondays and Wednesdays, and on Fridays were to keep an "abstinence of the Order" without any dispensation, except for manifest infirmity; when released from prison they were to remain under the general discipline of the Order for a year. Dan Henry, the German (*Theutonicus*), a professed monk of the same house, was to be transferred to the charterhouse of Beauvale with the consent of both convents.²

Whoever was elected, or appointed to the priorate of Witham, remained in office until 1442, when the general chapter released him on account of his age and infirmities.³ There is no record of disorders under him. If the capitular injunctions to him in 1430 to send back Dan John Hotot to the house of his profession, the House of the Salutation, London, with the decree that no more persons were to be transferred from the London charterhouse to that of Witham without the special and immediate licence of the general chapter,⁴ suggest an unsatisfactory state of things, this might merely mean that it took him two or three years to reduce his convent to normal Carthusian peace. Later, in 1440, he showed himself not unwilling to depart from the strict

¹ *Ibid.*, sub annis 1421, 1426, and 1432.

³ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 130.

² *Ibid.*, f. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 121.

Carthusian rule as to the novitiate. He applied to the chapter general for a "licence for the anticipation of novices"—that is, for the anticipation of their profession. Such a course would no doubt have its convenience if the number of professed monks were small. The chapter refused the licence as too general, but assured him of a gracious answer if he made application for special cases.¹ Such a licence if general might perhaps tend to alter the term and condition of the Carthusian novitiate.

When the general chapter in 1442 permitted the last-mentioned prior to resign, it appointed to his place Thomas Pollard, a professed monk, and lately procurator of Hinton charterhouse, nominating him also co-Visitor with the provincial, the Prior of Sheen.² The very next year the new prior was granted "mercy" and sent back to Hinton.³ Had the authorities already better information as to his real character? Did they know that in 1441 he had obtained a papal dispensation to choose his own confessor, and in the summer of the next year another papal dispensation to take, resign at will, or exchange any benefice with cure wont to be held by secular or regular clerks,⁴ both dispensations being in contravention of Carthusian custom? The latter of these instruments stated him to be of noble race; he was a bachelor of canon law also and may have felt himself too valuable to hide any longer in a Carthusian cell. In 1447 he got himself provided by Nicholas V. with the church of Down, void by the death of John, the last incumbent, in whose life-time it had been reserved by the pope.⁵ The papal provision was dated on the 21st July of that year, but his proceedings were known at the Grande Chartreuse some weeks earlier. Information had somehow reached his superiors that, by falsely asserting that he had licence from the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse and the diffinitors of the general chapter, he had obtained from the pope exemption from his Order and capacity to hold benefices. The authorities were aghast at his audacity and duplicity. The chapter assembled in May, 1447. On the 12th May the prior of the Paris Chartreuse and the others of the eight diffinitors (all priors of continental

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 127^v.

² *Ibid.*, f. 130.

³ Lambeth MS., 413, sub anno 1443.

⁴ *Calendar of Papal Letters*, 1431-1447, pp. 230, 267.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1447-1455, p. 298.

houses that year) in a document written to be inserted in the "charter" sent to the English province and addressed to the two Visitors, the Priors of Beauvale and Kingston upon Hull, poured out their wrath against him.¹ Thomas Pollard, like a tree rooted up in autumn, twice dead, incapable of bearing under the monastic habit the fruit of holy regular observances, they said, had lied in his assertion as to having their licence, to the scandal of the Order and no little detriment to his own soul; "such wicked and deservedly detestable licences had never come into the heart of the Order or the mind of the general chapter." Lest he should advance further to his own damnation they had unanimously decided to cause the said exemption and capacity to be recalled to the Roman Curia, and to obtain a fresh apostolic executory letter to be addressed to the conservators of the Order in England; for he being so ambitious, and so pestilent a person to religion, should be pursued with the aid of the secular arm if necessary, and when brought back to the cloister, to the example of others be delivered to condign imprisonment, and deservedly lose all the benefices which by fox-like craft he had surreptitiously procured, and which should now be returned to those to whom they ordinarily belonged.

Richard Vyall or Viell, Pollard's successor as Prior of Witham in 1433, also fell away from Carthusian ideals. Henry Beaufort, the Cardinal Archbishop of Winchester, thought highly enough of him in 1446 to make him an executor of his will.² By the next year some unfavourable account of him must have reached the fathers at the Grande Chartreuse: they did not release him from his office, but they charged the Visitors to inform themselves diligently as to both the spiritual and temporal rule of the house, and to send some books left behind there by a certain Dan Andrew back to the charterhouse at Bruges.³ What the Visitors reported does not appear, but in 1449 the Prior of Witham was seriously enjoined by the chapter to bring his conversation into more strict accordance with the simplicity and humility of the Order. It is not surprising to find that in the next year his office was given to another. Richard Viell subsequently took himself off from Witham, and while

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 175^v.

² Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, i., 252.

³ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 174.

a fugitive from his Order probably committed some offence against the crown; in 1433 "Richard Viel, prior of the Carthusian church of Witham," was included among several others in a general pardon of Henry VI.¹ He was not out of his monastery for long. The new prior, Dan John Pestor, on 20th May, 1451, applied to the king for a warrant² for the various sheriffs to arrest and deliver to himself when caught Richard Viell, a professed monk in priest's orders of Witham priory, who having without his licence quitted the priory and the habit, was wandering about the country to the peril of his soul and to the prejudice and scandal of the priory and the Order. He must have been apprehended almost immediately, for the general chapter dealt with his case that same year. They treated him leniently; satisfied with his promise to conform himself, and to be obedient in all things lawful and becoming the state of a simple monk, to which he had been reduced, they appointed that he must remain permanently in some house of the Order, and there without more running about and wandering he was, according to his vow, to stable himself in an exemplary way.³

The inefficiency of its priors had brought Witham charterhouse to so serious a condition that the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse had appointed besides the visitors other venerable and trustworthy men, some of the Order and some from outside, to regulate affairs there. Peace being restored to the convent by these commissioners, the chapter at the session in 1451 ratified their acts and retained John Pester as prior.⁴ Except that in 1452 the Prior of Witham was bidden to use diligence in pursuing a fugitive monk of whom he had written to the chapter,⁵ no other trace of trouble in that convent—and then for the last time in the acts of the general chapter—occurs until 1469. In this year Dan Stephen Dodesham, one of the monks, having written to the authorities, was refused an answer for the time being because of the prolixity and irreverence of his letter.⁶ He had evidently some quarrel with the then prior; a year or two later he was removed to the charterhouse at Sheen, where he made another profession. While there a sentence⁷ of

¹ Patent Roll, 31 Henry VI., pt. ii., m. 1.

² *Chancery Warrants*, Series I., 1787.

³ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 214.

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 393.

⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 416.

perpetual silence was imposed on his writing and complaints under penalties of disobedience, or imprisonment, because he had written "not only inordinately, but falsely," as the chapter was sufficiently informed, against the Prior of Witham.

The efficiency of a prior did not guarantee his acceptability to every member of his convent; his most difficult subject might be the very monk who had preceded him in the prelacy of the house. This was perhaps the case at one time at the other Somersetshire charterhouse of God's Place at Hinton. To Prior Richard Burton, who shortly after 1439 was transferred to the rule of Beauvale and died Prior of Axholme in 1444,¹ succeeded Dan William Marchell or Marshall,² professed, and sometime vicar of the House of Bethlehem at Sheen. Prior Marshall must have been released from his office about 1456. The general chapter of this year received a puzzling letter.³ It pretended to be from all the priors of the English province, and to have their seals appended to it; it was against the Prior of God's Place. Yet in their own separate letters to the chapter they had not mentioned its contents. Nor had the convent of Hinton charterhouse written anything but praise of their prior, and many other notable persons likewise had written commending him. The fathers at the Grande Chartreuse suspected some kind of a fraud, especially when on comparison the handwritings of the signatures to the letter differed from those of the same priors in their private letters to the assembly. To clear up the matter they sent the letter to the prior of the Charterhouse of the Assumption at Mount-grace, charging him, after choosing a non-suspect monk as his associate, to hold an inquiry, and then to dispatch to them the necessary information. Next year the chapter declined to release the new Prior of Hinton from office and confirmed his election as canonical, and at the same time bade Dan William Marshall, "monk of the same house," to trouble no more either the Visitors or his prior. Had the letter brought Marshall's priorate to an end, or might he, himself, already deposed and discontented for some reason

¹ *Ibid.*, f. 157; Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 128^v. He was sent to Axholme in 1441 "that he might repair the house, as the house of God's place had been repaired by him."

² Mentioned as prior in Patent Roll, 24 Henry VI., pt. i., m. 23.

³ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 251.

with his successor, have been guilty of attempting to deceive the general chapter? There is no further allusion to this mysterious letter, and the name of William Marshall disappears from the acts of the chapter until the note of his obit in 1473, except for the mention of a visit paid by him sometime to the charterhouse at Ghent, to whose prior his successor at Witham was ordered in 1463 to repay 3 crowns given to him by the procurator of the Flemish convent.¹

Dan William Hatherley (Hatterlee or Atherley), who succeeded Prior Marshall, certainly remained in office until 1461,² and perhaps until the election of John Ingelby, which the general chapter of 1477 quashed, while, however, retaining Ingelby as rector "at the will of the Order"; at this date the late Prior Hatherley was bidden come as quickly as he could to the reverend father of the Grande Chartreuse. Dan William might have conceived on this expedition a preference for the French mountain solitude over the rural simplicity of his own neighbourhood; in 1479 he got a reproof from the general chapter for presuming to obtain a licence from the "reverend father" to go to the Grande Chartreuse; it recalled the licence and exhorted him to stability. Subsequently he became a monk of the London charterhouse.³

The charter sent to the English province in 1479 shows the then Prior of Axholme in a bad light.⁴ The chapter exhorted him to be more careful in staying at home, and in not incurring superfluous expense; he was to be diligent to restore his house, which had become ruinous during his priorate. Further, within the space of a month after receiving the charter he was by a diligent computation to give the visitors a return, neglected for sixteen years, of the state of the house in temporalities under the penalty attached to the owning of private property. Moreover, they specially commissioned the visitors to make provision for the healthful state of that charterhouse, even to the deposing of the prior if contumacious in regard to the premises. Presumably he had been a good ruler in spiritual things, else his neglect-

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, ff. 264, 235^v, 433; Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 140^v.

² At this date he is mentioned in Patent Roll, 1 Edward IV., pt. iv., m. 4.

³ Lambeth MS., 413, ff. 486^v, 500^v; P.R.O., Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61, f. 15.

⁴ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 500^v.

ful administration of the conventual property would long ago have been corrected.

The injunctions and reproofs addressed to the London charterhouse or its priors give evidence of a tendency in that convent to drift away from Carthusian uniformity. In 1413 the general chapter, besides enjoining on the prior to make a register of the goods of his house without delay, bade him conform himself to the Order as to celebrating a weekly festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary. At the same time permission was granted for a celebration of the feast of the Holy Trinity once a year as requested by them, and leave was given to the rector of the new plantation in the Isle of Axholme, on account of the patron of that house, to celebrate the festival of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. About 1428 the London monks applied to the authorities for relaxation from some appointment of the visitors. This the chapter refused because their appointment was (as had been already signified by the "reverend father of the Chartreuse") founded upon the statutes. As to other injunctions for the regulation of pittances and customs agreeable to "the honesty of the Order," for the sake of humility and their own advancement they should not refuse to comply with them cheerfully. The diffinitors wondered "that such a father, a Visitor moreover, and one who at one time seemed notably zealous for the Order, should dare to beat the ears of the general chapter about this sort of temptation."¹

The charter to the province of 1441 contained severe warnings to a monk of Witham and a monk of London. Dan John Wydryngton, doubtless the first Prior of Sheen, is to remain at Witham, and unless he desists from "inordinately transferring himself" is to be delivered to prison at the will of the Order. Dan Richard Wardyn of the House of the Salutation had been reconciled to the Order evidently after a flight; he is told that unless he remains content and ceases to run away because of too much discipline imposed on him for his many excesses he will forthwith be put into a firmer prison.²

A permission and a prohibition of 1473 reveal how completely the pristine Carthusian idea of solitude, and with it that of strict seclusion, had been abandoned in the accept-

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, ff. 104^v, 118^v.

² *Ibid.*, f. 128^v.

ance of the site of the House of the Salutation. In 1470 the prior (Edmund Storer, appointed in 1469) had made to the general chapter some request to be allowed to eat with guests. He was curtly referred by them to the statutes.¹ In 1473 this question of hospitality to his guests was still troubling him, and there is entered upon that year a memorandum, mostly now illegible, in Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 153^v, of a permission, given under the seal of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, to minister to "great lords" with cups, mugs, and spoons. The prohibition of that year was that secular persons might not hunt with dogs and tumult in the great garden (*ortus*) of the convent, under pain, in the case of the prior consenting or not forcibly opposing it, of the loss of his seat in church and refectory, and in the case of the procurator, of observing two extra abstinences.² Nevertheless in the very next year the general chapter, while refusing to release him from office, had to warn Prior Storer.³ According to report, he bore himself insolently, even about his own house, and suffered hunting and other disorders. Henceforth he must amend himself and admit such liberties no more. In 1476 he had the effrontery to ask something "against the honesty of the Order," which the authorities naturally refused, warning him not to ask such things in future.⁴ It is not surprising that they gave him "mercy" in the following year, strictly enjoining on him, besides studying, to conform himself to the other conventuals as to being in cell and cloister and the other observances of the Order, and to render an account of his administration to his successor and the convent.⁵ Possibly his management was found unsatisfactory, and if so, it may have elicited the injunction to the next prior, John Walsingham, to follow the counsel of experienced brothers in his doings. This might, however, imply nothing more than that, being formerly a Benedictine, he may not have been well versed in Carthusian ways, for only the year before the chapter had given to him the necessary dispensation to hold office in the Carthusian Order.⁶ In 1487 the Prior of Witham and all the priors of the English province were ordered to make a yearly

¹ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 407.

² Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 153^v.

³ Lambeth MS., 413, f. 455.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 478.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 486^v.

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 500^v; Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 63.

computation of all their receipts and expenses and to get it written out in good and clear form, and there was a special ordinance made for the prior of the London charterhouse and his successors to keep the deposit of the house under three keys, as was consonant with the statutes, and as had been appointed by the Visitors.¹

Another kind of admonition reached the House of the Salutation in 1497—a letter, dated 16th September of that year, from Peter, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse. He wrote to the London prior because he understood that certain of his monks would not permit one of the converses, Brother John, to exercise any “obedience” in the house, thus meddling in matters which did not concern them, whereas their business, he said, was to occupy themselves in the cell mourning at the feet of Jesus, and to await His Advent in fear. He begged the prior of the London charterhouse to make the monks keep their own place better and not interfere with the appointment of others. He bade him entrust the converse with whatever “obedience” (work or office) he knew to be suitable for him; if anyone dared to resist, he should harshly repress his insubordination, even by imprisonment if rebellious; he must not permit his subjects to do such things, and must use discretion and mature counsel, and have fervent zeal for the regular observance.²

In 1490 the general chapter relaxed the Carthusian exclusiveness with regard to the House of the Salutation by permitting the residence within its precincts of one who was not a member of their Order. They approved and “very graciously confirmed” the building of a house within its bounds by the Bishop of Lincoln, then conservator of the English Carthusians, and the grant of it to him; but they added the prohibition against a married man or any woman, either in the bishop’s life-time or after his death, dwelling therein, under the penalty, if a prior consented, of loss of office, and if a monk, of imprisonment; and the decree was to have the force of one confirmed by two chapters, that is, it was to be of permanent validity.³ Was this the dwell-

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 156^v.

² *Ibid.*, f. 91^v.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 157. The scribe of this manuscript specially noted that the ordinance about the Bishop of Lincoln’s house was brought back from the chapter by Dom John Ingelby, then Prior of Sheen, and a diffinitor of that year on a schedule signed by the Rev. Father Prior of the Grande Chartreuse.

ing wherein Sir Thomas More shared the Carthusian life for a few years?

Leave shall be taken here of the authorities at the Grande Chartreuse by noting an injunction of an earlier date, which shows the fathers of the Order in an amiable light. The old prior of the charterhouse of St. Michael at Kingston upon Hull had found his charge too heavy, and in 1430, on account of his "great instance" and of his age, "mercy" was granted to him. Further the chapter, when releasing him, because he had laboured praiseworthily for many years in various offices and houses, enjoined on the Visitors of the English province, especially the Prior of London, to keep a paternal eye on him, and to treat him kindly and mercifully in all his necessities.¹

¹ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 120.

CHAPTER IX

ENGLISH CARTHUSIAN LIBRARIES

A CARTHUSIAN library contained, besides copies of the Customs of Guigo I. and the capitular statutes, and probably a register of deeds relating to the convent's property,¹ chiefly theological and devotional or mystical writings, though a secular work found its way sometimes on to the shelves by gift or legacy, like the "book called Sydyng de Gallic" bequeathed by John Gregory of Bruton to the Prior of Witham in 1429.² The charterhouses, as well as other monasteries which had no large funds for the purchase of books, made their own libraries for the most part; that is, they borrowed books and copied them. The loans, so far as evidence goes, in their case were usually from among themselves. The borrowing of church books indeed, since the authorities at the Grande Chartreuse insisted on uniformity in these, must have been almost obligatory for purposes of collation and correction and the avoidance of error or diversity in the Carthusian rite. The books left behind at Witham by Dan Andrew which the prior there was ordered to send back to the charterhouse at Bruges in 1447 were clearly borrowed, and so was the book about whose ownership the Prior of Beauvale had been inquiring and which the chapter general of 1472 informed him belonged to the Chartreuse of Vauvert, near Paris.³ The frequency of these loans and the distance to which the books were carried led probably to the occasional loss of volumes, and in 1478 the general prior and diffinitors writing from the Grande Chartreuse to the English priors informed them of the ordinance⁴ that the names of all the books of a house were to be placed in a register and to be read out and shown to the convent once every year. Unfortunately, not one

¹ The Register or Cartulary, however, may have been kept elsewhere among the archives and deeds of the house.

² P.C.C., Register *Luffenham*, f. 12.

³ Lambeth MS., 413, under the years mentioned.

⁴ Rawlinson MS., D. 318, f. 87.

such register is now available; altogether the information to be gleaned concerning English Carthusian libraries is but scanty.

Almost all the registers of deeds or cartularies of the English Carthusians have likewise disappeared. The British Museum owns that of the charterhouse of Beauvale (Add. MS. 6060), compiled and continued to the year 1486 by, or under the direction of, Nicholas Wartre, a prior of that monastery; it contains, as well as charters relating to Beauvale in particular, a valuable collection of the papal privileges granted to the Carthusian Order in general to the year 1426. In the Public Record Office is the large and full cartulary of the London charterhouse (Land Revenue, *Miscellaneous Book*, 61) compiled mostly in the late fifteenth century by an anonymous monk of the convent. The bulk of the volume is formed by copies of deeds and charters relating to the possessions of the monastery in London and elsewhere; it is prefaced by a chronicle of the foundation of the House of the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, some memoranda of its earlier years including a table of the order of the building of the cells and a list of their founders, and some quaint notices of a few of the earlier monks. From this preliminary matter¹ many quotations have been made in earlier chapters of this book. In the Public Record Office also is a damaged and faded fragment of the cartulary of the Carthusians of the Isle of Axholme (Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents* 2/24) containing a few of the instruments relating to the first endowment of their house, an imperfect copy of their founder's charter being the last. Other Carthusian registers are at present not forthcoming, if extant.

It seems not improbable that in every charterhouse a chronicle was written of its foundation and the growth of its buildings in its early years with some notice of its worthiest members. Certainly at Witham one of the monks under St. Hugh's successor in the priorate there began a chronicle, as we know from the very interesting extract made from it at the end of the volume of sermons of Adam Carthusianus once belonging to the London charterhouse. And besides the chronicle of the foundation of the House of the Salutation, a fragment of that of the charterhouse of St. Anne at

¹ For a full translation of a large part of the early portion, see Sir W. St. J. Hope, *The History of the London Charterhouse* (1925).

Coventry was discovered many years ago being used as a cover to a school-boy's exercise-book,¹ and has since been printed.²

Every charterhouse must have had a copy of the Customs of Guigo I. and of the compilations known as the Ancient and New Statutes, which together constituted the Carthusian Rule. One such copy is now MS. Q.A. 12, in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge; it includes also the third compilation of statutes, made in 1510. Its original owners may be guessed to have been the London Carthusians, for in the same volume are two letters of William Tynbygh, their prior at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and also the questions laid before the chapter general in 1494 by the provincial John Ingelby, Prior of Sheen, and these mainly concerned the London charterhouse.³ But other copies of these compilations have disappeared, though a few collections of the later capitular ordinances and statutes made since the healing of the Carthusian schism at the beginning of the fifteenth century survive. These were taken from the records of the acts of the chapters general called "charters," sent over from time to time to the English province. Of these capitular records besides the Lambeth MS. 413, which seems to have come from a continental charterhouse, and the Bodleian Rawlinson MS., D. 318, formerly belonging to the London charterhouse, there is another in the library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge,⁴ containing, like the Rawlinson MS., among other matter, the questions and answers which passed between the diffinitors at the Grande Chartreuse and the English monks in 1356 and in 1368, besides a later series of questions with the chapter's replies in 1526. The Cotton MS. Caligula A. ii., f. 144 *seq.*, contains the collection known as the New Statutes of 1368, and the ordinances of the chapters general from 1411 to 1468, with an alphabetical index, all written in one hand, with some additions up to the year 1504 written

¹ Dugdale, *History of Warwickshire*, p. 132.

² *Monasticon Anglic.*, vi., p. 16, app. i.-iv.

³ See preceding chap. vi. For full description of this MS. see Dr. M. R. James, *Catalogue of the MSS. in the Library of Jesus College, Cambridge*, p. 10.

⁴ Unfortunately I have not seen this MS. It is described by Dr. M. R. James in his *Catalogue of Western MSS. at Cambridge*; he makes no suggestion as to former Carthusian ownership of it.

in other hands. This manuscript belonged to the London charterhouse (see f. 210^v). At the Public Record Office is a small quarto volume labelled on the back *Regulæ Monachorum*; it is a kind of epitome of the statutes arranged alphabetically under subjects, the year of the chapter in which each was passed being given. It is written in the same or in a very similar careful, neat fifteenth-century hand, as the early part of the Cotton manuscript just mentioned, and the setting out of the index is similar. The similarity suggests that this also was owned by the London community. Two other English Carthusian manuscripts in the British Museum may be noted which show no sign of their early ownership. The one, Cotton MS. Nero A. iii., f. 138, *Tractatus Statutorum Ordinis Carthusiensis pro novitiis*, with the form of admission and oath of the Carthusian novice, has been printed in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi., p. 5 *seq.* It is a summary of the statutes alleged¹ to have been drawn up for the use of novices by John Batmanson, prior, first of Hinton, then of London charterhouse (1529-31), but the handwriting is that of a century before him. The other, Cotton MS. Julius A. ix., f. 23 *seq.*, is a gloss or commentary on the statutes, beginning with the New Statutes of 1368, the latest date given being 1487. It is in two hands; at the end of the second are the words:

Deo gracias.

Explicuntur nove constitutiones Ordinis Cartusiensis
Hunc quicunque tenet presidentis pace libellum
Langton scriptoris purget sua prece delicta.

Of no English Carthusian library is there a complete catalogue; a few lists of some of their books are extant, and a few other manuscripts known to have belonged to them exist.

A volume from Witham charterhouse, now in the Bodleian, (Laud MS. 154), contains three lists of books of that monastery. The first two are virtually but one, consisting of the items of the gift of John Blacman made to that priory in about the middle of the fifteenth century. The first, that on the fly-leaf of Laud MS. 154, enumerates the whole contents of each volume; the second, written on the lower margin of f. 6, gives the name of one tract only in a volume, but

¹ Dom L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 28, 74.

affords the means of identifying the latter by supplying the two or three words at the commencement of the second leaf of each volume. Both these lists, called by him A and B, have been printed by Dr. M. R. James in his reprint and translation of Blacman's *Memoir of Henry VI.* It must suffice to give here the more detailed list A, following Dr. James in any identification of a manuscript :

1. Lyra : Genesis (now Laud MS. 154).
2. Lyra : Psalterium, Prov., Eccclus., Isa., Malachias, 1, 2, Macc.
(now Laud MS. 153).
3. Lyra : Ew. Paul Epp., Act., Cath. Epp. Apoc.
4. les pedegrues reg. angl. b.
tabula noua policronici. a.
policonicon cestrense.

(No. 4 is in Eton College library, MS. 204, formerly Ashburnham Appendix, 105, and later belonging to Mr. George Dunn ; it contains the earliest known drawing of Windsor Castle, and another of Eton possibly done by J. Blacman himself.)

5. Magna Carta.
Bartholomæus de casibus consciencie.
principia et fines originalium librorum.
forma audiendi confessionem.
tituli decretorum libri vj^{ti}, et Clementis.
6. Lucerna consciencie.
meditaciones Anselmi credo.
ritmicacio tocius scripture sacre.
oraciones Anselmi ut apparet.
Tractatus de virtutibus et viciis.
interrogaciones fori penitencialis.
Alfonsus contra Judæos.

(No. 6 is Bodl. MS. 801.)

7. Sanctus Thomas de veritatibus
tabula super eodem.

(No. 7 is identified by Dr. James as Harley MS. 1032, whose second folio, however, does not begin "sic dicit Augustinus," the first words of that folio in Blacman's volume according to the B list ; three documents written on the blank leaves at the end of Harley MS. 1032 may be evidence of Witham ownership, viz., a form for grant of participation in prayers, etc., in 1465 from the Grande Chartreuse, a similar grant from Richard, Prior of Witham, in 1510, and the beginning of a letter from the same prior to Elizabeth, Abbess of Shaftesbury.)

8. interpretacio nominum hebreorum.
biblia
Capitulacio epistolarum et evangeliorum per annum.

9. Magister sententiarum.
theorica planetarum.
tituli eiusdem libri sententiarum.
Item in quibus non tenetur (*i.e.*, a list of passages in the Sentences which were considered unsound).
10. Crisostomus in opere imperfecto.
tabula eiusdem.
11. Defensorium logicale Ockham.
vita Alexandri magni.
dialogus inter Mariam et Johannem euangelistam.
Ysidorus de ciuitate (? unitate) dei.
Augustinus de uisione sancti Pauli apostoli.
de celebracione horarum quidam processus.
Silvester de decimis.
Jeronimus de signis iudicii.
Marbodius episcopus de vinculis beati Petri.
Oracio deuota. *Domine Jhesu Christi qui in hoc.*
de virtutibus fide, dileccione et humilitate.
purgatorium sancti Patricii (partly erased).
Seneca de 4^o virtutibus cardinalis.
de beneficiis ad Liberalem libri 4.
de fortuitorum bonorum contemptu
de remediis fortuitorum.
diffiniens virtut' et vic'.
regula beati Benedicti.
12. Aristoteles de regimine principum.
Gwydo de excidio Troianorum.
idem in metro.
13. Noua poetria Galfridi Anglici.¹
Anticlaudianus de restitutione.
(No. 13 is part of Digby MS. 104.)²
14. Notabiles distinciones.
sermones dominicales.
15. Tractatus gallicus.
martilogium.
gesta Karoli in gallicis.
miracula beati Marie versificata (erased).
Miracula beate Marie rithmicata.
Alexander Neckham *Qui vult bene disponere.*
phale tolum.
deuota meditacio in anglicis.
themata festivitatum per annum.
tabula concordantie 4^{or} euangelistarum.

¹ Geoffrey de Vinsauf, sometimes called "Anglicus," wrote a book on the art of poetry called *Nova Poetria*.

² Articles 2 and 3 of that codex. See Macray, *Codices Digbeiana*, p. 119.

- epistole et euangelia per totum annum
 capitula speculi moralis Gregorii.
 canon pro predicatore.
 Speculum morale Gregorii.
16. Gregorius in pastoralibus.
 Anselmus de 12 beatitudinibus.
 Anselmus de vanitate mundi.
 quidam processus de sacramento altaris.
 Athanasius de Ymagine domini Jhesu.
17. gesta Romanorum.
 regula beati Augustini.
18. narrationes exempla^{ce}.
 summa magistri J. Belet de officiis ecclesie.
 sermo bonus de libro consciencie.
 compilacio bona de vitis sanctorum.
 Item de officiis ecclesie.
19. Repertorum poeticum.
 lapidarius cum tractatu herbarum.—
 tabula epistolarum 163 Blesensis.
 expositio notabilis super Boecium de consolacione.
 ars conficiendi colores.
20. Moralia dicta originalia bona.
 meditationes Sancti Bernardi 13.
 Anselmus de passione Christi 3.
 Anselmus de amore dei 42.
 Augustinus de vera innocencia 56.
 Augustinus de laude psalorum 100.
dulcis Jhesu memoria.
21. Boecius de consolacione philosophie.
 Galfridus in noua poetria.
 canon tabularum Rede.
22. Pharetra.
 quindenarius Gregorianus.
23. Commentaciones prophetiales.
 liber facescie communis.
Ex agro veteri (i.e., Matthew of Vendome's poem on Tobit).
 a chartuary after penkarr.
 tractatus de armis in anglicis.
 disputacio inter corpus et animam.
 processus de mundi vanitate.
 quedam commendacio artium liberalium.
 utilis tractatus de rethorice.
 Cirillus de transitu beati Jeronimi.
 12 capitula Hampol.
 Bernardus ad Eugenium Papam.
 disputacio inter gratiam et intellectum.

24. *alia manu.* Lucidarium.
 tractatus Petri Alfonsi clericalis disciplina.
 tractatus de penitencia Roberti Grostest.
 tractatus inquirendi peccata in foro penitentiali.
 diversa notabilia de canone juris.

The second column of the list in Laud MS. 154 is a record of gifts of Blacman of another sort which, so far as the writing is legible, is printed here :

- Item donavit unum album vestimentum sacerdotale garnizatum cum episcopalibus mitris.
 Item tres casulas cum singulis paruris garnizatas cum similibus mitris.
 Item du . . . deaurat' simul ponderant' xij vncias.
 Item circa diversas reparaciones in uita (?) sancti Hugonis et in ecclesia de la (? le) Frary.

John Blacman, or Blakman, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, in 1436, and of Eton in 1447, was appointed in 1452 by the provosts of Eton and King's warden of King's Hall at Cambridge, the royal foundation eventually absorbed into Trinity College. After his resignation of the wardenship, he entered the charterhouse of Witham, and subsequently was transferred to that at London.¹ In his *Memoir of Henry VI.* he shows that he was at one time spiritual adviser of that king, without mentioning the date. The memoir was probably written before he became a Carthusian. His gifts to Witham charterhouse were doubtless made on his reception by that convent.

The details of the third list of Witham books in Laud MS. 154, f. 7^v, are as follows :

Collectiones :

- terribilium historiarum. 2° fo. *extollendo.*
 sanctorum som' seteorum. 2° fo. *Apostolorum principi.*
 regularum religionum antiquarum. 2° fo. *Audi fili.*
 de 1100 virginum. 2° fo. *regem dionotum.*
 historiarum thomaticarum. 2° fo. *et cum Yndos.*
 historiarum Edmundialium. 2° fo. *Omnis denique homo.*
 Miraculorum Regine celi. 2° fo. *dextris are.*

Summe

- Formula noviciorum. 2° fo. *De remediis.*
 Item musica ecclesiastica. 2° fo. *e carnis.*
 Item Horologium divine sapientie. 2° fo. *eum sibi desponavit.*

(This is now Lambeth MS. 436.)

¹ Dr. James, Preface to reprint of Blacman's *Memoir of Henry VI.*

Donatus Spiritual' cun coniugacionibus. 2° fo. *illum non petamus.*
Revelaciones.

Revelaciones Sancte Elisabethe Sconaug'.¹ 2° fo. *fidei confirmat'.*

sancte Matildis vocat' gracia celestis.² 2° fo. *me diligunt.*

Sancte Katerine de Senis. 2° fo. *fuisse mentitum.*

lib^m trium sublimium monachorum. 2° fo. *precepit abduci.*

Uter patrem. 2° fo. *mali adhuc.*

Lib^m patris Ysaac. 2° fo. *iusticie.*

li^m documentorum salubrium. 2° fo. *pro nunc.*

Patris et filii spiritual'. 2° fo. *et deus.*

oracionis dominice. 2° fo. *potest quia est.*

Speculum religiosorum. 2° fo. *advocatum habemus.*

Innotescencia originalium. 2° fo. *prin. Non.*

Monasiron vel soliloquiorum. 2° fo. *spes motus.*

Salutationis angelice. 2° fo. *issus est.*

Vita quatuor doctorum. 2° fo. *perfusum.*

Libell' sancte angele. 2° fo. *So^m in ill'.*

Passionarium apostolicum. 2° fo. *tercia resurreclurum.*

Papa Pius turco. 2° fo. *quoniam fortr' beatissima.*

Amoris inflammatorium. 2° fo. *circumspectus.*

Albertus magnus de adhibendo deo. 2° fo. *deo adhibetur.*

fragment' collect'. 2° fo. *lu'na fortitud'.*

Instituta Cartusiana complentur.

Hampol de incendio amoris. 2° fo. *superferundi.*

Epistolae S. ignacii. 2° fo. *carni ipsius.*

S. brigitt'. 2° fo. *primi, consolacionibus.* 2° fo. *secundi, nisi quod.*

Diadem monachorum. 2° fo. *22 de clericis.*

Item gesta saluatoris. 2° fo. *Hebraicis.*

Aug' de diligendo deo. 2° fo. *inspiciamus.*

Ambros' de fugiendo seculo. 2° fo. *cile est.*

Ambros' de P. quinquagesimo. 2° fo. *Prestanti.*

Aug' de falsa et vera penitencia. 2° fo. *tutes.*

Remigius de misse misteriis. 2° fo. *vestrorumque.*

lxvi hiemes vidit qui dicit prelato quot habeo annos tot tolle pater tibi libros. deo gracias 1474.

Egidius de originali peccato. 2° fo. *Quod si sic.*

Speculativa clausorum. 2° fo. *lacione, aggredior.*

Above this third list is written "perquisita postea," meaning doubtless that the books in it were purchased or otherwise acquired after the first lot given by Blacman;

¹ St. Elizabeth of Schönau (1129-1165), a Benedictine nun, told her revelations to Ekebert, a priest of Bonn, who wrote them down in three books of "Visions" (see *Catholic Encyclopædia*).

² Probably the *Liber Specialis Gratiae* of Matilda von Hackeborn-Wippra (1240-1298).

the rhyme, rubricated near the end of it, to make up the number mentioned must include those of the preceding list, and possibly means that all the books came to Witham through him. Moreover, the tenth item in this third list is certainly connected with him; this *Horologium divine sapiencie*, by its second folio beginning "eum sibi desponsavit," is identifiable with Lambeth MS. 436, at the bottom of the first page of which is written "liber Cartus. de Wittham. Orate pro Joh'e blacman."¹

Another gift to Witham Charterhouse was a copy of Bartholomei de S. Concordie, Pisani, *Summa de casibus conscientie* (now MS. 191 of Magdalen College, Oxford). An inscription therein testifies that "Master John Mydelton one of the executors of the testament of Master Andrew Holes, Archdeacon of Wells, gave this book to the prior and convent of the House of Witham, out of the goods of the said Master Andrew in 1477." A verse at the end supplies the name of the scribe of the book, "Jo. Baerts," and the date when he completed its transcription, the feast of St. Lucy, 1440.²

From the library of Hinton charterhouse came the Lambeth MS. 410. It is bound in red skin with metal clasps to the cover; within is written, "Iste liber est de domo loci Dei de Henton ordinis cartusiensis," and on the fly-leaf at the end of a contemporary short list of contents the old press mark is thus given: "Liber xxx quintus in G. Hentone ordinis Cart." The writing is of the fourteenth century. Its contents are:

S. Augustini Sermones morales xxv ad fratres in eremo.

S. Bernardi Speculum peccatoris.

S. Anselmi Tractatus de Veritate, etc.

Eadmer, Vita Anselmi Cant. Archiepiscopi.

Meditacio Johannis de Hoveden, clerici Regine Anglie uxoris regis Edwardi de nativitate passione et resurrectione domini Salvatoris.

S. Ambrosii Admonitio ad Matrem de laude caritatis.

Many years ago, among the manuscripts then belonging to Sir Thomas Phillipps was an indenture of the date 1343

¹ Dr. James mentions that Lambeth MS. 436 belonged to Witham, but omits notice of the list of books in Laud MS. 154 f. 7^v, and therefore has not identified the *Horologium Divine Sapiencie*.

² H. O. Coxe, *Catalogue of MSS. in the Colleges and Halls of Oxford*.

to secure the return of books mentioned in it lent by the prior and convent of Hinton to another religious house; from this document the Rev. J. Hunter printed the list below, omitting to give the name of the monastery to which the monks of Locus Dei were sending the books:

Two books of Homilies, to be read in the refectory.
 The four Gospels.
 The meditations of St. Anselm.
 The Enchiridion of St. Sixtus.
 A treatise of Peter of Cluny.
 Life of John the Almoner.
 Flores et magna glossa Psalterii.
 Meditations of St. Bernard.
 Quendam libellum inter Orosius et Augustinum; et Templum Dei.
 Life of Paul the hermit.
 Excerpts from the lives of SS. Anthony, Hilarion, and Sylvester.
 De orto Pilati.
 Libel. de Manipul. Flor.
 Dialogus SS. Gregorii et Augustini.
 Legend. totius anni, abbreviat.
 Primar. Ecclesiast. et II Primar. puerorum.
 A Breviary.
 Liber qui sic incipit—"Qui bene presunt presbyteri."
 Stimulus Amoris, et multa alia edificatoria de manu Domini Willelmi de Colle.¹

Of the library of Beauvale charterhouse there is just one relic in the fifteenth-century English manuscript, Douce 114, in the Bodleian, its ownership being shown by the inscriptions "Beauvall" and "Iste liber est domus Belle Vallis ordinis Cartusiensis in Comitatu Notyngham." Its contents are translations of lives of Saint Elizabeth of Spalbek and others, and a "Tretys of seuen poyntes of trewe love and euerlastynge wisdame drawn oute of the boke that is writen in Latyn and callyd Orologium Sapiencie."²

The library of the London Carthusians is now represented by the volume (originally one of two) of sermons of Adam de Dryburgh called Carthusianus or Præmonstratensis, lately restored to the Master of the Charterhouse, and three

¹ Rev. Joseph Hunter, *English Monastic Libraries* (1831), p. 17. William de Colle was perhaps a monk of Hinton charterhouse who copied the tracts included in the volume.

² Madan, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, No. 21688.

manuscripts at Oxford, besides the frequently quoted Rawlinson MS. D. 318. These are:

Bodley MS. 277. Bible in English in Wycliffe's late version written in the first half of the fifteenth century. A note on f. 375 states that the book once belonged to Henry VI., who afterwards gave it to the charterhouse near London.

Bodley MS. 505. Two middle English devotional treatises in a late fifteenth-century hand: (1) The chastisinge of Goddis children, and (2) The myrrour of Symple souls. An inscription in it runs, "Liber domus Salutacionis Matris Dei Ordinis Cartusie prope London per Edmundum Stegor (?) ejusdem domus Monachus."¹

Douce MS. 262, a volume of mystical treatises, in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The scribe of the first one, *the Divine Cloud of Unknowing*, we are informed at the end of it, was Dan William Tregooz, a professed monk of the house; several tracts in the latter portion are in the peculiar writing of Andrew Borde, and at the end of one (f. 139^v) he put the words, "conscriptum per Dompnum Andream Boorde pro quo exoro in caritatis vinculo ut preces pro eo ad Jhesum fundere curetis."

The library of the House of the Salutation was perhaps the head library of the Order in England, for there are extant lists of books sent out from it to other Carthusian communities at various dates, especially in the fifteenth century; it may be that some of the others were dependent on it for their supply of literature, so that when a monk of the London charterhouse was to be transferred to any of them the opportunity was taken to get required manuscripts dispatched with him. The first list to be quoted here is without date, and from its character may be of the fourteenth century; it is a certificate of books of the House of the Salutation carried away by Dan John Spalding on his return to the charterhouse at Hull (Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 2/58).

Jhesus Maria.

Hec billa certificat quosdam libros Domus Salutacionis Matris Dei Ord. Cartus. prope London' quos secum asportauit Dompnus Johannes Spaldyng in recessu suo ad Domum de Hulle.

¹ Madan, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, No. 2676. The name of the scribe should perhaps read "Storer." Edmund Storer, or Storor, was a monk of that charterhouse towards the end of the fifteenth century.

- In primis liber qui dicitur The Chastysynge of Goddes chyldrun cum aliis, cuius ij^d fol. incipit *Here begynnythe the¹ table.*
- Item liber qui dicitur the pylgrymoche of sowle cuius ij^d fol' incipit *that me Alweye.*
- Item liber qui dicitur Scala perfeccionis cum aliis cuius ij^d folium incipit *Si aptabilem cunctis.*
- Item liber qui dicitur Speculum vite Crysti cum aliis, cuius ij^d folium incipit *howz Cryste was borne.*
- Item liber qui dicitur parte of a glosyd sawter cum aliis cuius ij^d folium incipit *loue joyze.*
- Item liber qui dicitur the boke of good maners cum aliis cuius ij^d folium incipit *the fyft chapytur.*
- Item liber qui dicitur the Reuelacion to a monke of Euyshame cum aliis, cuius ij^d folium incipit *tunc et in opposito.*
- Item liber qui dicitur Meditacio passionis Christi composita a Ric. Hampole cum aliis, cuius ij^d folium incipit *Ithanke the.*
- Item liber qui dicitur Tractatus de venerabile sacramento cum aliis cuius ij^d folium incipit *de causis institucionis.*
- Item liber qui dicitur Meditacio Sancti Augustini in Yngleshe cuius ij^d folium incipit *and vnderstandynge.*
- Item parvus liber de diuersis materiis cuius ij^d folium incipit *Decem sunt precepta.*
- Item paruus liber de diuersis materiis cuius ij^d folium incipit *plene color' eius erat.*
- Item paruus liber de arte moriendi cuius ij^d folium incipit *quia malis.*
- Item paruus liber tractatus Ricardi heremite cuius ij folium incipit *leth hem so prywyly.*
- Item paruus liber qui dicitur Speculum inclusorum cuius ij folium incipit *Incipit liber videte vocacionem.*
- Item paruus liber qui dicitur Epistole beati Pauli in Yngleshe cuius ij^d folium incipit *the lawe and the hethen men.*
- Item paruus liber qui dicitur Actus apostolorum in Yngleshe, cuius ij^d folium incipit *and seyden men of Galylee.*
- {²Item a Sawter cuius ij^d folium incipit *gaudemus.*
- {Item a iornall cuius ij^d folium incipit *clico et nunc.*
- {Item a prymer cuius ij^d folium incipit *mundacionem et tradicionem.*
- Item parte of the statutis in yngleshe cuius ij^d folium incipit *item of commemoracionis.*
- Item the statutis in latyn cuius ij^d folium incipit *quid agendum sit.*
- Item twoo smale bookis of surgerye, quorum ij^d fol' incipunt *Amigdale, et . . . lac' li. j.*
- Item a lityll qware of the massis De nomine Jhesu et quinque vulneribus, cuius ij^d folium incipit *Adiuua nos deus.*

¹ In this copy, where the thorn letter is used in the original, "th" is printed.

² These three lines crossed out in the MS.

Item a fayre tabyll of seynt Gregorye pyte lyke to the same
that ys in Rome.

Item a skonnce.

(The last two items are crossed through, perhaps as not being books.)

The next list is a memorandum of the year 1500 of books lent by Richard Roche, prior of the London charterhouse, to his monk Roger Mongumre, on his departure to St. Anne's charterhouse at Coventry, probably for the benefit of his hosts there (Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 2/44).

Memorandum quod Rogerus Mongumre monachus domus Salutacionis Matris Dei prope London' accepit secum vsque ad domum Sancte Anne Ord. Cartus. prope Coventre subscriptos libros accomodatos sibi per domnum Ricardum Roche priorem dicte domus Salutacionis Matris Dei.

In primis vnam bibliam de pergameno cuius 2^m folium incipit
de exordio.

Item alium librum de pergameno continentem omelias beati Gregorii, Pastoralia ejusdem, omelias super Ezechielem, Excerptiones Moraliū. Job, cum ceteris, cuius 2^m folium incipit *Senelibus*.

Item Catholicon de papiro cujus 2^m folium incipit *inuenit*.

Item liber Sancte Brigitte cujus 2^m folium incipit *Epistola domini Johannis*.

Item legenda Sanctorum in pergameno cuius 2^m folium incipit
de Sanctis Johanne et Paulo.

Item breuiarum Ordinis cuius 2^m folium incipit *-madas*.

Item Esca anime cujus 2^m folium incipit *daua*.

Item Incendium Amoris cum ceteris cujus 2^m folium incipit
non habeo.

Item vnum Psalterium cujus 2^m folium incipit *tuam*.

Item liber Statutorum cujus 2^m folium incipit *de Assumpcione*.

Item liber exequiarum cum ceteris cujus 2^m folium incipit *pro illis*.

Item librum de pergameno de vita Sancti Syluestri cum aliis contentis cujus 2^m folium incipit *deficere*.

Item Librum Magistri historiarum cum 4^{to} libro Magistri Sentenciarum cujus 2^m folium incipit *isti Dathan*.

Item quaternus de papiro cujus 2^m folium incipit *busardan'*.

Anno Domini M^o.D^o.

The next list is of nineteen years later, occurring in an inventory made by a monk of the London charterhouse,

of things taken by him to Mountgrace, where, to judge by his wardrobe, he was to stay some time; the whole document is of sufficient interest to be printed in full. He was travelling in winter, hence, perhaps, Lady Conway's gift, but this outer wrap, the "wyde sloppe furryd," like the two good pillows and two little pillows and the cushion to kneel on, were luxuries which an early Carthusian prior would scarcely have licensed. The lined slippers for matins were the night-shoes appointed by the Customs and statutes. The weaving-frame and implements mentioned after the books may have been for the monk's own use in his cell, or it may have been for the lay-brother's quarters at Mountgrace, where perhaps the cloth required by the community was woven (*State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. ix., f. 170).

Beyt remembyrd that I Dane Thomas Golwynne monke professyd of the howse of London hadde with me by the lycens of the honorable Fader Prior of the sayd howse of London Dan Wylliam Tynbegh, when I departyd frome London vn to Mounthe grace All these thyngis vnder wrytten the xxv. day of Januarii the yere of owre lorde. M^l.cccccxixth.

In primis iij habites as they come by cowrse.

Item ij newe stamyn¹ shyrtes and j. olde.

Item ij newe stamyn colis and j. olde.

Item ij newe hodes and j. olde.

Item a newe coote lynyd; an olde mantelle.

Item a wyde sloppe furryd to put over all my gere, of the gyfte of my Lady Conuay.

Item anewe cappe and an olde.

Item a newe pylche of the gyft of Mr. Saxby.

Item an olde pylche and iij payer of hosen.

Item iij payer of newe sokkes and ij payer of olde.

Item iij olde sylecis² and a lumbare.

Item a new payer of korkyd shone lynyd. and a payer of dobled solyd shone.

Item a payer of blankettes and ij goode pylows and ij lytell pylows and á kosshyn to knele on.

Item a newe mantell by the gyfte of Syr John Rawson knyght of the Roodes.

Item a lytell brasyn mortar with a pestyll gevyn by the gyfte of a frende of myne.

Item ij pewtyr dysshes, ij sawcers, an[d] a podynger and a lytell square dysshe for butter.

¹ Stamyn was a kind of linsey-woolsey.

² Hair-shirts.

- Item a new chafyngdysshe of laten gevyn to vs.
 And ij new tyne botylles gevyn by a kynsman of owrs.
 Item a brasyn chafer that ys to hete in water.
 Item a brasse panne of a galone gevyn to vs lyke wyse.
 Item a lytell brasyn skelett with a stele.
 Item a Payer of new felt bootes, and a payer of lynyd sleppers
 for mateyns.
 Item a fayr laten sconse.

These bokes drawne to gether by lyne be yn velome.

- Item a fayer wrytten yornalle made by the cost of Master Saxby
 havynge a claspe of syluer and an Ymage of seynt Jerome
 gravyn ther yn: the second lef. of Advent. begynnyth
Jersalem Alleluia; this boke standyth in makynge iij *li*.
 Item a fayer wrytten primer with a kalender, and many other
 Rewles of owre religyon ther yn.
 Item a fayer wrytten Sawter with a fayer ymage of seynt Jerome
 theryn in the begynnyng; the ij^{de} lef of the sawter begyn-
 nyth *te erudimini*.
 Item a large fayer boke wrytten with the lessons of dirige, and
 the psalmys of the buryinge and letany and the Response
 theryn notyd.
 Item a boke wrytten conteynyng certeyn masses with the canon
 of the masse and a kalender in the begynnyng of the boke
 with a fayer ymage of Jhesu standynge be for (*sic*).
 Item a lytell penaunce boke wryttyn.
 Item a wrytten boke of prayers of diuerse seyntes with ymagys
 lymyd, and dirige wrytten theryn.
 Item a wrytten boke of papyr with diuers storyes, and of Ars
 moriendi theryn.
 Item a printed Portews by the gyft of Master Rawson.
 Item a yornalle and a printyd prymer gevyn by Master Parker.
 Item a lytell legent aurey¹ in printe.
 Item the sheperds kalendar in printe.
 Item Ysops fabylls in printe.
 Item a directorium aureum in printe.
 Item a complete frame for to wefe with corsys, with ix. polyffes²
 of brasse, and ix plumettes of lede with ij swordys of yryn
 to worke with in the frame.
 Item a dowbyll styлле to make with aqua vite, that ys to say a
 lymbeke with a serpentyne closyd both yn oon.
 Endorsed: Billa pro domino Thoma Goldynge.

Among the monks of the London charterhouse who
 took the oath imposed under the Act of Succession in 1534

¹ Golden Legend.

² Pulleys.

was John Wheteham or Whetham; in some previous year he had been sent down to Somerset to the brethren of Locus Dei at Hinton with a loan of books, which were to be restored whenever the Prior of the House of the Salutation should decree it. The list of the volumes carried by him shows that he was one of the scribes of his community, two of them, a book of legends of saints and a copy of the Old and New Statutes of the Order, having been written out by himself (Exchequer K.R., *Ecclesiastical Documents*, 2/45).

Hec billa testatur quod dominus Johannes Wheteham monachus professus Domus Matris Dei de Ordine Cartus. tulit secum de licencia prioris ejusdem domus prope London' ad domum loci Dei de Henton ejusdem Ordinis libros sequentes restituendos iterum domui London' predicte quandocunque prior ejusdem domus hoc fieri decreuerit.

In primis tulit secum librum impressum de Vita Ihesu secundum Ludolphum.

Item librum de legendis multorum Sanctorum quem ipsemet scripsit.

Item librum qui dicitur Malumgravatum.

Item librum Sancte Brigitte completum.

Item primarium.

Item Gerson' de contemptu mundi cum ceteris in eodem contentis.

Item pectorale dominice passionis cum ceteris.

Item Revelaciones Sancte Matildis.¹

Item statuta vetera et nova que ipsemet scripsit.

Endorsed: Henton'.

Writings of a mystical character such as those of the English Richard Rolle, and of the German nuns Elizabeth of Schonau and Mechtild, and of St. Bridget, were naturally included among books meant for contemplatives. Within a very few years of its suppression, John Houghton, the last prior of the London charterhouse, was endeavouring to enrich its library still further with that kind of literature. On 23rd August, 1532, he wrote to Dom Theodoric Loer, vicar of the charterhouse at Cologne, on the strength of a promise made by the latter to the Prior of Hinton, when

¹ Probably the mystic Mechtild of Magdeburg (1210-1285), who was, however, not formally canonised. *The Revelaciones Gertrudiane et Mechtildiane* were translated into Latin by a Dominican about 1290 (*Catholic Encyclopædia*).

attending a general chapter of the Order, that he would send over any of the works of Denis or Dionysius,¹ the Carthusian mystic sometimes called the Seraphic Doctor, which he wished to purchase. These works, Prior Houghton says, were rare here because the pious and learned seized them at once when any came over, so that the Carthusians themselves had to go hungry. He begs Dom Theodoric therefore to send to him ten copies of all the printed works of "the same our most pious father Dionysius," besides twenty copies of the little work "which we call *De Contemptu Mundi*," and twenty of another called *Scala religionum*. Towards the cost of the books he dispatched by the bearer of his letter £6 13s. 8d., promising to transmit the rest of the sum on demand, or to pay it if preferred, on account of dangers by the way, to some person appointed by Loer's prior. The Cologne charterhouse apparently had a printing press of its own, or Dom Theodoric, perhaps, had one in his cell, for Prior Houghton urges him to continue his diligence in putting the manuscripts of "our foresaid saint Dionysius" into type.²

Of the library of the charterhouse of St. Anne at Coventry the only vestige now is the Royal MS. 5 A v., in the British Museum. This volume, written in a neat fifteenth-century hand, is stated on f. 1^v to have been given to St. Anne's by Dan Robert Odyham. Its contents are theological treatises of, or ascribed to, St. Augustine, Hugh of St. Victor, and others.

Of the books of the charterhouses of St. Michael at Kingston upon Hull, and of Axholme, we have discovered no details.

To the prior and convent of Mountgrace, William de Anthorp, rector of Dighton in 1433, bequeathed, besides a silver cup gilt and twelve silver spoons, a book called *Pupilla oculi* (probably the mediæval manual for priests so called). In 1458 William Banks of York left them 20s. on condition that they made no claim to a book called *Florarium Bartholomei*, which may have been a volume

¹ Leuwis van Ryckel, otherwise.

² This letter is printed in full by Dom L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, App. vi.

strayed from their possession which they desired to get back.¹

Of books once belonging to Mountgrace, at Ripley Castle is a copy of the translation by Nicholas Love, sometime prior of that charterhouse, of the *Mirror of the Life of Christ*, a devotional treatise frequently ascribed to St. Bonaventura.²

In the library of York Minster is a *Speculum Spiritualium* from Mountgrace.³

In the British Museum, Harley MS. 237, a volume of the fifteenth century containing numerous theological treatises copied by various hands, is claimed for this charterhouse by the inscription along the top of f. 3: "liber domus Montis Gracie ord' cart'."

Harley MS. 2373 also came from Mountgrace. It contains mystical devotional treatises in English transcribed in the fifteenth century, including "a boke of contemplation the whyche is cleped the cloude of Unknowyng," on f. 70^v. In the margin against a passage on "mekenes" is written in a contemporary hand, perhaps that of the copyist, "In vetero libro hujus domus viz. Montis Gracie, De quattuor gradibus humilitatis nulla fit mentio."⁴

Henry V. had intended, no doubt, that his foundation at Sheen should have a good library, and he is said to have bequeathed to the Carthusians there a volume containing all the works of St. Gregory. But after his death the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, claimed it as a legacy to them from Archbishop Arundel, who had forbidden its alienation from their possession under the pain of excommunication. The king, it appears, had borrowed it from Arundel's executor, and had coolly appropriated it for Sheen charterhouse. Prior John of Christ Church, therefore, petitioned the Duke of Gloucester for an order to the Prior of Sheen to return it through William Molash, the almoner of his monastery. The result was, of course, that the Carthusians had to give up the volume.⁵

¹ *York Archaeological Society*, vol. xviii., p. 266; *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii., p. 217.

² *Commissioners on Historical MSS.*, Report vi., p. 353.

³ *Report of Commissioners on Public Records*, 1837, App., p. 287.

⁴ For notices of this MS. see E. G. Gardner, *The Cell of Self-knowledge* (1910), and Miss E. Underhill, *The Cloud of Unknowing* (1912).

⁵ Gasquet, F. A., *Monastic Life in the Middle Ages* (1922), pp. 99-100. This author, however, does not give his sources for the story except

An entry in the *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery* suggests a happier relation between the Carthusians of Sheen and the Bridgettines of Isleworth. The first volume of the Syon copy of the *Speculum Spiritualium* by Adam the Carthusian contained a set of rubrics to its different parts compiled by "Dom Henry, monk of the Carthusian House of Bethlehem."¹ The Bridgettines possessed some of the works also of the Dutch Carthusian Dionysius (Leewis van Rykell).² Did the two convents, whose houses were of contemporary foundation, help each other, by transcription or otherwise, in collecting books for their libraries?

From the library of the charterhouse at Sheen came the fifteenth-century Bodley MS. 417, *Liber Meditacionum Saluatoris nostri Jhesu Christi et beatissime matris sue Marie*, and Bodley MS. 797, a late fifteenth-century collection of theological treatises. The contents of this last consist of five short discourses on the name of Jesus—Bonaventura's *De passione Christi*, Meditations of St. Anselm and others, *Liber Sententiarum Cassiodori Senatoris*, *Liber Soliloquiorum* of St. Augustine, and *Liber Boetii de Consolatione Philosophie*. On the death of an early owner, John Hunte of Cherbury (? Erdbury), this manuscript (Bodley 797) became the property of Master Doctor John Bury, an Augustinian; then in the early sixteenth century, by his gift it passed to the Carthusians of the House of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen.

Another Bodley MS., No. 117, seems to have belonged to Sheen charterhouse. Its miscellaneous contents include (f. 14^v seq.) copies of a few letters to Cardinal Beaufort from "a monk of this house of Jhesu of Bethlehem of the Carthusian Order of Shene." The copyist was William Mede, as he informs us by a rhyme at the end:

Laus tibi sit Christe Quia liber explicit iste
Deo graciasque W. Edem. verso nomine Orate
Orate pro scriptore intuitu pietatis et fraterne caritatis amore.

vaguely the *Canterbury Book of Obits*; I have only been able to verify his statement as to a "precious" volume containing St. Gregory's works, bequeathed by Arundel to the Canterbury monks, for which see *The Canterbury Obit Book*, Lambeth MS. 20, f. 166.

¹ *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery*, ed. Miss M. Bateson, Cambridge, 1898, pp. 107.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 113, 174, 219.

If W. Mede was a monk of Sheen,¹ as is most probable, Cotton MS. Vespasian D. ix., or a part thereof, may have belonged to that charterhouse, for he is the scribe of some of the articles in it. A note on Master Adam the Carthusian (Adam de Dryburgh) at f. 167 ends, "Deo gracias quod W. Mede;" in the earlier portion of the volume after the last words of some notes on the Council of Basle, in the same hand is written, "quod W. Edem v.n." (viz., *verso nomine*, as in the rhyme above quoted).

Two other manuscripts in the British Museum certainly belonged to the Sheen Carthusians. Add. MS. 22121, *Speculum Christiani*, auctore Johanne Watton, has the note at the end: "Liber domus Jesu de Bethlem ordinis Cartusiensis iuxta Shene, quem scripsit Domnus Willielmus Darker monachus et professus eiusdem domus in remissionem peccatorum suorum." The work is a treatise on the ten commandments, the seven works of mercy, the deadly sins, etc., by an unknown priest of this country, to judge by his interspersing of English sentences with his Latin.² The handwriting is of the fourteenth century.

Royal MS. 7 D. xvii., a thirteenth-century collection of theological tracts bound up with later manuscripts, articles 1-4 being in a fifteenth-century hand, has the inscription on f. 277^v: "iste liber est domus Ihesu de Bethleem Ord. Carthusiensis per Johannem London. Si quis alienauerit anathema sit." On f. 1^v is the name "D. Joh'es Bromley de Shene," perhaps the copyist of the prayers and Rosary of the Virgin Mary, written on ff. 2-6, really the fly-leaves to the first article in the volume.

Add. MS. 11303 of the sixteenth century has the word "Shene" written at the top of f. 1. Near the end are prayers of the Princess Katharine, Queen of England and Ireland, which perhaps testify to the ownership of the Carthusian remnant installed at Sheen by Mary Tudor, rather than that of the elder community suppressed by her father, for the devout members of her daughter's party would regard the unfortunate Katharine of Aragon almost as a saint. This manuscript contains the statutes for the lay-brothers in English (that is, translations of the Customs and statutes relating to converses) with the ordinance

¹ Cf. Madan, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, No. 1979.

² Tanner, *Bibliotheca*; he assigns no date for this author.

that all "nations" (of Carthusians) were to have these statutes for converses and *donati* in their own language or vulgar tongue, and to have them read to them at least once a year.

There can be no doubt as to which community Lansdown MS. 1201 belonged. The name and date "Shene 1569," written above the list of contents claim it for the Carthusian refugees who found a home in Flanders which was called after the charterhouse in England from which they had migrated on the accession of Elizabeth. This manuscript, executed in a rather large and coarse hand of the sixteenth century, contains the order for admission and for profession of a novice, for visiting the sick, for the celebration of trentals and anniversaries of strangers, and for absolving persons of the Order *in extremis*.

Among the printed books in the British Museum is a fine copy of the statutes and papal privileges of the Carthusian Order printed at Basle in 1510 (press mark 704, h. 21). The original ownership of the volume is clearly indicated on a blank page at the beginning; in 1597 it was the property of the English Carthusians of Sheen Anglorum, as their community came to be called, then at Louvain.

A volume now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin,¹ containing sermons of St. Augustine, and religious treatises by him and others, and a sermon on St. John's Day, by Adam the Carthusian, formerly belonged to the Carthusians of Sheen, presumably of the first establishment there.²

¹ *Historical MSS. Commission*, Report iv., p. 592.

² For fuller descriptions, and lists of contents, often very long, of the manuscripts mentioned in this chapter, now in the British Museum or Bodleian Libraries, the reader should refer to the catalogues issued by the authorities of those institutions.

CHAPTER X

ENGLISH CARTHUSIAN WRITERS

If the Carthusian Order may be called learned, it must be admitted that its learning was generally (so far as the secular world was concerned) lost in the hidden life of the cell. That learning was, moreover, narrow, for the studies of these solitaries were somewhat exclusive; the books of the Bible and mystical theology with devotional treatises forming the staple of them, rather even than doctrinal divinity. Learning, in the usual sense, was not the object of the Carthusian monk; the learning he needed was such as should help him to devout contemplation, and fit him for the Beatific Vision. It is not surprising therefore that he should seldom have become an author of any name. Mind and spirit occupied with eternity could not suffer the intrusion of busy authorship. In his secluded existence, also, he would have little incentive to write, save, had he the aptitude, a devotional composition for his own or his brethren's benefit, or, were he of ecstatic temperament, a mystical treatise perhaps. Outside incentive he should have had none, for he had no concern beyond the precincts of his monastery. Guigo I. and his contemporary priors, it is true, wished that their monks should "make books," since it was a way of preaching God's word with their hands, and they could not do so with their mouths; "for as often as we write books," he says, "it seems to us we make publishers of the truth, trusting to God for the reward for those who by them should be corrected from error or advanced in Catholic truth."¹ But "to make" (*facere*) might mean simply selecting materials, or binding up the books, and to write (*scribere*) meant as often as not merely to write out or copy. This sort of making or writing of books was allowed and encouraged as a relaxation from too constant a strain of spiritual or mental effort. Authorship on religious themes was permitted, or in special cases

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. xxviii.

encouraged, but as a rule it was likely to have been regarded coldly by the superiors of the Order as entailing a dissipation of the mind's energy from the aim of contemplation, with which the more mechanical work of transcription would not interfere.

None of the very few English Carthusian authors attained any literary eminence; of their works, indeed, little survives except the titles. The earliest, Adam of Dryburgh (more generally known as Master Adam the Premonstratensian), according to St. Hugh's biographer¹ "a man of the highest and in divine matters" he had almost said "of incomparable erudition and learning," had made his reputation as a theologian before he retired to a cell in Witham charterhouse. His fellow-monk, the author of the Witham Chronicle quoted in a previous chapter, says that the treatises written by him before he came to Witham "were comprised in two large codices, which, their contents being in the fashion of homilies, were called the Sermons of Master Adam," the two volumes evidently being part of the Witham library in his time. He adds that during the twenty-four years that Adam lived in the house of Witham, "always holily and very humbly as a Carthusian monk," he composed other works, giving from memory the following list² of them:

Libellus super Canonem Misse.

Liber de Quadripartito Exercicio Celle.

Libellus super oracionem dominicam ad Hucbertum Archiepiscoum.

Libellus quem vocauit Speculum Discipline.

Libellus qui dicitur Dialogus Magistri Ade.

Libellus quem Exameron vocauit.

Libellus de consanguinitate Anne Matris beate Marie et beate Elisabethe Matris Sancti Johannis Baptiste.

Libellus qui dicitur Secretum meum mihi.

The *Quadripartite Exercise of the Cell*, as having been written for the special spiritual or mystical guidance of his brethren by a mediæval English Carthusian, is fully described in the next chapter. The other treatises mentioned have dis-

¹ Rolls Series, *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*, p. 201.

² This list, with a little information on Adam the Carthusian taken from the Witham Chronicle, since the words are the same as the last portion of the surviving fragment, occurs also in the notes of W. Mede, the monk of Sheen, in Cotton MS. Vespasian D. ix. f. 167^v.

appeared. The *Speculum Discipline* might, perhaps, be the *Speculum Spiritualium de viciis et virtutibus in septem partes divisum*, which occupied two volumes once in the library of Syon monastery, and which in the index to the catalogue of that library is ascribed to Adam Carthusianus.¹ The fact that the rubrics of the different parts were entered in the first volume "from the compilation of Dom Henry, monk of the Carthusian House of Bethlehem" (Sheen), suggests that this work may have been copied by this monk, or by one of his brethren from a Carthusian codex containing it among the works of Adam.

The works of Master Adam, written when he was a canon of the Order of Prémontré, were printed by Migne in *Patrologiæ Latine Cursus*, tom. 198, and have no place here. A volume restored some while ago by Mr. Quaritch to the late Master of the Charterhouse,² London, as having belonged originally to the Carthusian House of the Salutation, a fourteenth-century manuscript, contains "the second part of the sermons which Master Adam monk of the Carthusian Order composed which now for the doing away of the reader's fatigue, it is agreed, are to be abbreviated." Of these the first five are given by Migne among those of Adam the Premonstratensian, then not identified with the Witham monk. Out of the rest, one on St. Hugh of Lincoln could not, as it stands, have been by Adam at any time, since there is in it a reference to the *Speculum Historiale* of Vincent de Beauvais, who could scarcely have been born in his day. At the end of his sermons, another hand has copied others attributed to SS. Fulgencius, Maximin, Augustine, and the Venerable Bede. Then follows an abridgment of Brother Adam's life of St. Hugh (the *Magna Vita S. Hugonis*), ornamental passages and words of edification, according to the prologue, and matter relating to persons other than "our Hugh," being omitted; this designation of the subject of the biography may denote Carthusian authorship of this abridgment, even that of Master Adam himself, to whom a life of St. Hugh has been attributed.³ At the end of the volume in a quite different hand, again is the extract from the Witham

¹ M. Bateson, *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery*, pp. 107, 202.

² Through the courtesy of that Master, Rev. Gerald Davies, I have been allowed to inspect this volume, and to make the requisite notes.

³ By Tanner, in *Bibliotheca*.

Chronicle, headed "De Vita et Conversacione Magistri Ade Cartusiensis secundum quod habetur in cronica Domus de Witham."

To Adam the Carthusian have been ascribed two other small works. The one, "A lytill treatyse that tellith how there were six masters assembled together . . . to speke of tribulation," including "the xii profits of tribulacion," exists in manuscripts both in English and French¹ and was printed in London in 1530. The other, "A ladder of iv rongys by the whych men mowen well clymbre to hevyn," exists in English manuscripts.² Both were printed by Dr. Horstmann among the works wrongly attributed to Richard Rolle in his volume on the hermit of Hampole and his followers.³ That Adam de Dryburgh should have written in English is unlikely, and that these two works might have been translated from something of his in Latin, their style being different to his known writings forbids. It is probable that there was a second "Adam Carthusianus," for Tanner and John Bale state that the monk so called flourished in 1340, and there certainly was an Adam prior of Hinton charterhouse from 1377 to 1391. To this later Adam the tract *De Sumptione Eucharistiæ* may have been correctly ascribed by Tanner, and by Bale, who gives the further detail that it was "ex Alberto episcopo sancto." Bale claims his authorship also for a treatise called *Scala Cæli*, of which he knew two copies, the one beginning "Dum essem una die occupatus," and the other beginning "Cum die quadam corporali manuum labore," etc.⁴ These opening words, however, seem to prove that these copies were two versions of a little twelfth-century work entitled variously *Scala Claustralium*, *Scala Paradisi*, and *Scala Cæli*. Attributed sometimes to St. Bernard, and even to St. Augustine, it has been successfully traced by Dom André Wilmart⁵ to Guigo II., Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, who wrote it

¹ In English in the Bodleian, Douce MS. 322, ff. 62^v-64; in University College MS. 142; in Corpus Christi MS. 220; in French, in Magdalen MS. 41; and in Douce MS. 365, and probably in others elsewhere.

² Douce MS. 322, f. 52^v.

³ *Library of Early English Writers: Yorkshire Writers:—Richard Rolle and his Followers*, ii., 390 seq.

⁴ *Index Britannicæ Scriptorum* (ed. R. L. Poole, 1902), p. 3.

⁵ In *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique* (Janvier-Avril, 1924); *Les Écrits Spirituels des deux Guigues*. For the *Scala Claustralium* see Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. xl., col. 997.

originally in the form of an epistle to his friend Gervaise, probably Prior of the Chartreuse of Mont-Dieu.

Of the next two alleged Carthusian authors nothing is known except the title of their works.

Theobald English (f. 1340) wrote *De progressu Sanctorum Patrum, sive de Vitis hominum probatorum a mundi origine* to his own times, and *De Vita contemplativa*.¹

John Olney (f. 1350), surnamed from the place of his birth near Gloucester, wrote five books of *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, and one book of *Solitary Meditations*.²

Somewhat over fifty years later probably, Nicholas Love, or Luff, Prior of Mountgrace, was writing "to the confusion of all fals Lollardes and heretikes"³ his translation of the *Mirror of the Life of Christ* attributed to St. Bonaventura. In 1410 he had for his work the approval of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose friendship to the Mountgrace community had merited the recent grant of their fraternity.⁴ The translation became popular probably. Besides the copy once belonging to Mountgrace charterhouse, now at Ripley Castle, and the British Museum Add. MS. 30031, at Oxford, there are these copies :

1. Brasenose College MS. ix., which has been beautifully printed by the Roxburgh Club (1908) ; regardless of the fact that a Carthusian was allowed to call nothing his own, it has been suggested that this was the translator's own copy, because on the lower margin of the first page of the proem are his initials in gold.⁵ At the end of the table of chapters a rubricated note states that a letter "N" in the margin shows that the words are those of the translator, a note which occurs also at the end of the British Museum Add. MS. 30031.
2. Bodley MS. 634. The Contemplacion of the blessed Life of our Lord Jhesu.
3. Wadham College MS. v., which gives the information as to the archiepiscopal approval.

¹ Tanner, *Bibliotheca*.

² *Ibid.*

³ Note on Bodley MS. 634, in *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, No. 27689.

⁴ Arundel's Register, f. 121^d.

⁵ See the description of this manuscript by Coxé in *Catalogue of MSS. in the Colleges and Halls of Oxford*.

Love's *Mirror* was printed in 1488(?) by Caxton, in 1495(?) by Pynson, and in 1517 and 1523 by Wynkyn de Worde.¹

The next literary fragment, if it may be regarded as such, came from Sheen charterhouse. Remarkable spirituality being lacking, perhaps a supposed elegance of latinity led W. Mede,² or the superior who put him to the task of transcription, to think it worth while to preserve a "copy of letters transmitted to the lord cardinal Bishop of Winchester by a monk of this house of Jhesu of Bethleem of the Carthusian Order of Shene." The letters, but three in number, are without date; at the end of the third the copyist notes that their writer, "W., the least of the Carthusians" (W. Cartus' minimus), as he calls himself, was for many years, by papal authority, the cardinal's confessor, not that, however, he went out to the great man as the latter much desired, but that the cardinal had to come to his cell whenever he wished to confess. Henry Beaufort was a friend to the Carthusians; on his death the general chapter of 1448 granted him a trental to be celebrated throughout the Order because he had twice given substantial alms towards the restoration of the lower house of the Grande Chartreuse after its destruction by fire, and the charterhouse of Sheen, which lay within his own diocese, probably had his especial favour. In the first letter, sent because the writer was deprived of the long desired presence of the cardinal through his proposed removal to Winchester, the monk congratulates his penitent on a partial recovery from some sickness, and then exhorts him to take care of the time mercifully granted to him by God, to restore while he can any ill-gotten gains obtained under whatever title, and to win the prayers of his servants and the poor of his diocese by just distributions. For though the bishop is a man of singular knowledge and great experience, he fears, from his character, lest his judgment should be overshadowed by his "carnal affections," and finally he urges him to acts of charity out of the riches amassed by him with much labour and zeal. The Carthusian, perhaps, was an old man, for in the second letter, having been disappointed of his hope to see the cardinal on his way either to Canterbury

¹ Roxburgh Club, 1908, *Mirror of the Blessed Lyf of Jesus Christ*, ed. by L. F. Powell, Introduction.

² For W. Mede see the preceding chapter.

or to Winchester, he expected not to see him again in this life, which a marginal note says actually happened. Beaufort's accumulation of wealth evidently troubled him. Perhaps it suggested, or possibly he knew of, some dishonesty in his dealings; again he exhorted him to restore anything won by an unjust title, and to be very careful as to obligatory debts. He was much afraid in the cardinal's case about those belonging to the execution of testaments, and he warned him by the tale of one who was carried off to hell by demons, because he had retained a horse which was bequeathed to him on a battlefield in trust to be sold for the poor. He admonished him also lest an almshouse instituted by him should be, in the sight of God, a house of rapine, for he had heard that the bishop's officials there received gifts and sought rewards, so that in time it might become not a house of mercy but a hospice of iniquity and venality. The third letter sent on by the monk, couched in very florid language, was to request the cardinal's favour for the writer's kinsman, a master of arts and priest and zealous preacher.¹

Oswald, an English Carthusian, is said to have written *Meditationes solitariae* and *De remediis tentationum*. If he was living in 1450, he was not the same person as Oswald (de Corda, or de Cordis), the first prior of the Scotch charterhouse with whom Tanner² confuses him, for this latter is known to have died in 1434.

The Rochus (cl. 1470), a Londoner by birth, who after studying at Paris became a Carthusian and prior of some house of his Order,³ is doubtless Richard Roche, Prior of the London charterhouse at the end of the fifteenth century. To him are ascribed a book of Dialogues, a book of Latin Epigrams, a book of letters to various persons, and some poems or hymns (*carmina*).

John Percivall, sometime prior of the Parisian charterhouse, author of *Epistle to Solitaries*, and of a work called *Compendium Divini Amoris*, which was printed in Paris in 1530, is claimed by Anthony à Wood⁴ as an alumnus of Oxford. He gives as his authority the *Bibliotheca Cartusienensis*

¹ The letters are contained in Bodley MS. 117, f. 14^v seq. The almshouse was probably the Hospital of St. Cross at Winchester, which the cardinal refounded.

² *Bibliotheca*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Athenæ Oxoniensis* (ed. Bliss), i., 6.

of Theodorus Petreus (1609). But Petreus does not even say that the Joannes Percevalensis mentioned by him was an Englishman.

Thomas Spenser, son of Leonard Spenser of Norwich, was professed first in the House of the Salutation, London, and later at Hinton charterhouse, "whence for a time he receded to Oxford (as several of his Order did) to improve himself or to pass a course in theology," according to a statement of Anthony à Wood,¹ which, in the absence of any reliable Carthusian authority quoted, may well be queried, considering that all the study of a Carthusian monk had to be within his cell, only the prior or procurator of his house being allowed for business without the precincts. This monk is said to have written at Hinton a *Commentary on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians*, and a *Triologue between Thomas Bilney, Hugh Latimer, and William Repps*, evidently a disputation on the ecclesiastical and religious questions of the day. He died vicar of Hinton charterhouse, on 31st July, 1529.²

John Batmanson, possibly to be identified with Dr. John Batmanson, a member of the commission sent to Scotland in 1509,³ and of a commission of Oyer and Terminer for certain cases of piracy in 1514,⁴ must have entered the Carthusian Order before the republication at Basle in March, 1519, of the New Testament and annotations of Erasmus. Probably his first profession was made in the House of the Salutation, for Erasmus, writing in May next year to Fox, Bishop of Winchester, about the controversy stirred up by Edward Lee (afterwards Archbishop of York) against his work, complained that Lee "has suborned a Carthusian of London, John Batmanson by name, I think a young man as appears by his writings, altogether ignorant but vain-glorious to madness"—that is, he had persuaded Batmanson to write against the work of Erasmus. Later, this Carthusian was engaged in refuting the errors of Martin Luther in a book which was published long afterwards at Paris in 1538. Possibly about this time he was transferred to Hinton charterhouse, of which he was made prior in 1523, and assistant Visitor to the English province. In 1529 he

¹ *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, i., 54.

² Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides*, ii., 575.

³ *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. i., Nos. 467, 488, 548, 714.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pt. i., No. 235.

was transferred to the priorate of the London charterhouse, in which office he died three years later. Whether at Hinton or London he wrote also the treatises or books on the Song of Songs, the Proverbs of Solomon, on the words of the Gospel "Missus est Angelus," on the Identity of the Magdalen in the Gospels, on the Child Jesus amidst the Doctors at Jerusalem, and on Contempt of the World.¹ That he also drew up some instructions for novices is likely enough, but they are not contained in Cotton MS. Nero A. iii., f. 139 *seq.*, as sometimes stated, for the handwriting of these folios is of a period long before his life-time.²

Maurice Chauncy, a monk of the London charterhouse, wrote a history of the last years of his community. An account of this work and of his other alleged writings is given here, because he is a chief authority for the matter of the third part of this book; but personal details concerning him will be found in the ensuing record of the Carthusian tragedy under the Tudor sovereigns.

It has been thought generally that Chauncy wrote his account of the sufferings of the Carthusians under Henry VIII. after flight to Bruges upon the suppression of the monasteries; but in a later version, or recension of it, he himself intimates that a few years had elapsed before he fled the kingdom. For he describes how, after the expulsion of the inmates of the London charterhouse, and the subsequent setting up of "the Babylonish kingdom," he and others like-minded used to lament the events passing before their eyes—the ejection of the religious, the destruction of monasteries and monasticism in England, the dissipation of "God's heritage" by those that divided the spoil, the trampling of the Church under foot, and the assault on the orthodox faith.³ Quite clearly he alludes to the ecclesiastical changes from 1539 to 1545, if not to the inauguration of others under the Protector Somerset. It is a fair inference from the Privy Council Act⁴ of the 9th June, 1547, consequent on the escape of certain Carthusians to Flanders, that Father Chauncy and Brother Hugh Taylor, his companion, did not arrive at Bruges before

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, and the authorities there given.

² Dom Lawrence Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 74.

³ *Passio* of 1570, ff. 60-61.

⁴ See pt. iii., chap. vii., of this book

the end of 1546 or beginning of 1547. His hosts at the Chartreuse of Val de Grace there, hearing of the terrible happenings from the lips of the refugees, naturally desired a record of the steadfastness of the martyrs of their Order written by an eye-witness. "Terror of princes" no longer restrained Chauncy; he and his fellow fugitives had reached secure asylums. Moreover all the chief agents of the persecution of the monks (as he remarks with a little savour of natural satisfaction) had ended their lives by an evil death, even the first woman who had dared to enter the bounds of their house having died miserably five days after her temerity.¹ Therefore he felt that he might yield to the request of the Flemish prior (Peter Ruge van Hoorne) and his convent.²

Since Maurice Chauncy states that so far he had been afraid to divulge the events of the English province, the account which he wrote for the community of Val de Grace may be accepted as the first relation by him of the sufferings of the London Carthusians. Of this there exist two manuscripts. The most complete is Codex 9366b in the former Imperial Library at Vienna. The author begins with a short prologue addressed to the fathers and brethren of the Bruges monastery. In this he says that being urged thereto by Prior Ruge van Hoorne, he proposes to relate particularly those things which had befallen in the house of his profession in London, which he had seen himself, or knew to have been truthfully reported to him by his fellow-monks. At the end of the ensuing narrative is the statement as to the death of the chief persecutors, among whom are reckoned the two secular men appointed governors (*rectores*) of the charterhouse under Cromwell, who both died in great poverty. The death of Henry VIII. himself is not mentioned, though it may be inferred from the closing words:

"Hæc sunt, patres venerabiles, quæ ipse in provincia Anglicana acta vidi et audiui et verissima esse cognovi, quia pro majore parte omnibus interfui, quæ etiam citius, si licuisset, evulgassem, sed principum terror me hætenus a proposito refrenavit. Benedictus Deo in sæculo. Amen."

¹ *Analecta Bollandiana*, xiv., p. 283.

² Prior Peter Ruge van Hoorne was Prior of Bruges from 1544 to 1555, according to information kindly supplied from St. Hugh's charterhouse, from Le Vasseur, *Catalogus Priorum Brugensium*.

The second manuscript of this narration is in the Royal Library at The Hague (MS. O. 81); it is little more than an incomplete, perhaps abridged, copy of the foregoing. For the differences between these two manuscripts we refer the reader to the notices of them given by the Bollandists, who have printed both.¹

If we are right in concluding that Chauncy meant that King Henry was dead, the date of his first narration seems to be early in 1547. Now if he and Father John Perdon and the converse Hugh Taylor, who had fled with him from England, wished to remain at the charterhouse of Bruges, it was necessary to obtain the permission of the head of the Order; therefore at the desire of the Prior of Val de Grace he sent another account to John, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, evidently John de Valognes, who had been elected on 12th February, 1546.² Consequent on the information received from Maurice Chauncy, apparently the general chapter of 1547 authorised the prior and convent of Bruges to receive the English monks to their second profession, according to the Carthusian custom as to the transferring the subjects of one house to another.³

The first and second accounts must therefore have been composed about the same time, either towards the close of 1546, or early in the next year, directly after the death of Henry VIII.⁴ It is not unlikely that they were written

¹ See *Analeſta Bollandiana*, xiv., p. 248, and pp. 268-283; and vi., p. 36 *seq.*

² *Theatrum Chronologicum Sacri Ordinis Carthusiensis*, by Dom J. Morotius, ed. 1681, p. 30. As to John Perdon, see p. 487, note 3.

³ Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 278. Father Hendriks follows Father Doreau in stating that Chauncy made his way to Bruges shortly after the suppression of the charterhouse.

⁴ Dom V. M. Doreau, in his introduction to the beautiful reprint in 1888 of the 1550 edition of Chauncy's work, took the Prior J who is there addressed to be John Gaillard, and the latter's death being in June, 1540, compelled him to assign the date of authorship to the year 1539, and to obviate the difficulty of events being included in the narrative which certainly happened much later, he suggested that these were interpolated afterwards—presumably he meant before the publication of it in 1550. The date 1546 or 1547 does away with this difficulty. Father Doreau apparently did not know of the Vienna and Hague MSS. and a recension made by Chauncy in 1564, all printed since 1888 by the Bollandist Fathers; and we have before us now the last recension of 1570, which clearly shows that Chauncy remained in England for a few years after the dissolution of the charterhouse, while the Vienna MS. tells us that even when he got to Bruges he by no means at once, though in safety himself, set down his experiences, for "terror of princes."

simultaneously, for they have the same arrangement of matter and sequence of events; but the first is not divided into chapters, its style is somewhat simpler, the description therein of Prior Houghton's rule is less full, and some of the details about the brethren are omitted. The information sent to the Grande Chartreuse was naturally the most detailed, for Chauncy was relating to the mother house the glorious martyrdom of a daughter house; naturally he would dwell on the perfection of the observance of the London convent, naturally dilate on the virtues of the holy fathers and brethren and on the faults of the backsliders. In the first account, too, the deep note of penitence for his own lapse is missing; to the Prior of Bruges and his monks, with whom he was actually living, he had no need to express in writing his profound and lasting contrition of which they were daily witnesses. To the Grande Chartreuse he was writing for a favour in extraordinary circumstances; it behoved him to express himself humbly, and as an act of penance perhaps, to confess his sorrowful shame as best he might.

No authentic autograph manuscript, apparently, of any of Chauncy's manuscripts is known to exist. But we may be fairly certain that his fellow Carthusians, Vitus à Dulken and Guilielmus à Sittart, respectively prior and procurator of the charterhouse of St. Michael at Mainz, even if they gave it a more polished Latinity¹ than in the original, published his epistle (as he himself calls it) to the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse in the form which had his approval; for these editors gave their names, so that theirs cannot be the faulty edition of which he complained in 1570, put forth by he knew not whom.²

It will be convenient here to set down a list of the Latin editions of the narration sent to the Grande Chartreuse, and the different titles under which it was issued.

1. *Historia aliquot nostri sæculi martyrum. Moguntia. A° 1550, 4°.* (Edited by Vitus à Dulken and Guilielmus à Sittart.)
 - (a) *Tabula affixa ad sepulchrum Thomæ Mori.*
 - (b) *De Captivitate et Martyrio D. Joannis Phischeri Episcopi Roffensis propter secundas nuptias regis, et constitutionem schismaticum.*

¹ Father Van Ortro, in his note prefixed to the *Passio Minor* of 1564 (*Analec̃ta Bollandiana*, xxii., p. 52).

² Mr. Hudson's MS., f. 3.

- (c) De D. Thomæ Mori captivitate, bonorum confiscatione, et ultimo supplicio propter confessionem veritatis.
 - (d) De D. Reginaldi Theologi Martyrio, responsis et sententia mortis propter fidem ecclesiæ.
 - (e) De crudeli maculatione diversorum pro veritatis testimonio.¹
 - (f) Passio xviii. Carthusianorum in regno Angliæ. Qui pro eo quod schismati adhærere, et ab unitate ecclesiæ Catholicæ segregare volebant semet ipsos, crudeliter martyrizati sunt. (This is Chauncy's epistle to the Grande Chartreuse.)
 - (g) Verses by Sebastian Brandt and others on the Carthusian Order.
2. In the *Illustria Ecclesiæ Trophœa*, by Erasmus Vendius, Munchen, 1573, 12°, is a reprint of the above (with the epitaph of Sir Thomas More, etc.), even the error of spelling the author's name as Channey being repeated.
 3. *Historia aliquot nostri sæculi martyrum*, Burgos, 1583, 18°. (A reprint of the edition of 1550, with a preface by Theolonius, Bishop of Evora in Portugal.)
 4. *Vitæ ac Martyrii Cartusianorum aliquot, qui Londini, pro unitate Ecclesiæ adversos hæreticos strenue depugnantes, varie trucidati sunt, pia narratio, Mediolani, 1606, 12°.* (Similar to the first edition but with a new title.)²
 5. *Commentariolus de Vitæ ratione et Martyrio octodecim Cartusianorum qui in Anglia sub rege Henrico VIII. ob Ecclesiæ defensionem ac nefarii schismatis detestationem crudeliter trucidati sunt, editus primum a V.P. Mauritio Chauncæo Anglo ejusdem ordinis, Priore domus Shene, pari fide ac pietate nunc vero recenter recognitus, et paululum illustratus, meliorique stilo digestus.* (Edited by Arnoldus Havensius, Prior of the Charterhouse of Ghent, with a relation of the Martyrdom of Twelve Carthusians of Ruremunde, Cologne and Ghent, 1608.)

Havensius, in the dedicatory epistle, gives as his reason for republishing the work that it was no longer to be had at the book-sellers—"historia ista Anglorum Martyrum olim excusa, non amplius apud bibliopolas reperiatur venalis." The dedication is to Dan Robert Darbysher, the prior, and to the other fathers and brethren of Sheen (*i.e.*, Sheen Anglorum) then in exile at Mechlin. He alludes to his friendship with the English Carthu-

¹ These five little treatises have also been attributed to Maurice Chauncy, presumably because printed here with his *Passio*, but see the end of this chapter.

² Mentioned by Dom V. M. Doreau in the reprint of 1888 (see below).

sians dating back twenty-three years before, when he had been at Louvain and not yet a member of the Order. He alludes also to Darbysher's imprisonment in Newgate before he had received the Carthusian habit, and to the death of some of the Carthusians there previously.

There are two illustrations to this edition, one of the martyrdom of John Houghton and his companions, and the other of the temptations of Father William Tynbygh.

6. *Innocentia et Constantia Victrix: sive Commentariolus de Vitæ, etc.* (as above), edita primum a R. P. F. Mauricio Chauncæo Anglo ejusdem ordinis, pari fide ac pietate: nunc recensita, distincta et mendis purgata, in Cartusia Horti Angelorum, Wiceburgi, in Orientali Franconia, anno MDCVIII.

This has the same illustration of Father Tynbygh's temptation as the above, but instead of the other it has a title-page embellished at the corners with small pictures of the martyrdoms.

The text is that of Havensius, but the dedication is to the Archduke Maximilian by Dom Simon Weissner, Carthusian of Wurzburg, and is dated "Anno reparatæ salutis MDCLIX octavo kalendarum Aprilis die cœlesti ad Virginem nuncio sacro" (25th March, 1608).

7. *Historia aliquot Martyrum Anglorum*, London and Montreuil, 1888, 4°. (Edited by Dom V. M. Doreau. This is a reprint of the *Historia* published by the Carthusians of Mainz in 1550, with a biographical notice of Maurice Chauncy, and illustrations from pictorial representations of the martyrdoms.)

Of the *Passio xviii. Carthusianorum in regno Angliæ* there are in England two manuscripts:

1. In the University Library, Cambridge (MS. ff. iv., 23), formerly owned by Rev. John Moore, successively Bishop of Norwich and Ely, and stated by Tanner to be Chauncy's autograph.¹
2. In the British Museum, Lansdown MS. 1199, ff. 143 *seq.* (Merely a seventeenth-century copy of Van Dulken and Van Sittart's edition of 1550.)

In April, 1564, five years from his return to Bruges after Queen Mary's death, Maurice Chauncy made a recension

¹ *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, 1748, p. 165. This MS. contains the account of the martyrdoms of Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and Father Reynolds, as in the Mainz edition of the *Historia* of 1550, which does not support Tanner's statement, as Chauncy's authorship of these is very doubtful (see the end of this chapter).

of his *Passio XVIII. Carthusianorum*, of which a manuscript is among the Vatican archives (*Miscellanea, Armadio LXIV.*, vol. xxviii., ff. 213-39). Father Van Ortroy, who edited this manuscript for *Analecta Bollandiana* (vol. xxii., pp. 51-78), where it is printed in full, says that it is not an original, but a contemporary copy, on paper of Roman make, the water-mark being a goose enclosed in a circle, showing that it was done in Rome; the handwriting is, however, English throughout, and might well be that of one of the many English refugees to be found at that period in that city. To this recension there is a brief preface, in which Chauncy mentions having already related the sufferings of the martyrs in a letter to the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse—evidently the original of that published in his name in 1550—and adds that because of its prolixity it was not pleasing to everyone, therefore he has rewritten it in fewer words. He begins with an account of events leading to the Act of Supremacy, the king's infatuation for Anne Boleyn, the rise of ministers of low birth and little education, ignorant of politics and of arms, and the divorce of Katharine of Aragon. Then he narrates, in the same sequence, generally, as in the greater *Passio*, the history of the martyrdoms and the surrender of the weaker members of his community. He omits entirely the details of life in the charterhouse and about Dom Tynbygh and the other monks under the rule of Prior John Houghton, gives little information as to the latter previous to the crisis of his refusal to take the oath of supremacy, and leaves out the stories of miracles and visions, but retains the incident of Houghton's dream in the Tower, and in enumerating the omens before the commencement of calamities, he adds a tale of crows pecking at that holy man's garments when hung out to dry, also related more fully in Mr. Hudson's MS. (f. 15), and he retains in its due place the experience of all the community at the Mass of the Holy Ghost. The final chapter of the greater *Passio*, *De Revelationibus quibus Dominus sanctos martyros suos post mortem glorificavit*, is wholly missing. On the other hand, he relates briefly how under Mary Tudor he returned to England and gathered some of the scattered Carthusians, and with the help of the queen and Sir Robert Rochester re-established a charterhouse at Sheen, until the accession of Elizabeth, after which he and others went again to Bruges. There, when he wrote this recension,

they had been five years "hoping for better times." He ends trusting to return to England; on the occasion of his last return he had been warned by some of the Carthusian fathers that it was too soon to expect to re-establish religion here; nevertheless he thought that within a short while they would be recalled, thereafter never to be expelled. Then follows the date of authorship:

Scripta sunt ista per me Mauriciū Chauncæum Anglum Carthusianum, primo professum in Carthusia juxta Londinum in Anglia, modo exulantem in Carthusia Brugensi in Flandria, mense Aprilis anno Domini 1564. Ad laudem Dei omnipotentis, cui est infinita laus, honor et gloria in sæcula. Amen.

The fact that this manuscript is along with petitions addressed to Cardinal Moroni, the protector of the Catholics of the Netherlands, points to the probability that it was copied and (by Chauncy's desire) sent to him in order to interest him in the English Carthusians at Bruges, and perhaps to gain monetary help for them through influence from the Vatican. The narrative is as concise as the author's detail-loving reverence for the martyrs and for his old community would allow; the language is simple and the whole relation succinct and suitable for such a purpose.

Whether or not Chauncy originally intended the recension of 1564 for a wider public than the papal authorities, probably he finally came to the conclusion that it was somewhat too bald a narration for the general reader. Hence, in 1570, when prior of the English charterhouse of Sheen Anglorum in Bruges, he composed another version of the *Passio*, which was most certainly meant for the edification of the pious, and doubtless also, considering the lavish panegyric of Sir Robert Rochester for his beneficence, for an appeal to the generosity of good Catholics on the Continent.

The version of 1570 follows the lines of the recension of 1564 in its omissions, and in giving information as to the renovation of the charterhouse at Sheen under Queen Mary; and, like it, is not divided into chapters. But its style is quite different, the language is far more verbose, being often interspersed with allusions to Scripture, and long speeches, in some cases imaginary, are put into the mouth of Cromwell; and occasionally there is a difference

in the details, and sometimes a greater correctness,¹ and towards the end events are not always recorded in the same order. In a passage of lamentation after the dissolution of the charterhouse, not in the Vatican manuscript, is an indication only to be found here as to how long Chauncy remained in England before his first flight to Bruges. Moreover the marginal notes of this version give a few autobiographical touches missing in the other narrations, such as the identification of himself as one of the four monks who were dragged to the bishop's sermon at St. Paul's Cross. It is more than a mere enlargement of the recension of 1564. It is rather a new narration of the sufferings of the London Carthusians, or a last recension intended for publication instead of the more prolix early edition. The most notable difference between this and the first recension is that after the preface the author enters on a much lengthier peroration about the circumstances of the divorce and the second marriage of Henry VIII., and lays the blame of all the unhappy concatenation of consequent events on Anne Boleyn and the too subservient ministers, and less on the king himself. Moreover all matters of public history are explained everywhere in greater detail; for example, an abstract is given of the Act of Supremacy. As to the story of the first three Carthusian victims, there is reported here an examination of Houghton, Lawrence, and Webster, before the Council, wholly omitted in the Vatican manuscript, and necessarily so; for in the last-named narration Chauncy, perhaps through inadvertence, represents Cromwell as sending them to the Tower on the second day after they had first gone to him about the Act of Supremacy, whereas in the recension of 1570 he states that it was on the third day that they were ordered to prison; this allows time for the examination on the second day. His tone throughout this last recension is far more bitter against the powers that were than in that of six years earlier, and he is less hopeful of a quick return to England. The closing appeal to the reader for prayers for his country and for himself and the brethren exiled with him is like a cry of pain from

¹ The *Passio Minor* (Vatican MS.), for instance, states that four of the monks were taken to the cathedral church of the Trinity, London, to hear the bishop's sermon. Mr. Hudson's MS. gives the name of the cathedral as St. Paul's, and has a few explanatory words as to "Paul's Cross," for the benefit of foreigners, doubtless.

this man who had suffered so much, who for so long had hoped against hope, and on whom old age was coming without his seeing any near prospect of the fulfilment of the desire of his heart.

Of this latest version or recension there is a copy, formerly Phillipps MS. 743, once owned by Dr. Leander Van Ess, whose stamp is on the fly-leaf, and now in the possession of the Rev. C. H. Bickerton Hudson. It is in a German or Dutch handwriting of the period, with signatures marked at foot of the pages by the same contemporary hand. The paper has the water-mark of a large capital F in a circle. Its vellum cover consists of a leaf from a fourteenth-century missal, giving part of the mass for All Souls, with notation for the introit, gradual, and offertory. The title-page was evidently supplied by the scribe; indeed the whole manuscript has the appearance of being prepared for printing. The title over the narration itself, and presumably given to it by the author is:

*Passio et Martyrii Sanctorum Patrum Carthusiensium
Anglorum brevis et fidelis enarratio.*

As to other literary compositions of Maurice Chauncy, he is said to have written the dedicatory epistle addressed to Dom Bernard de Carasse, Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, for the edition of Peter Sutor's *De Vita Cartusiana*, published at Louvain by John Foulmer, an Englishman, in 1572.¹

He certainly did not write, as his collateral descendant Sir Henry Chauncy states, *The Divine Cloud of Unknowing* and the *Epistle of Private Council*, two well-known mystical treatises of a much earlier period, though he may have transcribed them in the London charterhouse.²

Some of his Order are inclined to claim for him the four small tracts printed by his Carthusian editors with his *Passio XVIII. Carthusianorum* in 1550—viz., the *De Captivitate et Martyrio D. Jo. Fischer Episcopi Roffensis*, *De D. Thomæ Mori Captivitate*, *De Reginaldi Theologi Martyrio*, and *De Crudeli Maclatione Diversorum*. His authorship is more than doubtful. They are not in his style. Further, the articles on Fisher and More and a small part of that on Reynolds are taken (here and there even word for word, or with slight verbal alteration) from an account professedly written at

¹ Theodorus Petreus, *Bibliotheca Carthusiana*, Cologne, 1609, p. 245.

² See pt. iii., chap. i.

Paris on the 23rd of July, 1535, and drawn from a news-letter passed about that city, composed apparently by an eye-witness. This account was published at Basle in 1535, and at Antwerp in 1536 as a letter of "P.M. to Caspar Agrippa," and again it appeared with the *Mori Lucubrationes* published at Basle in 1563 as a letter of Guilielmus Covrinus Nucrinus [Erasmus (?)] to Philip Montanus. The two alleged Chauncy tracts on the executions and imprisonments of Fisher and More consist of copies, somewhat abridged, of select passages of this lengthy epistle with a few introductory words in each case. The articles on Reynolds and his companions are, however, mostly from another source. It seems not unlikely that Fathers Van Dulken and Van Sittart, the Carthusian editors of 1550, simply used the letter of 1535 for the articles on Bishop Fisher and More, and took the rest from the same authority, without making any acknowledgment, though, as to the examination of Reynolds and the Carthusians before the Council, that they may have had from Chauncy or any other English refugee, though if from Chauncy, it is surprising that he has not used the information in the text of any version of his *Passio*.¹ That the articles were not the editors' own composition is clear from their own words in their preface, where they speak of their publication concerning "these martyrs of our century and Order described alike with piety and industry."²

¹ But as to the *De crudeli mactatione*, see my note (pt. iii., chap. ii.), tracing it through *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, calendar viii., No. 661, to the same source as a paper in the Vatican archives.

² See *Historia Aliquot Martyrum* in the reprint of 1888, p. xxvi., of Father Doreau's prefatory matter, footnote 2.

CHAPTER XI

THE QUADRIPARTITE EXERCISE OF THE CELL

THE *Quadripartite Exercise of the Cell* is clearly stated by a contemporary fellow-monk of Witham charterhouse to have been written by Adam de Dryburgh while a member of that community, and considering his intimacy with him he could scarcely have been mistaken. The Jesuit editor, Father P. F. Chifflet, attributed this treatise to Guigo II., the aged Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, who had resigned upon losing St. Hugh as his procurator, and who died in 1188; his grounds for so doing need not be repeated here, especially as he was willing to accept "new light" on the question.¹ This new light is shed by the Witham Chronicle. Moreover W. Mede of the Sheen charterhouse in a note about Adam² also includes the treatise among his works written at Witham. This shows the received English Carthusian tradition with regard to it. The very title seems to claim Master Adam for its author by its similarity to others of his acknowledged writings, such as the *Tripartite Tabernacle* and *The Threefold Kind of Contemplation*, composed for the canons of the Premonstrant Order. The work is dedicated to "B. prior of Christ's poor men, who dwelling at Wittheam profess the Carthusian Order." There is no reason to doubt that the initial stands for Bovo, the second Prior of Witham after Hugh's departure to the see of Lincoln. The writer calls him his "father" and "prelate," and speaks of himself as the prior's "son" and "subject"; between Adam de Dryburgh and Bovo there was certainly such relationship in the monastic sense. The decided tone of some passages relating to Carthusian government may be explained by his writing under the authority of his prior, and, so to speak, as his mouthpiece, for the guidance of the present and future members of

¹ See his preface to the treatise in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 787-790.

² Cotton MS. Vespasian D. ix., f. 167^v.

Witham charterhouse. The prior was to act apparently as his editor, even in the choice of the title, which he proposed should be "of the Quadripartite Office of the Cell," unless to his "fatherhood" it should seem good otherwise. Though his superior had enjoined on him the task of setting forth the exercises most potent for aiding the professed Carthusian to keep his cell and to remain a solitary, he owns that, as he knows honey to be sweet by hearsay, so he has experienced nothing or very little of the sweetness of the cell; he apologises for teaching what he has not learnt, and for handing on a tradition which he has not received, on the score of obedience to the bidding of the prior. All this if taken as written at the beginning of his Carthusian career is quite consonant with the authorship of Master Adam, but not at all with that of Guigo II., who could only have composed it shortly before his death after many years' experience of Carthusian existence.¹

In the dedicatory prologue the author explains that his choice of the title is derived from the four religious exercises of sacred reading, "purified" (*deficata*) meditation, pure prayer, and useful activity. The treatise is divided into thirty-six chapters. The first four deal with certain points in the cœnobitic side of Carthusian life. These are the cheerful devotion of the priors in attending, in spite of difficulties, the yearly general chapter in the "Carthusian desert" (the Grande Chartreuse), and the results of that devotion—namely, a prompt and humble obedience to the ancient institutions of the Order, the increase of mutual fraternal love, after seeing one another with bodily instead of merely spiritual vision, and the maintenance and amendment of the Order through their common deliberations as to abolishing harmful and establishing useful things. The author expatiates on the "sublime sweetness" and the "sweet sublimity" of the Order, consisting in external practice (such as the austerity of wearing mean habits and the hair-shirt, the sparseness of diet), in the continual solitude of the cell and in perfect rejection of the world.

¹ Dom André Wilmart, O.S.B., has suggested that the treatise should be ascribed to Jancelin, Guigo II.'s successor as Prior of the Grande Chartreuse (*Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, tom. v., Janvier-Avril, 1924; *Les Écrits Spirituels des deux Guigos*). But he has not seen the fragment of the Witham Chronicle.

He shows the importance of the Carthusian brethren continuing their spiritual and holy "conversation," in which they go after Christ, through Christ the way, to arrive at the blessedness of the vision and participation of the Divine life : and he explains the spiritual significance of austerity in dress and food, viz., humility of heart and mortification of the flesh, two chains for binding the old enemy of mankind.

At the fifth chapter the author reaches his subject proper, the cell. Playing upon the Latin word *Cella*, he says it is *Cæli aula*, the hall or court of heaven, and God must be there since it is no other than the house of God and gate of heaven. Then, running through "the pleasant and fertile meadows of the Scriptures," he mentions all the biblical personages from Enoch onwards who by actual retirement (like the retreat of Noah to the ark and of Moses to keep sheep in the desert), or by a yearning like that of David in wishing for the wings of a dove, were cultivators of heaven and devoted to the quiet of the cell. Chapter ix. on the inexpediency of the inhabitant of the cell being drawn by curiosity to remain long outside it is more practical. Like Guigo I., he considers that the monk can no more live out of his cell than a fish out of water. The momentary relief from tedium to be gained by leaving it is to be weighed against the bitterness and perturbation of the return. Egress from the cell is as dangerous to the inhabitant thereof as was the going forth of Dinah, for like her he will be beguiled. A seductive voice will say to him, What is this religion, if indeed it is a religion, in which night and day you remain at home alone? Who was the authority for it? Did St. Benedict institute it, or St. Augustine? Are not the Cluniacs and Cistercians and many others religious and holy without leading such a life? Have you not useful qualities, eloquence and learning all hidden? You can be in the world yet not of it. Do not shut yourself up. It much more behoves you to save many than to save yourself alone, and so on. The monk afflicted with tedium must remain in his cell, having recourse to prayer, reading, meditation, and some useful active work. Let him remember that the Maiden Mother of God was within when Gabriel went in unto her to salute her. But to find quiet in the cell, and a fruitful quiet, there must be a thorough casting away of temporal things and of all worldly solicitude.

You Carthusians who intermeddle not with rents of churches or with parochial tithes have separation from the world. In order to preserve forever your custom of rejecting secular business and earthly possessions, Dom Guigo¹ wrote down that there were to be no possessions, no fields, no vineyards nor gardens, no churches, nor cemeteries, nor oblations nor tenths, beyond the boundaries, no burial of any dying within or without, save he were of the Order, in the cemeteries, no gold or silver ornaments in the churches save the chalice and the reed wherewith the Blood of the Lord is taken; for the less attention you give to the world and secular things, the more intent can you be on God alone. But you Carthusians, the author continues, understand all this, nor should it seem absurd to you, therefore, to speak of the sublime sweetness and sweet sublimity of your Order. Truly it is paradise, a garden of delights, full of every kind of pleasantness. But this paradise must be watered; for no one born of woman remains in the same state; he either ascends by grace, or descends by the weight of his own infirmity, and those who are not solicitous about spiritual advancement pass swiftly to grievous imperfection.

Anyone asking how is this paradise to be watered has his answer in Scripture, which says a river shall go forth from the place of pleasure (*de loco voluptatis*) to water paradise. The pleasure is spiritual, not carnal, and the place is that to which Jacob fled from Esau, and of which he said "surely the Lord is in this place." God's place is where God's voice is heard. From that place of incomprehensible pleasure, the throne of God and of the Lamb, flows a superabundant stream of eternal felicity, for the refreshment not only of those already receiving the reward, but of men here of fervent and indefatigable devotion like the Carthusians. This is the river which waters their paradise; like that which watered the paradise of Scripture, it has four heads, which are reading, meditation, prayer, and active work.

The inhabitant of the cell must beware of much talking; on the festal days when he may open his mouth to speak in the cloister, he must avoid inordinate loquacity, for if he then use his tongue out of garrulity, or for disputation

¹ *Consuetudines*, cap. xl., xli.

and contentiousness, on the other days, he will not show himself intent on study, meditation, and prayer. Foolish, false, and quarrelsome words are alien to the spiritual exercise of the cell. The father of monks, St. Benedict, in his rule forbade scurrilities, idle words, or words stirring to laughter.¹ The gossip and trifling of secular persons, continues Master Adam, are blasphemies in the mouth of religious, but especially in the mouth of a Carthusian. If the latter has put into the treasury of his heart, his reading, his meditation and prayer, and even his active work, it will profit his tongue, for studious reading teaches us to sing a new song to the Lord. It is the river Physon, which flowed round the whole land of Evilath, the gold whereof was good, true wisdom being the gold.

The second river of paradise was Guyon, which surrounded the land of Ethiopia. This river in the Carthusian paradise of the cell is meditation which may preserve the soul from the Ethiopic blackness of sin; for the holy soul intent on the purity of internal meditation, though temptation knock at the door of the mind, will not be overcome by its violence. There are eight manners of meditation, including that blessed mental state where the pure-minded man is lifted up into God, which is not simple meditation, but is worthily called "excellent contemplation."

The first manner, he says, can be worked from the solitary's acquaintance with sacred literature; sitting silent in his cell, his memory can run through the pages of the books of the Old and New Testaments, which whether historical, allegorical, or figurative, have a correct and catholic interpretation. While ruminating thus, he cannot be said to be alone, for he has, moreover, along with the Scripture, the writings of the fathers since the Incarnation, and they are for him after a sort persons. The second is a penitential kind of meditation. The inhabitant of the cell is to turn over in bitterness of spirit all his bygone days and years, his sins of thought and deed, his carnal inclinations and human frailty; then he is to consider the awfulness of the Creator, of death, and to picture to himself the general resurrection and last judgment, and the pains of those condemned to eternal fire, all in order to beget in himself such fear and sorrow as compel compunction and tears. Nevertheless, there should now be wrought in the monk a certain illu-

¹ *Regula*, cap. vi.

mination of mind, whereby he can pass to the third manner of meditation, which is to consider the sweetness of the divine clemency in the Father of Mercies who spared not His own Son for our sakes, and the love of the Son in his Passion and in His gift of His Body and Blood for our food and drink. This consideration is to do away with fear lest it degenerate to despair, and to induce a sense of love and consolation. Being consoled the cell's occupant should naturally arrive at the fourth manner of meditation, which is a compassionate regarding of sinners and a forbearing attitude towards offenders. This the author especially mentions, because all religious, whether monks living in their cloisters, or "we anchorites and hermits who dwell alone," are apt to look at matters displeasing to us without discernment or sympathy, and to find the prior, or other superior or a brother, reprehensible, really out of pride and reluctance to give up one's own will.

The fifth manner of meditation constitutes a defence against the continual temptation of the world, the flesh, and the devil; against the threefold snare is to be opposed "the perfection of the Saviour's holiness," for the enemy can pour nothing deadly into the mind, but the superabundant holiness of the Redeemer will annihilate it, provided the dweller in the cell have fully and perfectly, by pure meditation with devotion and love, perseveringly remained within himself. But there was another very especial enemy of the solitary. Cassian knew it and described it as "*accidia*."¹ St. John Climacus in his *Ladder of Perfection* states that anchorites have it for their life-long companion; "when it sees the cell of the solitary this enemy smiles, creeps nearer and nearer, and establishes its dwelling-place in the immediate neighbourhood."² Master Adam may have had both passages in his mind when he wrote thus: "There seizes thee (the inhabitant of the cell) often when alone in the cell a certain listlessness (*inertia*), a languor of spirit, weariness of heart; thou feelest within thyself a very grievous disgust, thou art a burden to thyself, and the internal sweetness on which thou wast wont to depend is now lacking. . . . The source of the tears which thou wast used to pour forth abundantly is dried up. The spiritual greenness in you has withered, and the beauty

¹ *Institutes*, book x.

² *Ladder of Perfection*, cap. xiii.

perished. Thou bearest a soul rent and lacerated, confused and torn, and hast nought wherewith to quiet it. Reading is not now to thy taste, prayer has no sweetness for thee, thou findest not the wonted showers of spiritual meditations. . . . No cheerfulness, alacrity, or spiritual joy remain in thee. To laughter, gossiping, and idleness, thou art prompt and quick, but as to silence, to doing anything useful, and to every spiritual exercise, thou art altogether slow and lazy." The remedy for all this is "to shake off the dust" and to get renewal in meditating upon the labours of the saints, after considering in the first place the works of the "Saint of saints," the Head of the elect, in the days of His Incarnation. The effect of this the sixth manner of meditation will be that the turbid and dark thoughts of the soul being put aside, and Jesus arising in the wave-tossed bark of the solitary's heart, he will experience a great calm.

The seventh manner of meditation begets in the mind amazement and wonder, for it is to consider the creation of the universe, the four elements, the manifold forms of creatures, the vastness of some, the beauty of others, and by them to learn somewhat of the invisible wisdom, by the things which are made to see the invisible things of God. The angels continually beholding the Creator do not need to do this, but the inhabitant of the cell is to be taught of Wisdom and behold Him who made them in the things which He made.

The eighth kind or manner of meditation merges into contemplation. In this the mind, sober and holy, and henceforth free from impure affection and all idle cogitation, by vision, neither spiritual nor rational, but rather intellectual, while considering blessed truths beholds Him who is Truth, and in the very light of Truth contemplates the past, present, and future, and all which Truth reveals to it. Whatsoever in this vision is comprehended by the holy soul remains for him luminous and sure. In this eighth sort of meditation the mind revolves spiritual and invisible things pertaining to man's soul, the angelic creatures and the divine nature. The author devotes four chapters to these subjects; those on the human soul and on the blessed spirits are founded on passages in the *Moralia of St. Gregory*, and with regard to man's freewill, St. Augustine is of course quoted. When he comes to the

high theme of the divine nature, after quoting and animadverting on a passage from the *Angelic Hierarchy of Dionysius*, the writer declares his inability to show what God is. Like St. Augustine, he can only show what God is not; indeed, here, though he omits to mention his indebtedness, he merely paraphrases the early part of Book X. of the *Confessions*, losing, in so doing, the moving beauty of the original. After a chapter on the Holy Trinity, in which he confessedly takes St. Augustine as guide, Master Adam returns to the humble occupant of the cell.

As the Tigris watered Eden, so the third river which waters the Carthusian's paradise is prayer, of all exercises of the cell the one in most frequent use. The five chapters on this subject, except for a few passages of symbolic interpretation of simple statements in Scripture, are practical enough. The Apostle says we know not how to pray as we ought; certainly, continues Adam, we do not pray as we ought when we consider in our heart nothing or little of what we offer with our lips, according to St. Augustine's admonition to his clerks in their rule, when praying to God in psalms or hymns. Enlarging on St. Benedict's words (*Regula*, cap. 19) as to behaviour in worship in the sight of God and the angels, and standing during the psalmody, that mind and voice may be in accord, and his other words (*Regula*, cap. 20) as to supplicating the Lord God of the universe with humility and pure devotion, for we may know ourselves to be heard, "not in much speaking, but in purity of heart and compunction of tears," the Carthusian reminds his reader that dreaminess and vague, unstable, or idle, or frivolous thoughts in prayer are displeasing to God, and not what was meant when St. Paul said "Watch and pray." The aromatic spices prepared and brought by the women to the Lord's tomb are the sweet odour of holy prayer. The golden phials of the Apocalypse (v. 8) are holy minds, adorned with purity and the love of God and one's neighbour; in these are contained the incense of acceptable prayer since it comes from pure and loving hearts. As the spices were prepared, so the prayer must be purified by the putting away of unlawful thoughts, and by being at peace with all men, especially with the brothers and fathers of the house. The writer then enters into a long lament as to the common fault of the wandering of the mind in time of prayer. He suggests the remedy of

alacrity in thinking, and ardour as well as humility in prayer.

Further, the suppliant should consider the manner in which to set about his prayer, bethinking himself that he is in the sight of God and in the presence of angels, that whether in his cell or in church with others, because he prays, the blessed spirits of the celestial court are present.¹ Also he must bring the things of his hidden life before a certain stiff chapter within him, of which reason is the president and conscience the inexorable accuser, and make himself ready to submit to the discipline of condign satisfaction. As to the Lord's precept about reconciliation with an aggrieved brother, there was a case in which Master Adam was of opinion that reconciliation need not be sought, and that was when a brother bore a grudge against another monk for his punishment following on a just information by the latter in chapter, according to Carthusian procedure; for the informant meant to do him no evil but good. St. Augustine in his rule for his clerks, tells them that they are not themselves innocent, if by keeping silent they let their brethren perish for want of correction. And even if a prelate, says Adam, in correcting his subject, has somewhat exceeded measure, he has done nothing against him, for it often happens that the more he loves, the more likely he is to use excessive correction; wherefore St. Augustine would have a superior, if he felt that he had been over-severe in correcting anyone, ask pardon not of his subject, which would be derogatory to his authority, but of God. Then, having thus purged his conscience of disquiet, to help him to strive for stability of heart in the difficult labour of sustained prayer, the suppliant must bear in mind to whom he prays, through whom he prays, for what he prays, and himself who prays: so shall he be able to pray purely. But his heart must be "very wide, inasmuch as it should be able to comprehend within itself these four things all together."

At this point in the treatise the author appears to intend not the prayer of petition, but the mystic prayer of adoration, which is scarcely distinguishable from the higher form of

¹ The presence of the angels, "the citizens of heaven," at the prayers of the monks and at their services in church was also urged by St. Bernard as an incentive to reverence and attention in prayer (Sermon vii., *On Canticles*).

meditation, called by him contemplation.¹ "Oh! how glad," he exclaims, "was the mind of St. Benedict, to whom, when during prayer he saw a holy soul borne to heaven, the whole world seemed gathered as it were together under a single ray of the sun, so that clearly he should acknowledge how narrow (*angusta*) is every creature to him by whom the Creator of the universe is beheld." Unction, a better mistress than human erudition, he tells the cell's inhabitant, "shall teach thee to think of thy God as eternity, because without end or beginning; as immensity, because without place; as immutable, because timeless; as omnipotence, as love, peace passing understanding; as everywhere essentially present, whom desiring we love, and loving desire, embracing Him as with the arms of sincere love, whose greatness we know to have no end. On Him let thy mind muse in prayer, that widened by love of Him, it may pray purely. . . . Place Him before thyself and thyself in His presence; and for the great love wherewith thou lovest Him above all things, in the ineffable sweetness, which thou feelest infused into thyself by Him, in a glad and joyous shout, rob thee of thyself, deprived of thyself cleave to Him, being fastened (*agglutinated*) to Him.² How indeed when thou prayest purely, He whom thou beseechest manifests Himself to thee, ask me not, for I am quite ignorant on these matters, and ignorant because very rarely, or never, have I had such experience."

As to Him through whom the monk prays, the Mediator, because the human nature of Christ is the golden altar on which we offer prayers to the Father, there should appear before his eyes God the Son in His humanity, as He was in all the incidents of His life as man. Intent on these things, and on the wording of his petition, standing before the Almighty, in the presence of the celestial court, he is to offer his Advocate to the Father, revolving the while in his heart what he is uttering, that mind and lips may be

¹ It was the ardent, ineffable prayer, caused by the infusion of heavenly light in the mind, akin to the mystic rapture of contemplation described by Abbot Isaac (Cassian, *Conferences*, pt. i., ix., cap. xxv.; and x., cap. xi.).

² This last sentence seems to have been suggested by St. Bernard (*On Canticles*, Sermon lxxxv.), on the marriage of the soul to the Word: "When it (the soul) is drawn on by the ineffable sweetness of the Word, and as it were stolen from itself, or rather it is rapt out of itself, to enjoy the Presence of the Word" (translation by Rev. S. J. Eales).

in accord. Many, says Master Adam, there are unable to do this, because their intelligence is small and their knowledge of letters little; yet they do not lose all the fruit of their prayers, provided that they repeat them devoutly, with good intention, and utter the words with faith, hope, and love, because what in themselves they have not is supplied out of the pity of Him whom they supplicate. Possibly the author here thought of the occasional monk not educated enough to be ordained priest, but more likely of the Carthusian lay-brothers, who when present at the services in their own church, or in that of the upper house, must often have failed to follow the exact meaning of the words of the offices. He goes on to tell the cell's occupant to ruminate not only the psalms and hymns on his own lips, but to ponder when in choir the verses of the psalms whether sung or read.

Another consideration is how the suppliant shows himself after prayer; this is merely the consideration of the effect of that devout exercise on himself, whether he is still troubled with unholy suggestions and temptations, and so on.

As the Euphrates was the fourth river which watered paradise, so manual work is the fourth river of the Carthusian's paradise. The inhabitant of the cell is told that it is very necessary to him at the appointed hours to take up some work with his hands, for it does away with ennui, provides recreation, is useful, and prevents idleness, the enemy of the soul. And the more joyful will be the return to meditation after the interval of some fruitful activity. The work depends on the prior's injunction, such as learning to write, or if he knows how, writing. This is not transient labour, but permanent work, especially fit for educated (*litteratos*) religious. The work is not to be chosen at will, but is to be done at the discretion of the prior (*presidens*), whether it be preparing books, making them up, binding, correcting, adorning, or illuminating, or giving them titles. This work is especially fit for Carthusians, for who can give himself unweariedly to reading, meditation, and prayer? Even if almost no fruit come from the work of one's hands, it is useful against idleness. Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, wrote to some nuns to be always intent on prayer, reading, or work, that the devil might never find their minds exposed to hurtful thoughts, adding that in the

Egyptian monasteries no one was received who was unwilling to work, not for necessity, but for the avoiding of idleness. St. Benedict, in his Rule (cap. 48), says that the brethren ought at certain times to be occupied in manual labour. As to the writing of books by Carthusian recluses, Adam quotes the Customs of Prior Guigo I. He alludes to the community of St. Martin (Sulp. Sev., *Vita S. Martini*, c. 7), where the only "art" was that of the scribe. Then, summing up his previous pages, he disclaims having said anything new, and hoping that his reader will know how to gather the roses from them without getting a thorn in his hand, he ends with the usual request for his prayers for himself.

Probably in what Master Adam says of meditation and prayer there is little originality. The writing of St. Bernard, that favourite author of the Carthusians, most likely, of St. Gregory, and the Conferences of Cassian¹ perhaps, were his sources. His methods of meditation, though divided into eight, have some similarity to the Threefold way, the Purgative, the Illuminative, and the Unitive, of mystic writers. For after the preparatory occupation of the mind with Holy Scripture, he lays down a penitential, or purgative course of reflection on personal sins and human frailty, on death, resurrection and judgment; this is to be followed by consideration of God's love in the Redemption and in the Sacrament of the Altar, resulting in such illumination that fear is cast out and a generous compassion for fellow-sinners and offenders is begotten. Then from meditation of created things visible and invisible, the occupant of the cell may pass in thought to the very court of heaven and behold Him who is Truth. But this last stage of meditation, "excellent contemplation" though he call it, is but a continuation of the same mental process; it only excels the preceding meditations because of the lofty themes cogitated, and because the mind, purified and freed from troublous or lesser thoughts, concentrates itself on God solely, and thus may receive a clear intuition of the Truth. It is no mystical sense of contact or union of the soul with God. The similarity to the Threefold way is accidental and due to the fact that penitence, the cleansing of mind and soul, is a necessary beginning in any approach

¹ Especially the first and second conferences of Abbot Isaac on Prayer (*Conferences of Cassian*, pt. i., Nos. ix. and x.).

to God, whether by meditation, or by contemplation, and that by the self-abasement, and by trustful self-surrender to the divine mercy, illumination is the more possible.

It has been said that Master Adam is original in that he so closely connects contemplation with meditation as to represent it really as the highest kind of meditation; and that like St. Bernard and others he recognises contemplation as vision, but that unlike St. Bernard he does not distinguish carefully between meditation (consideration) and contemplation.¹ This may be so. The Carthusian, however, had precedent if he regarded contemplation no less than meditation as a mental exercise. For St. Gregory declared that "there is in contemplation a great effort of the mind, when it raises itself up to heavenly things, when it fixes its attention on spiritual things, when it tries to pass over all that is outwardly seen, when it narrows itself that it may be enlarged."² The fact is, the author of this treatise, while defining contemplation as vision, makes a distinction in the kinds of vision. In his "excellent contemplation" (his eighth mode of meditation), the mind, rid of all sorts of impure affection, while it revolves invisible and spiritual things, "by vision, not now of the spirit, nor yet of the reason, but rather by vision of the intellect,"³ beholds very Truth among the blessed verities. The spiritual vision, though he does not call it contemplation, the manifestation of God's presence to the soul, the experience of the spirit's contact with God, the ecstasy—all this, like other mystic writers, he connects with "pure prayer," which is his name for the prayer of loving adoration, more often called contemplative prayer.

Although the *De Quadripartito Exercitio Cellæ* was written for English Carthusians, the treatise in entirety is not known to exist in any English manuscript. Two fragments have been discovered, the one in MS. 19 of Merton College, Oxford (fourteenth century), and the other in Harley MS.

¹ Dom A. Wilmart, *Les Écrits Spirituels des deux Guignes* (*Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique*, tom. v.), p. 35.

² A passage from *Homilies on Ezechiel*, quoted by Dom C. Butler in *Benedictine Monachism*, p. 83.

³ "Per visionem non jam spiritualem, sed nec rationalem, sed per visionem potius intellectualem," cap. xviii. The whole of this idea is explained by cap. xxviii.-xxix., where he carries the occupant of the cell from consideration of the blessed spirits to the consideration of God the Holy Trinity.

103 (fifteenth century). Two copies of it were used by the Jesuit editor Father Chifflet, whose edition was reprinted by Migne (*Patrologia Latina*, tom. 153, col. 799 *seq.*). These were a thirteenth-century manuscript then belonging to the Chartreuse of Parc d' Orques (in lower Maine), which has since disappeared, and another thirteenth-century manuscript belonging to the Chartreuse of Portes, which may now be No. 397 in the library of Grenoble. A fourteenth-century volume whose provenance was the Chartreuse of Mont-Dieu, now Charleville, No. 181, contains it, and No. 755 of the Stadt Bibliothek at Trèves is a fifteenth-century copy of it.¹

¹ Dom A. Wilmart, *op. cit.*, p. 29, and *La Chronique des premiers Chartreux* (*Revue Mabillon*, Mars, 1926), p. 59, No. 19. It may be added here that a very free and much abridged translation of this treatise has appeared this year (1927) under the title of *Eden's Fourfold River*. The translator, a monk of St. Hugh's charterhouse at Partridge Green, is not inclined to accept the authorship of Adam de Dryburgh, but he has not had the evidence of the Witham chronicler.

PART III

THE ENGLISH CARTHUSIANS UNDER THE
TUDORS

CHAPTER I

THE LAST YEARS OF CARTHUSIAN QUIET

THE Carthusians had been established in England a few years over three hundred when Henry Tudor secured the crown to himself on Bosworth Field. Amidst a changed and rapidly changing world, the inner life of the charterhouses was little altered since the day when St. Hugh quitted the monastery at Witham for the see of Lincoln. The Order had entrenched itself here behind strong walls of asceticism and discipline which external mutability had hitherto failed to corrode. The bruit of outside happenings of such a tempestuous nature as civil war necessarily passed through their barriers, rousing the inmates to obtain the injunction of the chapter general for prayers for the restoration of peace in this country. It is likely, too, that in times of disturbance there had been fugitives fain to seek shelter within the privileged Carthusian boundaries, besides Perkin Warbeck, who, upon breaking away from custody, fled to Sheen charterhouse. On this occasion the prior, Ralph Tracy, actively bestirred himself to get a pardon for him from the king;¹ it was effectual evidently only for the escape, for Perkin was clapped into the Tower and later hanged after plotting a second flight. This Prior Tracy was a man of high character, but in his great zeal for the Order, somehow raised grievances against himself, and, with another monk, was murdered by one of his subjects on 21st March, 1503.²

Henry VII. as official patron of the royal foundation, the charterhouse of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen, was probably gracious to that community, and possibly had a regard for Carthusians generally, though a letter written by him in their behalf to Pope Innocent VIII. is slightly

¹ Le Vasseur, quoting Polidore Vergil, *Historia Anglic.*, lib. 26 (see *Ephemerides*, i., p. 355).

² *Ephemerides*, i., p. 355. Evidently this is the murder of the Prior of Sheen in a cellar by a monk, Godwin, in March, 1502, mentioned by Manning and Bray, *Surrey*, i., p. 420. Dom Le Vasseur gives no details.

sarcastic. This letter, dated 10th February, 1489-90, was sent to the pope with the Prior of Sheen (John Ingelby, then chief Visitor of the English province); in it the king relates how "some years ago a certain Cistercian monk, a man of levity and inconstancy, after obtaining permission from his abbot, transferred himself to a monastery of the Carthusian Order; he made his solemn and expressed profession, remained there during seven consecutive years, and then changing his mind unexpectedly, again returned to his former Cistercian place. This he did at a hint from his first abbot, who asserted that the Order of Cîteaux was so privileged that its professed brethren could not canonically pass to any other Order whatever it might be, not even to one more strict in rule." Out of the incident a dispute had arisen between the Cistercians and Carthusians, the latter declaring that though the pope had permitted this individual to return to the Cistercians, his action was contrary to the privileges granted to them, the Carthusians, by the supreme pontiffs, and confirmed by Innocent VIII. himself, which forbade the secession of any professed Carthusian without a leaden bull and special privilege. The king begged Innocent to settle the matter, lest other former Cistercians, now following the Carthusian rule, at the importunities of their one-time abbots, should "return from fish to flesh, from hair-cloth to broad-cloth, from solitude to society."¹

Henry VII. might smile at Carthusian asceticism as at something, if not capricious, at any rate supererogatory for any sort of Christian. He might scoff at the Order's anxiety, for the sake of the maintenance of discipline, to retain perpetual hold on its members. His son was to find in these very things nothing but vexation. For it was just because the English sons of St. Bruno, generation after generation, had so thoroughly imbibed and maintained, under due occasional correction from the chapters general, the spirit of the early Chartreux—their schooling of themselves into self-mastery by asceticism and discipline, their

¹ *Calendar of State Papers relating to English Affairs in the Archives of Venice*, i., p. 183. It may be noted that there was an ancient agreement between the two Orders of the year 1195 that no Carthusian might pass to the Cistercian Order, and no Cistercian transfer himself to the Carthusian Order, without having first received the consent of his prior and convent, or of his abbot and convent (*Privilegia Ordinis Carthusiensis*, ed. 1510, f. 48).

self-immolation for unworldly gain, their unconcern about transitory matters on account of their pre-occupation in their mystic quest—that the Order in this country was able to produce martyrs and confessors in the day of its trial. It is the Carthusian boast that the Order has never been reformed because never deformed; the maintenance of the old ideals among the English members of it explains the brave and heroic demeanour of many of them under the tyranny of Henry VIII. How should men seeking an ineffable union with Him who is Truth, like their fathers of old among the mountains of La Chartreuse, sully their consciences to save their lives by an untrue oath?

The first grave occasion on which Carthusians came into contact with Henry VIII. was in connection with the alleged treason of the Duke of Buckingham. Dan Nicholas Hopkyns, vicar of Hinton charterhouse, being reputed to have the gift of prophecy, was said to have been consulted by the duke, through his chaplain John Delacourt, as to future events, and at various times to have foretold the king's death without issue male of his body and the accession of Buckingham to the throne. When the duke was summoned to London on 8th April, 1521, Dan Nicholas had also to go up; after his examination he was for a while confined in the Tower. During his absence a careful search for letters or other evidence of the supposed treason was ordered at Hinton charterhouse, apparently to be conducted by the Prior Henry. The latter writing to the Lord Chamberlain¹ naturally displayed anxiety, but he seems scarcely to have doubted that the king would allow any punishment deserved by the unhappy prophet to be according to Carthusian procedure. After saying that he had charged all his brethren to conceal nothing that should turn to the king's displeasure or hurt, and that besides sending what letters were to be found, he had caused them for his own discharge and theirs "to write theyre maters with theyre owne hands and put thereto theyre namys for the true testification," "therefore," he continued, "I umbely beseche yowre noble grace to make instans and labour for us that we may have no more besynes or troble abowghte this mater, but that he may bater the fawte that is fownde cupabill and nott we that are inculpabill." In conclusion he desired the permission of the king and council

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, vol. iii., pt. i., No. 1276.

that "brother proctor" should return home (the procurator, who possibly had gone up in charge of Hopkyns being too important an officer of the charterhouse to be long absent), and that Dan Nicholas might be sent to another place of their religion there to be punished for his offences at the king's pleasure. The monk Hopkyns, according to Lord Herbert,¹ died of grief after the duke's execution, but whether in a prison of the king or of his Order he does not state. There is no record of his brethren being visited with the royal displeasure.²

At Witham, down to the very eve of the ecclesiastical changes, the monks were expecting the same favour from Henry VIII. as they had had from his ancestors. Thomas Cromwell, even, was not averse to helping them, upon application from their procurator, sent to him probably about a claim raised against this charterhouse by the Abbot of Glastonbury. The Prior of Witham, John Huse, thanked him for his solicitations in their behalf "to the Kynge's Grace, whom," he wrote, "I understand by my proctor ys thorough your favorable information ryght good and gracious vn to me and my pouer House in receyving us his pouer bedmen vn to his gracious protection, in lyke maner as hys noble progenitors hath done befor hys tyme, grantynge allso vn to us that he will defend the ryght of our foundacyon agenst all men, so that we shall not sew nor be sewed of no person or persons, but to gyve us to continuall prayar for the prosperous estat of hys grace and all hys noble progeny." The prior concluded by asking for the king's letters patent "for my lord of Glastonbury that he doo not enquiet us any mor hereafter, but to repare vn to the Kynges Grace, our gracious protector and founder."³

In 1534 Dan Richard Peers, formerly Prior of Witham for thirty years, and sometime visitor of the English Carthusian province, wrote an open letter stating the liberties which had been enjoyed by his community from the time of their founder Henry II., because, as he was informed, the charterhouse at Beauvale was now "letted to use" their liberties which were the same, and because "the

¹ *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*, p. 207.

² For a full account of Buckingham's relations with Hinton charterhouse and Nicholas Hopkyns see my *Somerset Carthusians*, pp. 279-293.

³ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, Calendar v., No. 920.

shrieve officers ther be not afferde to take straves and execute other their offices within their said boundes."¹ The old monk did not foresee how very soon the enclosed Carthusian solitudes and their liberties were to be utterly destroyed. But the scene of the bitter struggle between the English Carthusians and Henry VIII. and his ministers did not lie in the elder charterhouses of Witham and Hinton, but in the House of the Salutation of the Blessed Virgin Mary at London.

The London charterhouse had a place in the reverent esteem of many people in the first years of the sixteenth century; its church seems to have been a favourite resort, even foreign ambassadors being attracted to it. The slow modulated psalmody in the deep tones of the men unaccompanied by musical instruments or the voices of young boys, and a reverent offering of Mass, might well incite to solemn devotion, and it was commonly said, "If you wish to hear God's service devoutly celebrated, go to the charterhouse." Maurice Chauncy gives this detail of the church's popularity;² perhaps it was a reminiscence of his youth, when as a law student at Gray's Inn, light-hearted though he was, he might have been among the occasional worshippers there.

Maurice was the son of John Chauncy of Pishobury in Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire, a gentleman of means and of sedate humour, and of Elizabeth, daughter of John Profit of Barcombe, Sussex, formerly widow of a Mr. Marfield. From his mother, perhaps, Maurice drew his love of life and gaiety which neither his father's sobriety nor his studies could subdue. One Christmas Maurice and a gay companion went home to Pishobury dressed in the bright fashion of the times. Mr. John Chauncy—to quote the words of his collateral descendant Sir Henry Chauncy³—"affected with a plain habit," expressed displeasure at their apparel. Thereupon his son, piqued by his interference, went back to London, "where he fell into a contrary humour," and within a while after sought, and obtained, admittance into the London charterhouse.

With all the ardour of generous young manhood, Maurice Chauncy was soon hero-worshipping his new "father,"

¹ *Ibid.*, vii., No. 1269.

² *Historia Aliquot Martyrum* (ed. 1888), p. 69.

³ *History of the Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (ed. 1700), p. 58.

Dan John Houghton, who had been elected to the priorate of the House of the Salutation in 1531; when writing more than ten years later he saw him through the golden haze of martyrdom. It may be gathered from his picture of his saintly prior that Houghton was a thorough Carthusian, and ruled his community accordingly. So perfect was the discipline under him, and the "conversation" of his monks, according to Chauncy, that neither he, nor the seniors who had been there longer than he, ever heard a word of upbraiding, although he reckoned the convent to consist of thirty monks and eighteen converses. But not all the community were deemed by him to be numbered of the convent. Of these recalcitrant brothers we shall speak later.

His other superiors were Dan Hugh Middlemore, the procurator, and Dan William Exmewe, the vicar. The latter, formerly of Christ's College, Cambridge,¹ was a man of high intelligence, and an expert in Greek and Latin, who had been chosen for this post in the charterhouse at the early age of twenty-eight. Afterwards he and Father Middlemore exchanged offices much to his regret, because his duty as procurator, entailing the offering of an early mass for the lay-brothers, necessitated his retiring to rest before the conclusion of the second night office, and he used to feel on leaving the church like an outcast from God, unworthy to utter His praises in the company of his brethren, and feared that as he had been elected to the office of Judas, like Judas he might be damned in the end.² Did he remember that quaint dread of his when he stood awaiting his turn for execution on Tyburn with his fellow-martyrs?

Under Father Exmewe's direction, perhaps dictation, Maurice Chauncy wrote out in English two mystical works, *The Divine Cloud of Unknowing*, and *The Epistle of Private Counsel*. These manuscripts, bound in one volume, Dan Maurice may have carried away with him from the charterhouse after its dissolution, and possibly have given to some member of his family. His brother's great-great-grandson³ appears to have seen the book, for he states that at the end

¹ Arundel MS. 152, f. 151.

² *Historia Aliquot Martyrum*, p. 77.

³ Sir Henry Chauncy, who in his *History of the Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (ed. 1700), p. 58, gives this information.

of it was written: "Liber domus Salvatoris¹ beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ iuxta London Ordinis Carthusiani per M. Chauncy, quem exaravit secundum Willelmum Exmeuse." In consequence of this inscription, the actual authorship of these little treatises has been attributed to Maurice Chauncy, but there are manuscripts of them in existence more than a century before his time. It is, however, possible that the words "exaravit secundum Willelmum Exmeuse" (wrote according to William Exmeuse) mean that Father Exmewe himself composed a summary of, or a commentary on, them, which the younger monk wrote down by his direction or dictation.

The Carthusian novice was introduced at once to the full austerities of the Rule; but the novitiate, in those days, lasted only a twelvemonth. Chauncy, in the certificate of the monks of his convent who swore to the Act of Succession late in June, 1534, is stated to be professed but not a priest. Presumably, then, his novitiate had ended a few months before, perhaps towards the close of 1533. At one period of his youth he studied at Oxford. Anthony à Wood suggests that this was after he had entered the charterhouse, and that he was a student "in an ancient place of literature near to London College, alias Burnell's Inn," frequented by members of his Order and other religious.² The more natural sequence seems to be that given by Sir Henry Chauncy, who puts Oxford before Gray's Inn, in mentioning the places of his education. Unfortunately, his name does not occur in the University Register, nor in that of the admissions to Gray's Inn,³ yet the family tradition may be taken as correct, for Dan Maurice was a man about whom his relatives would be likely to treasure details. In a petition of English refugees of March 8th, 1566, now among the Vatican archives, his age is given as fifty-seven years.⁴ According to this, therefore, he was born in 1509, and not in 1513 as elsewhere⁵

¹ An evident error for "Salutationis."

² *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. of 1813, vol. i., p. 459.

³ J. Foster, *Registers of Gray's Inn*, gives the admissions from the year 1521.

⁴ See *Analecta Bollandiana*, tom. xxii., p. 53 (note).

⁵ By Dom Lawrence Hendriks in *The London Charterhouse*, p. 105. The earlier date of birth, it may be observed, is more consonant with Fr. Maurice's bitter self-reproaches, that as one of the leaders of the convent he gave way on the question of the royal supremacy. If born in 1513, he would have been rather young for such a position.

stated. Thus, if we are right in dating the termination of his novitiate, he would be about twenty-four years old on making his profession.

The young recruit, now formally, as it were, enrolled in this worthy company of English Carthusians, was to be tested in very hard warfare. Even in that same year, to which we have assigned his profession, there were indications that their world might be turned upside down before long. The evil news reached to the seclusion of their convent that the lustful king, under the cloak of a pretended zeal for the purity of his married life, had put away his wife of twenty years, and had set in her place his paramour, for such in common opinion was that unhappy lady of discord, Anne Boleyn, or "Bellona, goddess of war," as Prior Chauncy, playing upon her surname, called her long after when writing down his memories of the bitter sufferings of which she was a cause.¹ Abroad, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin had many followers, and the spirit of revolt was active; at home, the pope—nay, worse, Christian morality—was flouted by the king. The good Carthusian fathers, filled with a vague uneasiness as to the future, and not a whit in advance of their generation as to seeing signs in the skies or in unusual natural occurrences, readily took for omens of dire import the appearance of a comet² in 1533, whose brilliance even shone on their bell-tower, and of a fire-ball, and in the much less alarming incident of a swarm of flies. One presage, however, Dan Chauncy must have discovered after the event. He gives the anecdote that when Prior Houghton, in his capacity as visitor of the English province of the Order, arrived at the charterhouse of Mountgrace, in Yorkshire, he and his co-visitor handed over their clothes, travel-stained by the journey of two hundred miles from London, to be washed. While the latter were hanging to dry in the open, a flock of crows flew about filling the air with their raucous cries, and then, while sparing those of his companion, plucked at and tore the garments of the prior with their claws and beaks, prefiguring, without any doubt in the opinion of Dan Maurice, his being torn to death by the "satellites of Satan."³

¹ *Passio* of 1570 (Mr. Hudson's MS.), f. 9.

² Bonner, in writing to Cromwell on 24th July, 1533, notes the appearance of the comet (Cotton MS. Vitellius B. xxiv., 42).

³ *Passio* of 1570, f. 15.

CHAPTER II

THE LONDON CARTHUSIANS AND THE SUCCESSION AND SUPREMACY OATHS

IN the spring of 1534 Parliament passed the first Act of Succession, which commanded that the marriage with Queen Katharine should be deemed and declared according to the process before the Archbishop of Canterbury to be against the laws of Almighty God, and the "lady Katharine" to be reputed only dowager to Prince Arthur and not queen of this realm, and the marriage with Queen Anne to be taken as true and "perfect." The Act also declared the issue of Anne Boleyn to be legitimate, and entailed the crown on Henry and his heirs begotten of Anne. All the king's subjects of full age were to swear to observe the Act, and commissioners were appointed to receive their oaths.¹

When the commissioners came to the charterhouse of the Salutation at London, they called the prior and procurator before them for a private warning, on the royal authority, that all under Father Houghton, both monks and others, must give their assent to the Act. The prior answered, "It is not our vocation to mix ourselves with secular matters, still less in the king's affairs; nor ought we to be interested in what wife the king wishes to repudiate or take." This answer was of course not accepted. He was told that he must call together the whole convent, to swear on the Gospels in the presence of the commissioners that the first marriage was unlawful, and the second lawful, and according to divine law. The prior said that he could not understand how a marriage, celebrated according to ecclesiastical canons and so long held as good, could now be annulled. This angered the commissioners, and on the procurator, Humphrey Middlemore, making like objections, both were carried off to the Tower.² The Act

¹ *Documents Illustrative of Church History*, ed. Dr. H. Gee and Mr. W. J. Hardy, p. 232.

² *Passio* of 1570, f. 17.

came into force on the 1st of May; this was three days before, as we know from John Husee, who, writing to Lord Lisle on the 5th, told him that "two of the monks of the charterhouse were brought yesterday to the Tower."¹

It was probably known from the first that there would be difficulty with the Carthusians, for among Cromwell's *Remembrances* of the early part of the year are the notes, "To go to the charterhouse myself," and "To seek out the name of the prior of the charterhouse."² Henry was keen to have their assent to the Act, for he knew well enough that the mass of his people had the wit to see through his flimsy pretext of a conscience awakened after so many years to an alleged illicit marriage with his brother's wife. To the generality of his less educated subjects, the opinion of these simple Carthusians, considering their place in the common reverence, might well be weightier than that of Sir Thomas More, or even that of Bishop Fisher, or that of the universities at home and abroad; for the saints, living or departed, in those days at any rate, were, in all questions of morality and religion, nearer to the life of the ordinary man than the great personages of Church or State. It was for the sake of the added prestige to his measures that the king insisted on securing their oaths to the Act of Succession and to the subsequent Act of Supremacy. Hence between the king and the Carthusians there was a long-drawn-out battle beginning, so far as the monks of the London charterhouse were concerned, on this 4th of May and ending in the spring of 1547. It was not mercy which led Cromwell to spare the survivors after the martyrdoms of 1535 at the risk of displeasing his master, as will be told later; it was policy, and also a fear, if he did not succeed in coercing them, of losing the royal favour.

Thus at first comparatively gentle measures were used with the heads of the London community. During their confinement in the Tower men of virtue and erudition were allowed to visit them—among them, according to his own account, Edward Lee, Archbishop of York³—and by

¹ *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) of Henry VIII.*, vol. for 1534, No. 614.

² *Ibid.*, Nos. 52 and 107.

³ Strype, *Memorials*, i., p. 300 (ed. of 1822).

their representations the prior and procurator were persuaded that this was not a matter of faith, nor an occasion for laying down their lives. Therefore liberty was given to them after nearly a month's imprisonment.¹

Joyfully Maurice Chauncy and his brethren welcomed the fathers home, but their gladness was tempered with anxiety. Soon the royal commissioners would return. Archbishop Cranmer was already asking Lord Chancellor Audley² (who had been appointed with himself on the 30th March, a commissioner for these oaths),³ who was to take the oaths of the charterhouses and the other exempt religious communities. The convent met together to consider what course to pursue, but could not come to any agreement. Prior Houghton, however, urged unanimous submission this time, "saving conscience"; for a little while he hoped they might use the liberty allowed to them without offence to God. This, he saw, was but the beginning of evils, for while he and the procurator were in the Tower, he had dreamt one night that he would return there and end his days under persecution. Even while they debated, the appointed commissioners, Rowland Lee, recently promoted to the see of Coventry and Lichfield, and another clerical creature of Cromwell, Thomas Bedyll, arrived, promising peace to the compliant, and a prison to the obstinate. Twice the monks resisted—so Chauncy relates⁴—but on one of the occasions the prior and procurator (Father Middlemore), with some half-dozen of the monks and a few servants and other persons dwelling within their precincts, yielded, according to the certificate of Lee and Bedyll. The king was not satisfied; he issued other letters patent, this time, to the same bishop and to Sir Thomas Kytson, one of the sheriffs of London, who came to the charterhouse on 6th June, Kytson bringing with him a body of armed men apparently to overawe the reluctant monks. The result of this third visitation was that the rest of the community, twenty-one monks (nineteen in priest's orders, and three professed, but not priests, of which last Chauncy was one) and thirteen converses, also took the oath.

¹ *Passio* of 1570, f. 18.

² *State Papers (Domestic) of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, vii., No. 702.

³ British Museum, Add. MS. 4622, f. 297, a seventeenth-century copy of the commission to Cranmer, Sir Thomas Audley, and the Duke of Norfolk, from what original does not appear.

⁴ Chauncy's *Passio* of 1570. ff. 18-19.

By swearing to the Act of Succession, did Prior Houghton and those under him compromise their consciences? Certainly Chauncy, who was full of self-reproach after taking the oath of supremacy, confessing the salving of his conscience then in hope to save the house, suggests no such thing here, with regard either to himself or to the other members of his convent.¹ Writers of the Roman communion have been puzzled to account for the fact that Prior Houghton and his fellow-sufferers accepted this oath while Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, who died in the same cause, refused it. They argue, seemingly, that the Act of Succession involved the question of the papal supremacy. But Henry had not yet finally broken with Rome, and there is no word of the royal supremacy in this Act, or in the oath which was to maintain it. In excuse of these Carthusians, it has been supposed that because Cranmer on the 17th April had written to Cromwell suggesting that a different form of oaths should be offered to More and the Bishop of Rochester, in consideration of their scruples, something of the sort was really done in the case of the charterhouse.² There is no trace of this, and the wording of the certificate of the commissioners that they had taken "the oaths and fealties" of the monks seems to indicate that the latter had sworn according to the form generally tendered. Moreover, Chauncy clearly implies that Fathers Houghton and Middlemore, when first told that the oath was to be demanded of them, understood fully the purport of the Act—viz., the repudiation of Queen Katharine, the annulling and declaring illegal Henry's marriage with her, and the legitimisation of the marriage with Anne Boleyn. But it is quite probable that a copy of the Act was not presented to them, and so they may not have realised the full relation of the oath to it. More with his quick mind and legal training at once saw the possibility of involving his conscience in what he could not acquiesce, and desired to see the Act of Succession, which was therefore delivered to him in a printed roll;

¹ The certificate as to the swearing of the monks, and the list of those who took the oath on the two different days, are given by Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv., p. 492. Chauncy, who wrote long after the events, gives the date as the 24th May (25th in the Vatican version) in the earliest and latest versions of his *Historia*; this might be a misreading of the copyist of his manuscripts; certainly, according to the official certificate, the 6th June was the day on which he himself took the oath with the others.

² Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 125.

on comparing the form of oath with the Act which it was meant to maintain, he said, "I would not deny to swear to the succession, yet unto that oath that there was offered me, I could not swear without the jeoparding of my soul to perpetual damnation."¹ That the king and Parliament had a right to regulate the succession to the crown, Sir Thomas was ready to admit; but he foresaw that the slighting of the dispensing power of the pope in the declaration as to the legality and illegality of the two marriages was only the thin edge of the wedge of Henry's anti-papal policy. But if the monks did not see a copy of the Act, but only knew its general aim, it is quite possible that they did not perceive that in taking the oath they, in fact, rejected the papal authority on this occasion at any rate. On the bare face of it, the royal perversity in matrimonial affairs did not concern the faith, and as yet they were persuaded that this was no cause for which to die. But even so, they swore on 29th of May and 6th June, as their prior himself advised "saving conscience" (*salva conscientia*), under protest yielding to threats. They were of the same opinion as Margaret Roper, and when she told her father that she had sworn, he gave her scarcely a word of blame.²

Almost simultaneously with the receiving the oaths to the Act of Succession, commissioners were demanding declarations as to the rejection of the papal authority and the acceptance of the royal supremacy.³ The London Carthusians were visited for this matter one day in June, 1534; in a list, dated 27th June of that year, of colleges and religious houses which had subscribed to the royal supremacy, it is stated that in the London diocese nine Carthusians contumaciously refused to take the oath.⁴ Thomas Bedyll

¹ Quoted by Rev. T. E. Bridgett in his *Blessed Thomas More*, p. 353.

² Rev. T. E. Bridgett in *Blessed John Fisher*, p. 339, made the curious statement that the Carthusians at first accepted the royal supremacy, and then came forward to retract and to die for their retraction; he seems to have confused the oath to the Act of Succession with the oath concerning the supremacy. From the first time that the question of the supremacy was actually before them, John Houghton and the other martyrs never wavered. (For the form of the oath which was mentioned in the second Act of Succession, 26 Henry VIII., cap. ii., see *Documents Illustrative of Church History*, ed. by Dr. H. Gee and Mr. W. J. Hardy.)

³ See extracts from Close Rolls, 26 Henry VIII., in *Fœdera*, xiv., p. 487 seq.

⁴ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi., f. 209.

found it difficult to overcome their scruples. On the 28th August he wrote to Cromwell from Oxford :

"I am right sory to se the folysshnes and obstinacy of diuerse religious men so addist to the Bishop of Rome and his vsurped power, that they contemne all counsell, and likewise the ieopardie of thaire bodies and soules and the suppression of thaire houses, as careles men and willing to die. If it were not for the opinion whiche men had and some yet haue, in thair apparent holinesse, whiche is and was for the moost part, couert hypocrysy, it made no greate mater what became of thaim so thaire soules were saved. And as for my part, I wold that al suche obstinat persons of thaim whiche be willing to die for the avauncement of the bisshop of Rome his autorite wer ded in dede, by Goddis hande, that no man shuld run wrongfully into obloqui for thaire just punishment. For the avoiding wherof and for the charite that I owe to thair bodies and soules I haue taken some paynes to reduce thaim from thaire errors, and wol take more if I be commaunded specially to thentent that my souerane lord the kinges grace shuld not be troubled or inquietted w^t thair extreme madnes and folie. I meane this not only of the Charterhouse and chiefly at London, but also by others as by diuerse of the friry at Syon, whiche be mynded to offer thaimself in sacrifice to the greate Idole of Rome. . . .

* * * * *

"The brethern of the Charterhouse of London haue caused a frend of thairs to write a lettre to me, desiring that I wolbe meane to my lord of London to com thither againe ons affore yo^r coming to London and to com w^t him, affirming that there is good liklyhood that than they wolbe brought to good conformite according to their duety. Whiche I wolbe the more redy to accomplishe, if I may haue some commaundement so to do. And w^tout that I wolbe lothe to medle w^t thaim any more, seing I labored so much alredy in vayne to bring thaim from thair inueterat error, to the very duety of a feithful subiect to his natural prince."¹

Which of the community had thus applied to this callous-hearted priest we do not know, but it is certain that some of the brethren remained entirely against the king's measures.

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 85, ff. 143, 144 (*Calendar*, vii., No. 1090).

It might have been about this time that Cromwell received a letter from one Peter Wattes, presumably an unsatisfactory monk, who had been allowed to depart from the Order some months previously. He wrote to request Cromwell to obtain for him the king's consent to his "capacitie and discharge from the charterhouse men," which he had had granted to him by "my lordes good grace our metropolitane" properly sealed, and the necessary fees paid for it, but which when he should have "inioyde" it, he adds, he found useless without the king's licence. At the close of his letter he adds:

"Yff the men of my ordre myght get me thei wold make me to agree vn to ther s prytes or elles to enprison me so that I shold neuer see sone. Thei wer of such felyng, when I was amogest them, y^t thei juged it extreme heresie to swere vnto the maynteyning of y^e kynges gracious and helthsome actes in prejudice of the popes poere. So far forth y^t some of them sayd y^t thei wold rather runne away or to be exiled or to suffer deth as marters in y^e popes iuste querell, then for to consent or to swer to any thing inacted ayens this authoritie or pore."¹

It was not until November, 1534, that Parliament actually enacted that the king and his heirs and successors were to be "taken and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia."² There is no mention of an oath in the Act, but the attestation demanded by the king was as deadly in effect to those who refused it, as the oath attached to the Act of Succession. For in the same November session the Treason Act was passed, which defined high treason to be not only any attempt against the person of the king or queen, or the heir apparent, but the "maliciously" depriving them "of any of their dignity, title, or name of their royal estates"; it was convenient to Henry to interpret denial of his supremacy as "malicious." This Act was to be in force after the 1st of February then next coming.

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, vii., No. 577. Dr. Gairdner assigned this letter to April, 1534, but it appears rather to belong to the late summer of that year, if the ignorance of the monks (indicated by Maurice Chauncy and likely enough in their seclusion) as to Henry's proceedings be taken into account, for the passing of the Supremacy Act seems to have surprised them.

² *Documents Illustrative of Church History*, p. 243.

On receiving the details of these measures from their prior, consternation and the stupefaction of despair filled the minds of the London Carthusians at first; then breaking forth into lamentation, they cried, "Let us die in our simplicity, and heaven and earth shall be witness that we die unjustly!" "Would that it might be so," said Prior Houghton sorrowfully; for then he, their pastor, could appear with his sheep before the chief Shepherd; but he foresaw that the younger members of the convent would be dismissed, and that he and the seniors only would be taken and "judged according to their law." However, he held it best that all of them should prepare as if forthwith to die. Therefore, by his direction, three days were set apart. On the first, they all made their confessions, Dan Houghton giving to each of them permission to choose out of the community whom he would for his confessor, and to the latter, faculty to receive the confession. On the second day, being all congregated together, the prior preached to them, and at the end of his sermon, desired them to do as they saw him do. Then immediately placing himself on his knees before the senior monk,¹ who was sitting next to him, with tears in his eyes he asked pardon for anything in which he had offended him; then he went to the next, and so passed to the newest and youngest of his brethren, asking forgiveness from each in turn. After this the other monks, following his example, sought pardon of one another. On the third day was celebrated the mass of the Holy Ghost. During this solemn service, just after the prior had uttered the words of consecration, there came suddenly from heaven, Dan Chauncy relates, a gentle sound, a slight whisper of the air, a sweet breath lightly murmuring to their hearts rather than to their bodily ears. The prior heard it, and melting into tears, had to stay the service until he had composed himself; and the monks within the choir perceived the gracious sign as it passed along by them throughout the church, even to the lay-brothers at the further end of it. After the service there was a pious dispute, the good father attributing the comforting visitation to the devotion of his sons, and the monks ascribing it to the holiness of their father.²

¹ Father Doreau explains this to be the vicar and not the eldest monk, whose place is opposite to and not next to the prior. (See note on this passage in the *Historia* of 1550, ed. of 1888, p. 95.)

² The *Passio* of 1570, ff. 21-25.

Here it must be admitted that not all of Prior Houghton's sons loved him. The novitiate, though exhibiting all the harshness and sternness of the Carthusian religion, lasted then but a year, a period so short that a young man's enthusiasm might easily carry him over it without his vocation being really tested. This explains the fact that not only in the House of the Salutation, but in the other English charterhouses, there were professed monks whose spirit was by no means that of true followers of St. Bruno. Such a one was Dan Thomas Salter, who, moreover, was actually disloyal to his community, defaming his brethren to secular persons. For apostacy, he had received the usual punishment of the conventual prison, lest he should run away again; Dan Chauncy's tale of the attacks made on him by "demons" one night, and the consequent cries of the afflicted man, witnessed by the converse brother who watched him, suggests a frenzy, real or pretended.¹ For his imprisonment Salter bore his superior a grudge. Opportunities to air his grievances, and to act as tale-bearer, were afforded him by the visits of Cromwell and his agents, who would see their advantage in winning the malcontents to their side. His letter to Cromwell quoted below shows that his malicious reports were not discouraged. It may be noted that the Dan George Norton of whom he speaks is evidently Father Chauncy's brother "George" who was expelled from the Order.² Dan Salter's assertion that he became a canon may or may not be true. The letter³ is as follows:

Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperum; in die mala liberabit eum dominus.⁴

My moste gracyous and syngler good Mastyr, wythe alle due reuerence knelynge up on my knees besechynge you to

¹ *Historia Aliquot Martyrum* (ed. of 1888), p. 81.

² *Passio* of 1550 (edn. of 1888), p. 82. For this monk's case see our pt. ii., chap. vii.

³ For some time longer Salter remained in prison (*State Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, viii., No. 601). But it may be supposed that Cromwell granted his request, and obtained for him his dismissal from the charterhouse, since his name is missing in the list of those who finally subscribed to the royal supremacy. After the dissolution, however, he received a pension as a member of the convent.

⁴ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 85, ff. 115-116 (*Calendar of Letters and Papers*, vol. vii., No. 1046).

haue compassyon and pytye up on me youre moste por supplyant (whose name is by lowe wryttyn) whyche certefyinge you (that by cause y^t I gaue you true informacyon w^t suche true and onfeynynd woordys as I spake on to youre moste wurschypfulle mastershypppe and on to myn other wurschypfulle Mastyr, Mr. Beedylle, when that I was by for you in oure place the Charterhouse nexte ioynd on to the cytye of London the fryddy nexte aftyr followynge the solempne feste of Corpus Cristi laste paste) myn oncharytable prioure w^t hys brethern they be vttyrly myndyd and appoyntyd to brynge me to some myserable ende (as dyuerse men of oure order here wythe yn the realme hathe ben of late yerys) excepte that ye wyll of youre gret ryghtewysnes and mercy cause me schortly to be seen on to and holpen, as youre moste wurschypfulle M^rschyppe dyd moste frendefully promyse me y^t ye wulde so do, when that I was by fore you y^e day and tyme a boue wryttyn. And that youre gracyous M^rschyppe may be the more wyllynge to accomplysche your fore seid mooste frendefulle promyse and myn aforeseyd humle and nedefulle petycyon, I do certefy you of the truthe that my pryour do kepe me in the order more leke on to an infydele then as a crysten man. For he dothe kepe me frome the syghte and speche of alle my goode frendis and frome alle other goode crysten men, and by syde thys as longe as I am vnder y^e obedyence of hym or of any other of y^e same order, I schalle neuer be abyllle for to sey masse nor to resevue the blessyd sacramente of y^e autyr by comunyon. For I dare not nor can not make a clere and a hole confession on to non of the order for ii causys; the fyrst cause is thys. They do bere so grete grudge and malyce on to me for suche true and onfeynyndde wordis as I haue spokyn on to youre moste wurschypfulle M^rschyppe, that they wylle now interprete and take my wordis in my confessyon otherwyse and wurse then I do speke them and intende them, and up on that make false surmysys up on me. The secunde cause why y^t I dare not schewe my confessyon on to them is thys. For I haue herd w^t myn owne eerys y^t contrary on to the lawe of the hooly church they haue dyscloosyd my confessyon. For the whyche so dysclosynge, they ought to be punysschyd accordynge on to the lawe alle be it (as God to be my wyttnesse) I do not compleyne for no suche cause, intent or purpose. My moste syngler goode mastyr, it ys no meruaille y^t so gret a nowmber

of oure order be departyd and fled fled [sic] from thyr placys by yonde y^e see wythe oute any lycence or auctoryte of the poope. For it ys to presuppose y^t they were delyd w^t and orderyd as I am, y^t is to wete contrary to the rulys of my religyon, and therefore thyr owne lernynge constranyd them so to departe and flee wythe oute any grudge of conscyence for dyuerse of them y^t be so departyd and fled from thyr placys, they were the best clarckis and gretteste lernyd men that were in oure order thorowe oute alle crystendome. Moreouer moste wurschyppefulle syr of a very truthe it ys, that iii yeris ago and some what more there was a muncke in our chartyrhous here nexte joynyd on to the cytye of London whose name was callyd Dan George Norton; whyche seyde muncke by reason of solitude and beinge alone in his celle bothe day and nyghte w^t oute comforte, he fell in to suche vttyr despayre y^t he wulde a destroyede and a kyllyd hymselfe, yf there had not a ben sure watche up on hym bothe day and nyghte. Wherefore Dan John Bate-manson that then was priour of oure place (feerynge gretly the perellous clamour and voyce that wulde a com of it yf y^e seid muncke had so a myssecaryed) he releasyd and dyschargyd y^e seyde muncke frome the order and gaue hym lycence peasyblye to departe w^t alle gentylnes and goode manere, and the seyde muncke is now a chanon in y^e weste countrye and dothe very wele and prospyrythe. But thys ondyscrete priour of oure hous y^t we haue nowe (alle be it y^t I haue as gret nede to be releasyd from y^e order as y^e foreseyd muncke as wytnesse my lawefulle causys aboue wrytyn) rather then he wulde so charytably release me, he had levyr to brynge me on to some myserable ende, as a munke of oure order was but late in y^e North countrie; y^e seyde munkis name was callyd Dan Crystoffyr Huddeswelle. Whyche as an hounde, sauinge youre grett reuerence, was buryed and caste in a dungehülle not for and of hys propyr deseruyng, but more rather (as I dare and wylle a byde by it) for lacke of charyte and dyscrecyon that schulde a been in hys priour. Now my moste gracious m^r in the moste lamentabyll wyse kneelynge up on my knees besechyng you (according on to youre moste frendefulle promyse made on to me yo^r nedye and moste pore supplyante) y^t y^e wyll schortly cause me to be seen on to by some gostly and dyscrete person, by whome w^t yo^r gret fauor and lycens I purpose to schewe moche more of my sorowfulle mynde.

And thus Cryste Jesus oure moste mercyfulle sauour preserue you in grace uertue and honor. Amen.

Thys present supplicacyon wrytten the viith day of August, By me Thomas Salter munke in the Charterhous nexte joynyd on to the cytye of London, yo^r pore sypplyant and sorowfull bedeman.

(Addressed) On to the moste worschypfulle Mastyr Thomas Cromewell Secretarye on to oure moste sovereyn lorde the Kynge, thys lamentabyll supplicacyon be delyveryd withe all goode maner and wythe spede.

The following paper is not in Salter's writing, but it was probably sent to Cromwell by some discontented monk at about the same time; it contains the same incident (inexplicable without other evidence) relating to Dan Christopher Huddeswelle as the above; for the rest, it only testifies that the English Carthusians of the sixteenth century aimed at maintaining the pristine simplicity and severity of their Order :

Jhesus.
Of an holye reuelation.

In the Charterhouse of London when father Batmanson deid, even at the houre of his expiration, ther ys on of the breder whyche was sextan at that tyme, y^t had a revelation, and did se father Batmanson and the olde Prior y^t was before hym, both twan knelyng before the Trinite making intercession to the Father of heven for o^r religion; and in the same revelation, it was shoyd to the forseid sextan, that o^r cloth whiche we did ware for o^r abbatis¹ at that tyme was to fyne, and that we must were more courser cloth and vpon this o^r priors commaundid all ther subdites² to cast away o^r fyne abbatis (the whiche were surlie but of a little price) and that we sholde were abbatis *de vilissime panno*, that is to say, of blankethe cloth. And for a testimoniall of the same, ther was a little pece of blankett clothe broght to the Cherterhouse of Shene to demonstrate the same revelation, but whether the same pece of cloth was sent from heven by some angell or nat, surlie I can nat tell; but the very trouth is that the proctor of Shene (whos name was Baylie) did show the same pece of clothe to his prior and to all hys covent.

¹ Habits.

² Subjects.

Also the same sextan had in his holie revelation that we must eet o^r meet nat in puder¹ platers, but in treen² dishes, what other thynges he hadde in his revelation, surlie I can nat tell, sayyng oonlie that we must nat hau iii abbat³ in store, but oonlie twan.

Monte
Grace

At Monte grace ther is a brother that hath revelationys, but what is revelations be, surlie I can nat tell, but a great name goith vpon hym through oute o^r religion in this realme. I pray God that his revelations may proue better than the maidis of Kent. His name as I here say is Flecher.

At Monte Grace, on of the monkis was beried in a donge hell. For what cause surlie I can nat tell, but how so ever it be, the Prior and his couant wyll defende the cause as muche as they may, but I thynke verely in my conscience, seyng that the churche and churche yerde is ordenid for the bodies of Christian people to be beried therin, that it is nat lawfull for them to berie ther brother in a donge hell for brekeng of a poore seremony, or yete that any of ther traditions and statutes sholde cause any suche a filthy acte to be done.

Lamentable annotations takyn forthe of o^r rule.

Fyrst Christ commandith vs to preche his worde vnto every creature. O^r Rule commandith vs that we shall nat preche but among o^r selves and what is that but onlie to deney Christ. For he that deneith his worde, must nedith of a consequence deney him, wherfor I can nat se but o^r Religion is made oonlie to deney God, seyng that we professe nat to preache hys worde.

The Lorde commandide his disciples when he sende them forth to preache hys worde, that they sholde take for ther refectiō suche meetes and suche drynkes as wer sett before them, makyng nether exception of meate dryng or day [sic].

O^r statutis commandith that we shuld never eet fleshe bott evermore fysche, ye⁴ yf we chause to be seke and lyke to dye, and the fesytiō say that fleshe wyll saue o^r lyues, yet we shall nat haue it; thus I can natt se but we haue professyd to be men-kyllers. As in exemple nat long agoo

¹ Pewter.

² Wooden.

³ Three habits.

⁴ Yea.

ther was a brother seke in the Charterhouse of Shene woos name was Dan Richard Hasket. The fesion was send for, and he said thus, "Yf j may haue thys brother at my dyet, j wyll vndertake to saue hys lyffe." And shortlie answer was made that he myght nat goo forth of the house nor yet eet fleshe, and so the god brother was cast away for lacke of comforth.

The Lorde commaundith vs to visett the seke person. O^r statutes commaundith vs to kepe o^r selles and nat to goo a brood.

The Lord commandith to helpe the poure wake and nedie.

O^r Rule sayth yf we gyff w^t oute or aboue v.d.ob.q^a.¹ in almes we shalbe accusid w^t the generall sentence vpon Palme sonday.

Yf we speke any thyng agaynst the priors mynde shortlie we shalbe thretened to prison. And yf we cum ther, as yvell intretid as theues in Nugat.²

The Mountgrace monk, it may be observed, had probably been guilty of the monastic crime of proprietorship, perhaps of actual theft, and so, according to Carthusian custom, his body was not allowed to be buried in their cemetery, but was cast outside the monastery. But the story may have been a mere piece of scandal.

While the monks were piously awaiting events, at some date in the spring of 1535, two other Carthusian priors came up to the London charterhouse on the business of their monasteries. These were Dan Augustine Webster, Prior of the House of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Epworth in the Isle of Axholme, formerly a professed monk of Sheen, and Dan Robert Lawrence, Prior of Beauvale, formerly a professed monk of the London charterhouse. Prior Houghton consulted with these, his brothers, as to what steps could be taken to ward off the anticipated danger. The three guileless men in their single-heartedness, with touching simplicity, decided to go to the all-powerful vicar-general without delay. They obtained an interview, and implored his friendship. "They sought a kindly advocate, but found a severe judge," says Chauncy. Not only would he not listen to them, he very wrathfully sent

¹ 5³d

² *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 85, p. 117 (*Calendar*, vol. vii., No. 1047).

them home, bidding them stay there until he should call for them.¹

On the third day afterwards, on being summoned they came before Cromwell again; there were with him the Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley, and Doctors Tregonwell and Bedyll. To the latter, as if they knew nothing of it, Cromwell related the first visit of the priors to him and their request, and then, after mentioning that he had been seriously indisposed, turning to the three monks he asked what they intended to do in the matter. Prior Houghton, as spokesman, answered: "We cannot understand, most illustrious, by any reasoning, how we in religion or conscience (at least a right and whole conscience) can consent to this law of yours. Wherefore we beg and humbly pray that we may find mercy with you today that it may not be put before us, but rather that we may be free and exempt from it. For what have poor little monks to do with the decrees of princes, or how can your laws concern us?" At these words Cromwell angrily told them that all the king's subjects, high and low, from "top to bottom," clerical and lay, had consented; to refuse was to set themselves up as wiser and holier than the rest of the kingdom. Finally, with threats of persecution and of the destruction of their Order, unless they yielded, they were again sent home to consider until the morrow.

On the next day as bidden, the three priors returned, and repeated their request to Cromwell. A short record² exists of their examination at Cromwell's residence "called the Rolls," on the 20th April, attested by John Rhese, a public notary, giving, however, merely a bare abstract of the interrogatories and answers, to the effect that on being asked if they were "content to take the king as supreme head under Christ of the Church of England, Fathers Webster and Lawrence individually replied that they could not "consent nor believe that the king's highness is supreme head of the Church of England according to the Statute in that behalf made." The omission of Prior Houghton's name from the document looks as if he were examined

¹ From this point to the end of the chapter and of the next (except where other reference is given), the authority is the *Passio* of 1570, ff. 26-45.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Calendar*), viii., No. 565 (1). Notes of other examinations are Nos. 565 (2) and 566.

separately, which explains another relation of an interview with Cromwell and the king's almoner (Edward Foxe, later Bishop of Hereford), Dr. Latimer, and another doctor not named. To these the prior addressed the question, "Seeing that our Lord Jesus Christ gave spiritual power to His vicars by the words *And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*, and no doctor has ever asserted these words to be spoken save to St. Peter only, which power is derived from him to the other apostles, and subsequently to the pope and bishops, how could these words be so understood of the king, a layman and secular person, that he should be supreme head and primate of the Anglican Church?" "You would make the king a priest then?" interrupted Cromwell, and ordered him to be silent.¹ It is scarcely to be doubted that this last-mentioned account and the notary's paper refer to the same occasion, the "second examination" of Chauncy's narrative, which was shortened by Cromwell peremptorily sending the three priors to the Tower of London.

Thinking that a week's harsh imprisonment may have changed their spirit, Cromwell, seven days after, taking with him some members of the council, went to the Tower, and there examined the monks again. He asked them if they would renounce the authority of, and obedience to, the pope, and affirm his power to have been usurped; also, whether according to the king's meaning they would declare their belief that he, the king, was the head of the English Church, in both spiritual and temporal things; and finally, whether they would confirm all this by their oath. The venerable fathers at once announced their willingness as faithful subjects to swear so far as divine law would permit. "I admit no exceptions," said Cromwell. "I will that before this honourable assemblage, in bare and open language, plainly and simply, you affirm and approve what is put before you. Moreover, lest the heart be not consonant with the voice, I will that you testify by a solemn oath that you believe and firmly hold what

¹ *De Crudeli Maculatione Diversorum* (printed with Chauncy's *Passio* of 1550). See also *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Calendar*), viii., No. 661, from the Vatican archives, which if not the source itself, is from the same source as the *De Crudeli Maculatione Diversorum*, which so far as it goes is word for word identical, both as to the interview of Houghton alone with the council, and as to the execution of the monks, to judge by the abstract in English given in the *Calendar*.

we propose to you to profess." This time there was to be no loophole for their conscience. They answered that it was against the teaching of Mother Church. But the vicar-general cared little for their Mother Church. His one purpose was to make them take the oath. They said that they dared not despise the Church, especially as St. Augustine had said that he could not believe the very Gospel of Christ, had not the Church taught it to him. Cromwell cared nothing for the opinion of St. Augustine. Then getting nothing further from the monks he sent them back to prison.

CHAPTER III

MARTYRDOM

THE trial of the Carthusians had probably been intended even before their last examination by the council, for a special commission of Oyer and Terminer had been issued on 23rd April to Sir Thomas Audley and others, who on the 27th sent a precept to the constable of the Tower to produce before them at Westminster, on "Wednesday next after one month of Easter" (28th April) the three priors and Richard Reynolds, a learned member of the Bridgettine House of Syon near Richmond, Richard Feron, a secular priest of Teddington, who was pardoned later, and another secular, John Hall or Hale, Rector of Istelworth or Isleworth. On the next day, accordingly, Sir Edward Walsingham, lieutenant of Sir William Kingston the constable, brought the prisoners for their trial to Westminster Hall.¹ Here, says Chauncy, "princes, nobles, judges of the earth not a few," with a numerous crowd of lesser persons, awaited them.²

Of the charges against the two secular priests nothing need be said here. The indictment against the Carthusians and Dr. Reynolds in its preamble quoted the Act of Supremacy, and so much of the Treason Act of 26 Henry VIII. as was supposed to be relevant to their case—viz., the clause as to "maliciously" depriving the king or queen or heir of any of their dignity, title, or name of their royal estates—and declared that John Houghton, Austin Webster, Robert Lawrence, and Richard Reynolds, "treacherously machinating to deprive the king of his title of Supreme Head of the Church of England, did on the 26th April, 27 Henry VIII., at the Tower of London "falsely, maliciously, and traitorously," say "the king our sovereign lord is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England." Each prisoner, brought to the bar, pleaded not guilty, according

¹ *Baga de Secretis*, pouch vii., bundle 1 (Sessions for Co. Middlesex, Easter Term, 27 Henry VIII.), memb. 14.

² Cf. *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Calendar*), viii., No. 661 from the Vatican archives.

to the official documents of the trial.¹ Some notes in English by an unknown contemporary explain this apparent denial. In these it is said the Carthusians by the mouth of John Houghton confessed that they denied the king's supremacy, "but not maliciously." The jury at the trial next day (Thursday, 29th April) sympathised with the Carthusian line of defence, and could not agree to condemn the four religious, "because their consciences persuaded them they did it not maliciously." The judges insisted that whoever denied the supremacy denied it maliciously. "The jury for all this could not agree to condemn them, whereupon Cromwell, in a rage, went unto the jury and threatened them if they condemned them not, and so being overcome by his threats they found them guilty, and had great thanks, but they were afterwards ashamed to show their faces."² Thus far the anonymous notes. Chauncy tells the same tale in substance, with the detail that the jury debated the matter until so late in the evening that their verdict had to be returned on the following day, which, however, the official record does not bear out, for according to it the actual trial lasted but one day. The story of the threats found in two separate accounts need not be discredited. John Husee wrote to Lord Lisle on 27th April, that "Mr. Secretary has had much ado with the judges and serjeants about certain of the charterhouse, which I think are like to die this week for treason."³ If the secretary had had trouble with the judges and lawyers in procuring the sentence which he desired, he was likely enough to have been highly agitated at any possibility of such a verdict being returned as should hinder that sentence. The precept of the justices for the return of the panel was dated on 24th April; the jury therefore would certainly have been nominated by the Wednesday, the day of the indictment, and knowing what was expected of them may well have debated the subject among themselves before the trial and have severally or together been scared by Cromwell's threats.⁴

¹ In the Public Record Office, *Baga de Secretis*, pouch vii., bundle 1.

² Arundel MS. 152 (collections relating to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More), f. 308.

³ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (Calendar), viii., No. 606.

⁴ Mr. Froude in his *History of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, being anxious to disprove the story of Cromwell's threats, takes no notice of the date of the precept for the panel, stating that "it appears clearly that the jury were not returned until 29th April."

The verdict being against them, the four monks were sentenced to the horrible and barbarous death awarded to those found guilty of high treason. The appeal made by one of the Carthusians to a judge present has been preserved in a deposition of Richard Wilson, servant of Bishop Fisher. "My lord," it runs, "you should not adjudge me to death this day, for if you should, you should first condemn yourself and all your predecessors, which were no simple sheep in this flock, but great bell-wethers; and my lord, if you would in detestation of this opinion dig up the bones of all our predecessors and burn them, yet should that not turn me from this faith."¹

After the trial the five condemned men (Feron was pardoned) were brought back to the Tower for a few days before their execution. The venerable Bishop of Rochester was himself in prison there; he took a warm interest in their fate. On one occasion when the council was examining the monks he said in his servant's hearing, "I pray God that no vanity subvert them."² He need not have feared for these "strong athletes of Christ," as Dan Maurice Chauncy called them.

Of the condemned monks, according to Cranmer, Austin Webster had been inclined to reject papal supremacy; probably conference with the provincial, Prior Houghton, had opened his eyes as to what this meant, and he was firm enough now against the royal claims. But the archbishop still hoped to bring him and the Brigittine Dr. Reynolds to the king's side. On 30th April he wrote to Cromwell from Otford: "Whereas the Prior of Axholme, named Webster, and Master Raynold of Sion are attainted of high treason for offending against the late statute made for suppressing the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, I marvel at both, as they are learned men, and Webster promised he would never support that opinion. If there is no other offence alleged against them, it will much more tend to the conversion of others to convert their consciences by sincere doctrine, and so for them to publish it, than for them to suffer the penalty of the law. If they were sent to me, I suppose I could do much in their behalf."³ This attempt of the archbishop to beg off the two men was in vain.

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 93, f. 56.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, viii., No. 616.

On Tuesday, 4th May, the three Carthusian priors and Dr. Reynolds, and John Hale, the Rector of Isleworth, were brought to one of the gates of the Tower, where there awaited them three wattled hurdles fastened to horses; one of them singly, the others two and two, they were bound to the hurdles, and so drawn through the dirt and slush of the London streets to Tyburn Hill about three miles away.

Prior John Houghton, in his bedraggled white Carthusian habit, was the first to be released from a hurdle. When the hangman knelt as customarily, to ask his forgiveness, he embraced and kissed him, moving some of the many spectators to tears. Then, on being bidden, the prior got into the cart placed under the gallows. At this point one of the council by the king's orders came forward and offered him his life and the royal pardon, if even now he would accept the Supremacy Act. But "Christ's knight" would not surrender his conscience. The instruments of a cruel and shameful death were before him, but it was not he who felt baffled and defeated, as after his refusal, he turned to the people and said: "I call heaven and earth to witness, and the Lord of heaven and earth, and I beseech all of you, beloved, that on the day of judgment you will testify with me that this my disobedience (if it deserve to be so called) in refusing to consent to the law of your king, does not proceed from any malice, obstinacy, or zeal for rebellion, but only from fear lest I offend the glorious majesty of the highest King, God the eternal Judge." The Catholic Church, he continued, taught far otherwise than that for which his approval was demanded; we must obey God and His Church rather than the king. "Therefore, most beloved," he declared, "before you all, I am ready to bear these and whatever torments they wish, or can inflict on me, rather than withdraw from the teaching of God and Holy Church." Then having asked the executioner time for prayer, he recited the thirtieth Psalm,¹ *In te domine speravi*, to the verse *in manus tua*, which ended, at a sign from himself the cart was withdrawn. Before suffocation was complete, as the sentence directed, the rope attaching him to the gallows was cut, and the victim fell to the ground. Then dragged on one side he was stripped of his clothes save his hair-shirt, and laid on the bare ground

¹ 31st Psalm in the Authorised Version.

(*in gelida terra*) preparatory for the butchery. The hair-shirt, which the executioner was not allowed to remove,¹ increased the ensuing suffering, as his blade could not penetrate it sufficiently without many blows; when the wound was big enough he drew out the entrails and threw them into a fire burning at hand for the purpose. Even when his heart was about to be torn out also, Houghton was living, crying in his agony, "Most gracious Lord Jesu, have mercy on me in this hour!" Then as the executioner actually grasped it, he exclaimed, "O good Jesu! What art thou doing to my heart?"² Chauncy adds that the heart was still beating when it was torn out, and indeed palpitating so violently that the executioner could hardly hold it when lifting it up to show the nobles and members of the council present. The head and four members were then cut off.

Thus on the 4th May, 1535, in the fifth year of his priorate, and the forty-eighth year of his age, passed John Houghton "through fire and water" to the place of refreshment.

Augustine Webster, Robert Lawrence, and the parson of Isleworth, likewise refusing the mercy offered to them at the last moment at the cost of their consciences, followed him next, enduring the same cruelties. Father Reynolds of Syon, left to the last, beheld the horror of their deaths; yet he, too, never wavered; standing on the cart like Prior Houghton, he too addressed the spectators calmly and without hesitation. Then drinking the Lord's cup, he was joined to his four companions by the same martyrdom.

The heads and quarters of the government's victims, after being parboiled, were set up over gates in different parts of London. In mean cruelty and petty spite, Henry, or Cromwell, insulted Houghton's late monks, by having one of his arms fixed up over the gateway of the charter-

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, xiv., No. 200 (p. 81), Pole to Charles V. in 1539.

² If neither Chauncy himself nor other members of the charterhouse were present, he may have had these details from Antonius Rescius, a friar-preacher, afterwards suffragan of the Bishop of Wurzburg, a familiar friend of Prior Houghton, who having been one of the crowd of spectators, related it to Simon Weisser, the Carthusian editor of Chauncy's narrative in 1608 (*De vita ratione et Martyrio, xviii., Carthusianorum, Wiceburgi, A° MDCVIII.*). A similar story of a heart palpitating after excision was told by an eye-witness of the execution of that very different "martyr," the Covenanter Hakston, one of the murderers of Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews (Burnet, *History of his Own Times*, under the year 1682).

house. There it hung for three years, until the dissolution in fact; within two weeks after the expulsion of the monks it fell down while two of them happened to be passing. They carried it away, and hid it safely as they thought, but not so secretly but that “(the devil himself maybe revealing it) it was afterwards found by the ministers of the devil,” says Chauncy, and broken up into small pieces and thrown away. It disappeared probably in the friendly endeavour to send it to his brother Carthusian, John Foxe, on his flight abroad.¹

King Henry, almost like a pagan emperor, had purveyed a spectacle for his people on that May day at Tyburn. The Duke of Richmond, his own bastard son, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, Anne Boleyn’s father, his son, and other lords and members of the privy council were present at it. Norres, the king’s chamberlain, came, bringing forty horse with him, and there were besides five mysterious individuals accoutred and mounted like northern borderers, hidden in their armour,² keeping their visors over their faces. One of them was the Duke of Norfolk’s brother, for his visor got detached and he was recognised. Who were the other four, and why when they left did the rest of the courtiers move also? Was the king himself one of them?³ Was there ever such a con-

¹ See later in our chap. vii. Dom L. Hendriks (*The London Charterhouse*, p. 168) says that the monks on 7th May got possession of the quarter of Prior Houghton by its falling at the feet of two brethren. But Chauncy, who is his authority, stated that it hung there until two days of their “transmigration into Babylon”—i.e., their enforced return to the world on the dissolution—and on the third day after the “transmigration” it fell at the feet of two brethren chancing to pass the gate, the one in coming to, and the other in leaving, the house. The arm in a box together with the prior’s blood-stained hair-shirt, and the cause of his death written by William Exmewe, was hidden in an underground place “until the Lord should gather together His people” (*Passio* of 1550, ed. of 1888, p. 105). Probably on his return to England in Queen Mary’s reign, Chauncy found that the relic had disappeared, as related above from the *Passio* of 1570, f. 41, not knowing of the attempt to send it to John Foxe.

² “Armes à la secrete”: the *Calendar of State Papers* translates this “armed secretly,” but the sense seems to be that they were so closely covered with armour as to conceal their identity; cf. the modern French expression “envelopper de secret,” meaning “to conceal.”

³ Chapuys, the imperial ambassador, who related this to Charles V. in a letter from London of the 5th May (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Calendar*), viii., No. 666, from the Vienna archives), found out a few days later that Henry was not present at the execution (see below).

course of high personages before or since at Tyburn to see the hanging of five simple men who were so poor that they had not even any chattels to forfeit to the king?¹ The spectacle, however, only shocked Henry's unsophisticated subjects, whose sense of reverence for holiness, and respect for things hitherto held sacred, was outraged (for the hanging of the monks in their habits was a blow at the popular estimation of the religious). In fact they murmured so much that when he hanged another batch of Carthusians, it was thought advisable not to do it so publicly.

Even politically, if Henry wished in any way to impress foreign potentates by this brutal execution, he had gained nothing; he only scandalised Catholic Europe. At the same time he was possibly anxious as to what was thought on the Continent, for his chaplain Thomas Starkey sounded Edmund Harvel, a correspondent in Italy, as to the opinion of the Venetians. From Padua, on the 15th of June, the following reply was sent to him: "You wished to know the judgment here of the death of the monks in England. It was considered to be extreme cruelty, and all Venice was in great murmur to hear it. . . . They consider their execution against all honest laws of God and men, and as *novum atque inauditum*. I never saw Italians break out so vehemently at anything; it seemed so strange and so much against their stomach."²

The Roman Curia had the news through the French ambassador. Copies of letters which he had received were read in Consistory, full of pity for the monks, enlarging on their wise answers to the council, and the great cruelty of the manner of their deaths. There was much talk on the subject in Rome; but when some of the cardinals began to wish that they had been of that little band of martyrs, Sir Gregory de Casale, Henry's agent, jeered at them and told them, if they really wished for such a death, they might go to England and imitate the folly of the monks.³ But Henry was not quite easy in his own mind. Dr. Starkey, presumably by his order, wrote a long explanation to Reginald Pole, hoping that he would make use of it to correct the misinformed.⁴ In this he said that the three

¹ *Baga de Secretis*, as above, in the account of the trial.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Calendar*), viii., No. 874.

³ *Ibid.* (*Calendar*), viii., No. 807.

⁴ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi., f. 373.

priors and Reynolds had at first agreed to renounce the Pope's "superiority," and afterwards returned to their old obedience, which, if true of the Bridgettine, was untrue of the Carthusians. "They have suffered death," he continued, "according to the course of the law as rebels to the same, and disobedient to the princely authority." He forgot to say that a new law had been purposely made to kill them and other "sturdy" persons who refused to let their conscience be at the beck and call of an earthly king. "It seemed that they sought their own deaths, of which no one can be justly accused." So wrote Dr. Starkey. But Pole was not a fool to account the devotion of the monks as madness and their end to be without honour.¹

Neither was the tyrant at home such a "fool"; he had failed to prove the monks really traitors, and had only made them martyrs in his people's eyes. He vented his chagrin at his defeat on others. Chapuys wrote to Granvelle on the 23rd of May from London: "The king was not present at the execution of the Carthusians. He was very angry with Norfolk and Wiltshire for their not answering one of them when he preached a remarkably fine sermon."

In the same letter Chapuys gave the information: "They have taken three more Carthusians; the others are in their convent, where they are guarded by the king's servants, in whose custody are all the goods of the monasteries of the Order. It is thought the king will suppress them as they are rich, and there is no hope of making the religious change their opinion."²

Meanwhile Cromwell, by means of his agents, was keeping his finger, as it were, on the pulse of the conscience of the community at the House of the Salutation, hoping that terror or promises or other cajolery would bring some sign of weakening in their objection to the royal supremacy. Chauncy's language implies that they were pestered with the visits of men of low birth (*homines ignobiles et infimæ conditionis*), but as to impiety not obscure—curiously chosen tools to win especially devout and reverent monks to accept the innovation of a secular head of the Church, it might be thought, unless the cynicism of Henry's chief minister and of those employed by him, as witnessed by the letter presently to be quoted, is borne in mind.

¹ Wisdom v. 4.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, viii., No. 751.

During his imprisonment and after his execution, Prior Houghton's convent came under the rule of the vicar, Humphrey Middlemore, formerly the procurator, and William Exmewe, the late vicar and now procurator. Next to them in influence, though holding no office, was Sebastian Newdigate. He was the son of John Newdigate of Harefield, in Middlesex, and Dame Amphilis Neville of the Westmorland house of that name. According to a description which has been preserved of him he was "somewhat tall of stature, his body well-proportioned and comely, his aspect lively and settled. He had great courage; his behaviour was very pleasing, carrying with it a natural honesty and remarkable modesty."¹ For a short space this agreeable specimen of a fine young Englishman of that age graced the king's court where he had received his education, throwing himself heartily into its life; then realising his vocation to St. Bruno's Rule, he just as heartily followed the Carthusian life. His sister, Lady Jane Dormer, who had feared the influence for him of an increasingly licentious master and his corrupt court, when told of his intention to enter the charterhouse, declared that she would have been less surprised to hear that he was to be hanged. Her unconsciously prophetic words were fulfilled in this very year 1535.

On the same day as the execution of the three Carthusian priors and their companions, Cromwell sent Thomas Bedyll to the charterhouse; the report² of his interview with these heads of the convent is as follows:

Place it you to vnderstand that on tuesday furthwith vpon my departure from you, I repaired to the Charterhouse and had with me diuerse bokes and annotations bothe of myne owne and others, against the primacy of the bisshop of Rome, and also of Sainct Peter, declaring evidently the equalite of the apostelles by the law of God. And after long communication more than on houre and a half with the vicar and the procurator of the house, I left those bokes and annotations with them, that they shuld se the holy scriptures and doctōrs thereupon concernyng the said maters, and thereupon reforme themselues accordingly. And yester-

¹ Henry Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*, ed. by Father J. Stevenson, 1887.

² Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi., f. 259.

day they sent me the said bokes and annotations againe home to my house by a servant of thaires without any word or writing. Wherfor I sent to the procurator to com and speke with me, seing I kept my bed bi reson of siknes and could not come to him. And at his commyng I demaunded of him whether he and the vicar and other of the seniors had seen or herd the said annotations, or perused the titles of the bokes making moost of the said maters. And he answerd that the vicar and he and Nudigat had spent the tyme upon them tyl ix or x of the clok at nyght, and that they saw nothing in thaim, wherby they were moved to alter thaire opinion. I than declared to him the daunger of his opinion whiche was like to be the destruction of thaim and thaire house for euer. And as far as I could perceyue by my communication with the vicar and procurator on tuesday and with the procurator yesterday, they be obstinatly determined to suffer al extremities rather than to alter thaire opinion, regarding no more the dethe of thaire father in word or in countenance than he were leving and conversant emong thaim. I also demaunded of the procurator whether the residue of his brethren were of like opinion and he aunswerd he was not suer but he thought the were al of one mynd. I shewed him that I thought that the sprat [*sic*] whiche appered affore God and seyed he wold be a fals spirite in the mouthes of al the prophetes of Acab had inspired thaim and sowed this obstinacy in thaim. Finally I suppose it to be the wyl of God that as thaire religion had a smale begynnyng, so in this realme it shall have a straunge end, procured by thaimselfes and by none other. And albeit they pretend holines in this behalf, suerly the ground of thaire said opinion is hypocrisy, vaine glory, confederacy, obstinacy, to thintent they may be seen to the worle or specially to suche as haue confidence in thaim more feythful and more constant than any other. From Aldergate strete this mornyng of Ascension day.

I am so trobyld with the feuer that I am fayne to kepe my house.

By yo^r owne Thomas
Bedyll.

(Addressed) To the right honorable Mr. Secretarie to the Kingis highnes.

Three weeks later Fathers Middlemore, Exmewe, and Newdigate, were arrested and sent to the Marshalsea. In this filthy prison, for the next fortnight they were loaded with chains and so fettered by their necks and shanks to posts or pillars in the place, that they were obliged to stand erect, no release being allowed them even for their natural necessities. All three were young men, and they endured this torture with the courage of youth. The king was especially interested in their case, no doubt on account of Father Sebastian, his former "delicate courtier."¹ It is said that he went disguised to the Marshalsea to persuade Newdigate to win his freedom by acknowledging the royal supremacy. The Bishop of Faenza, the papal nuncio in France, however, on 6th June wrote to Ambrogio the papal secretary, that "the King of France told him, and the imperial ambassador showed him a letter to the same effect, that the King of England went disguised to the charterhouse, of which they have treated some members so badly, and urged them to take him as head of the Church, and not the pope. To which they replied unanimously, that he might do with their persons what he would, but they would never consent to what they considered unjust."² Chauncy nowhere mentions any personal interview of his convent with the king; if he indeed came to the charterhouse in disguise, it is likely enough that he did not recognise him, but only thought him one of the many troublesome visitors. But wheresoever and whensoever the royal visits took place, they were of no avail with Newdigate. After the two weeks in the Marshalsea, the three prisoners were examined before the council, and then sent to the Tower as traitors.³ On Friday the 11th June they were led forth to the "place of judgment" (Westminster Hall), "to be condemned" as Chauncy correctly says, for the condemnation was a foregone conclusion at these mockeries of trials.

¹ Chauncy's term, f. 42.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (Calendar), viii., No. 837 (from the Venetian archives).

³ The authority for the visit of Henry VIII. to Sebastian Newdigate in the Marshalsea is Henry Clifford (as above). He says that the King visited him also in the Tower, equally to no purpose. He puts into the mouths of Henry and the monk speeches which may or may not be true in substance, but which in style of language certainly do not belong to the period, but rather to Clifford's own time, his life of the Duchess being written in 1643.

Their indictment¹ was included in that of the Bishop of Rochester, although he was not tried at the same time; it has the same preliminary form as that of the three priors, and then goes on to say that Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmewe, and Sebastian Newdigate, monks of the priory of the Salutation of the Mother of God of the Carthusian Order, professed monks of the house under the obedience of John Houghton, now deceased, while he lived prior of the same house, on 25th May, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VIII. at Stebenhithe (Stepney), in Co. Middlesex,² against their due allegiance, spoke to diverse subjects of the king falsely, maliciously, and traitorously these words, "I can not nor wyll consent to be obedient to the kinges highnes as a true, lawfull and obedient subject to take and repute him to be supreme hed in erthe of the Church of England under Christ." When brought to the bar they each pleaded "Not guilty,"³ like the three priors, meaning, presumably, that they had not "maliciously" deprived the king of his title. The jury, of course, found them guilty. It is related by Henry Clifford, that the judge appealed to Father Newdigate to change his opinion for the sake of his family and connections; this was a scarcely veiled threat that they also might suffer some of the royal displeasure if he would not yield to the king's will. Yet even for their sakes he could not lie and falsely utter his acceptance of what he believed to be untrue as against the teaching of the Church, and wrong as a step against the unity of the

¹ *Baga de Secretis*, pouch vii., bundle 3 (records of the trials of the Bishop of Rochester and these three Carthusians).

² They were examined at Cromwell's house at Stepney (*cf.* Arundel MS. 152, f. 309^v).

³ Chauncy says that at their trial they produced not a few authorities for their opinion that a secular prince could not be head of the Church. In Hall's *Chronicle* they are represented as having, when questioned, "used a malicious silence, thinking as by their examination afterward in the Tower of London it did appear, for so they said that they thought these men which . . . sat upon them in judgment to be heretics and not of the Church of God, and therefore not worthy to be answered or spoken unto." There is no record of any examination in the Tower after their trial, but since Hall also states that on hearing their indictment read they acknowledged their treason, which is contrary to the official document of the trial above-quoted, his account is scarcely trustworthy, even apart from any question of bias (see Hall's *Chronicle*, ed. 1809, p. 817).

Church.¹ He and his two brethren, then, received the same sentence as their seniors of being hanged, cut down alive, drawn, and quartered. They were taken back to the Tower for another eight days. On the 4th May Sir Thomas More had noted from his prison window John Houghton and his companions "as cheerfully going to their deaths as bridegrooms to their marriage."² On the 19th June he saw, perhaps, the three young monks passing forth to suffer the same infamous death at Tyburn. The Bishop of Faenza had written on the 8th "that the Carthusians, whom the king himself tried to persuade to recognise him as head of the Church, are in prison with chains round their necks, and will certainly be put to death, but perhaps not so publicly for fear of the displeasure of the people, which was shown at the death of the others."³ Since no details are to be found in either the State Papers or in Chauncy's narrative, it may be supposed that the bishop was right, and that no public spectacle was made of this second batch of executions.

Years after the destruction of Prior Houghton and his fellow-victims there were persons who declared that these monks had conspired the king's death and were in consequence deservedly punished. In refutation of these detractors of the good fathers, Chauncy sets forth the authorities or testimonies of the truth of his story: (1) The records preserved at Westminster, by which he must mean the documents relating to the trials and examinations now in the Public Record Office; (2) Prior Houghton's notes of the interrogatories put to him and to his fellow-prisoners and of their answers; (3) the witness of the still surviving members of the convent; and (4) the not infrequent public assertion of Cromwell that it was because they would not abjure the authority of the pope, and subscribe to the royal supremacy, and his laying these same points before the rest of the monks in the same form as he had offered

¹ Thomas Starkey writing to Reginald Pole of Prior Houghton and his companions, said that they regarded the "superiority" of the Pope as necessary to the conservation of the spiritual unity of the mystical body of Christ (Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi., f. 373). So, too, the title of the 1550 edition of Chauncy's narrative is "*Passio octodecim Cartusianorum in regno Angliæ qui pro eo quod schizmati adhærere et ab unitate ecclesiæ Catholicæ segregare nolebant semetipsos crudeliter martyrizati sunt.*"

² Roper's *Life of More*.

³ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, viii., No. 846.

them before to their "fathers," as often as he came to the charterhouse.

As to the notes above mentioned, the prior sent them by one of his warders to Father William Exmewe, who gave them to Chauncy, who a long while after handed them over, with a piece of the blood-stained shirt (*cilicium*) in which Houghton had suffered, to a "worthy Florentine, by name Peter de Bardes,"¹ who had promised to send these relics to the pope. These notes were perhaps among the six books left by the monks in their prison, which the lieutenant of the Tower ordered his servant, George Golde, to carry to the charterhouse, after cutting out six leaves from one of them. Golde lay the leaves under a cloth in the lieutenant's parlour, and two days later showed them to Richard Wilson, servant of the Bishop of Rochester. Wilson, in his deposition in connection with his master's trial, gave a detail from one of these excised leaves or scrolls, as they are there called, which proves that their contents were notes of answers made by the monks. Golde, in his deposition² taken on 8th June, said that on their being returned to him by Wilson, he burnt the leaves, "upon his own mind," to use his own expression.³

Prior Houghton's notes might have shown more clearly than existing evidence not only the line taken by the Carthusians in defence of the papal supremacy, but also some of the arguments, other than force and threats, used to bring them to the king's side. Fathers Houghton and Exmewe were both *alumni* of Cambridge, and Prior Webster of Axholme, according to Cranmer, was learned, and as intelligent men all the Carthusian sufferers for the pope's cause were undoubtedly fully aware that the occupants of St. Peter's Chair were often unscrupulous, worldly politicians. Nevertheless, the Bishop of Rome was to them the symbol of Christian unity, and they could not conceive of the Church without his headship. As to the royal

¹ Said to be a Spaniard named Peter Bardin in the *Passio* of 1550, reprint of 1888, p. 106. But if the MS. version of 1570 is correct, he may have been one of the Florentine family of Bardi.

² *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 93, ff. 56, 57.

³ Cotton MS. Titus B. i., ff. 165-166, "The charges of certain prisoners in the Tower," gives the cost of the three priors and John Hale (Reynolds not being mentioned), for five weeks at 6s. 8d. each the week, as £5, and of "Wylliam Mydmore, Wylliam Axmew, Bastyane Newdegate," for four weeks at 40d. each the week, as 53s. 4d.

supremacy, the king's new style, "on earth supreme head of the Church of England," suggested an arrogant assumption by a layman of spiritual authority. They objected that Henry was not a priest. They were not the only people who were shocked by his claim. "Even Luther in Germany could not stomach it."¹ And Henry's own daughter Elizabeth disliked the style, and chose that of "Supreme Governor" instead. The Carthusians supported their opinions by passages from the fathers and from Scripture. But Scripture could also be quoted in favour of the king's claim, as Copinger showed some of them at a later stage. Some of the arguments of their opponents may have been taken from Marsiglio's *Defensorium Pacis*, of which English copies were distributed to Houghton's monks. But Marsiglio went so far in his rejection of any sort of claim of the Bishop of Rome that his writings were not always palatable even to those who disliked the papal system.²

The falseness of the Forged Decretals, according to which Constantine had delivered all the provinces of the west to the perpetual sovereignty of the popes, may have been put before the Carthusians. They may have been reminded of the constant repudiation by English kings and parliaments of alleged vassalage to the Roman pontiff, and of the Statute of Præmunire in 1393, which declared the Church of England to be free from any "earthly subjection," and the inconveniences, not to say the abuses, of the papal administration may have been urged. The Carthusians might have answered that the advantages possibly accruing to the Anglican Church when quit of all Roman domination would, in their opinion, be too dearly bought at the cost of the unity of Christendom. That one certain result of the rejection of the papal supremacy, the break in the unity of the Catholic Church, in their minds outweighed all other considerations. Rather than support the king's side of the controversy in any way, therefore, they chose death.

¹ Dr. James Gairdner, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century* (1902), p. 155.

² H. O. Wakeman, *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England* (1898), p. 230.

CHAPTER IV

THE LONDON CHARTERHOUSE UNDER TYRANNY

UPON the arrest of Fathers Middlemore and Exmewe, that little fortress of papal supremacy, the London charterhouse, was without a captain, a fact which facilitated the evident intention of the government authorities to wear out the spirit of the garrison; for it was still Cromwell's policy less to destroy them than to wring from them compliance with his master's will. On the 15th July, Thomas Bedyll wrote to him: "I have now some better hope of the obstinates of the charterhouse, which lacking wit and reason hitherto have been more like madmen than other."¹ But though the last batch of executions not unnaturally would shake the resolutions of the weaker brethren, Cromwell perceived that this was not the method to proceed with the stronger-minded. He therefore decided to hammer on the prejudices of the monks by means of selected theological disputants and preachers whom he dispatched to the charterhouse. Stokesley, Bishop of London, writing a twelvemonth later to Bedyll, made it a point for the recommendation to Cromwell of Roland Phillip that the latter had with zeal the year before laboured in his, the bishop's, presence to bring the Carthusians into obedience to the king as head of the Church.² Certainly the theologians were not always wisely chosen; one of them, Mr. Rastell, was such a laughing-stock to the monks, even in the midst of their misery, that Cromwell's own agent there requested that he should cease to send him to them.³

In Chauncy's pages is a clear description of the tactics pursued to bring about the surrender of the community. "After the death of Middlemore and his companions," he says, "almost two years elapsed before they laid hands on us further. In those two years we lived free from chains and prison, yet not free from other no less grievous molestations and tribulations, by which daily, yea continuously,

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, viii., No. 1043.

² *Ibid.*, xi., No. 186.

³ See below.

we were being wearied out. For the time was come when out of shere necessity each of us was henceforth compelled to be his own counsellor, to watch over himself, and to look after the cure of his own soul himself. For we were forsaken on all sides and bereft of all, and found no help or consolation save in God." Then, in the words of one, centuries before him, like himself disappointed of the strengthening sympathy of those who should have understood him best, he added: "Our lovers and neighbours stood either against us, or certainly afar off,¹ or dared not afford us the favour of any speech with them." In this passage² is probably an allusion to some of the members of Chauncy's own Order. In England, the other charterhouses had accepted, or were about to accept, the royal headship of the Anglican Church; and it was even suggested to Cromwell to employ the compliant English priors to coerce the London community.³ Abroad Protestantism had been avowedly embraced by at least one of the Carthusian provincials.⁴ At the Grande Chartreuse, whether because their remoteness from England and the difficulty of direct communication hindered a full understanding of English ecclesiastical affairs, or for some other reason, the head of the Order gave scant sympathy to the struggle of his sons in London. Indeed, the only question which seemed to interest the prior general (Jean Gaillard, who had just been elected to that office), was the regular transmission of the obits of the brethren, lest the souls of the departed should be deprived of their due prayers.⁵ But it must be admitted that the prior's ear had been gained for a Henrican or Cromwellian version of events, by that strange renegade Andrew Borde, who while anxious to show his zeal for his new patrons, yet seemed to retain some of his pristine regard for the Order which he had deserted. This man (the supposed original "merry Andrew") had been admitted young (and according to himself under age) into

¹ Ps. 37 (Vulgate).

² The *Passio* of 1570, f. 46.

³ See John Whalley's letters to Cromwell, quoted later in full.

⁴ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, viii., No. 739. William Hammond to Cromwell from Borgen, 20th May, mentions the Provincial of the "Cartutians," lately come from Italy as affirming the most part attaining unto the Bishop of Rome to be heretics.

⁵ This is the subject of his letter to the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, dated 1st August, 1535 (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, ix., No. 8).

the charterhouse before the priorate of John Houghton; after going through the fatally short noviciate, he took the irrevocable step of the profession, to find too late that he could not bear the "rugorosyte" of that "relygyon"; his merry, laughing spirit could have no outlet in solitariness; "intrusyd in a close ayre," too, he might never have his health, so he said. Whether he was an actual rebel against the Rule, and therefore at some time put into the conventual prison, is not clear.¹ Anyway, he got into trouble, and wrote to Dr. Horde, the Prior of Hinton,² whom he had known as procurator of his own community, to befriend him with his prior, Batmanson, who eventually obtained for him, if not a release from the Order, a dispensation from its full observance. He was still at the London charterhouse in 1534, for his name occurs among those of the monks who took the oath to the Act of Succession, and when Prior Houghton was in the Tower before his execution, his brethren forced him to write "full incypyently" to him.³ He must have been released soon after, probably through Cromwell's influence; but he was not quite easy about his new freedom, apparently, for he went to the Grande Chartreuse to inquire what sort of dispensation Prior Batmanson had procured for him from the general chapter. While there (not knowing, it seems, that they had as yet no new prior in place of Houghton), he wrote to his late brethren a letter which, so far as John Gaillard was concerned in it, must have cruelly hurt his persecuted "sons" in London by its revelation of his unfatherly lack of sympathy. Borde's letter was as follows:

After precordyall recommendacyon, derebelouyd father in God, the reuerend father off the hed Chaterhowse⁴ doth salutt yow in the blessing off Jesu Chryst, aduertysyng yow that yow loue God and that in any vyse yow obey your souereyn lord the kyng, he beyng reyson to here tell any wylful or sturdy opynyons to be amonges you in tymes past

¹ *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (Calendar), x., No. 605. Andrew Borde to Cromwell.

² *Ibid.* (Calendar), vii., No. 730.

³ *Ibid.* (Calendar), x., No. 605.

⁴ In an undated letter to Cromwell, Borde represents "the reverend father of the head charterhouse, a famous clerk," as along with the French universities, holding "with our King" (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (Calendar), ix., No. 238).

to the contrary. He desyryth nothyng off yow bot only es I haue rehersed that yow be obedyent to our kyng and that yow maak labore to your frendes that yff any off your frendes deye or that any off ther frendes deye that the obytt off them may bytwyxt yow be sent, that the order of cheryte be not lost pro defunctis exorare. The sayd reuerend father hath sentt to yow the obytt off hys predycessor : other letters he wyll nott wrytt nor he wold nott that yow to hym shold wrett, lest the kynges highnes shold be dyspleyd. As for me yow know that I had lycense byfor record to departt from yow, zet notwithstondyng my consyence myzth not be so satsfyed but I thowth to vysett the sayd reuerend father to know the trewth whether father John Batmanson dyd impetratt for me of the generall chapytter the lycense that Dane George hath. The treuth ys that when Dane George wes dyspensyd with the relygyon I and another was dyspensyd withall, consyderyng I can nor neuer cowlde lyue solytary, and I amongys yow intrusyd in a close ayre, myzth neuer have my helth. Also I was receuyd amongis yow vnder age contrary to your statutes, wherfor now I am clerly dischargyd, not hauyng the byshopp of Romes dyspensacyon but yow that receuyd me to the relygyon for lefull and lawfull causes consyderyd haue dyspensyd with me. In wytnes that I do not fable with yow, specyally that yow be in all causis obedyentt to your kyng the afforesayd reuerend father hath maad the ryzth honerable esquyre master Cromwell and my lord of Chester brother off all the hole relygyon prayng yow that yow do no thyng withoutt theyr counsell as Jesus your lord knoweth who euer keppe yow. Wretyn in hast in the cell of the reuerend father callyd John and with hys counsyll the ii day of August by the hand off your bedman

Andrew Bord prest.

(*Addressed*) To Master Prior and the couent off the Charterhowse off London and to all priors and couents off the sayd order in ynglond.

(*Endorsed*) Andrew Bord to the prior and covent of Charterhouse in London, etc.¹

¹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 70. The spelling here given is that of the original except that the thorn letter used by the writer has been changed to "th," which letter it represents, and the abbreviated words extended.

The admission of Cromwell to the fraternity of the Order must have almost shocked the London Carthusians, suffering as they were, under the tyranny imposed by the king's vicar general, a weariness so great that even Chauncy confessed they wished for death. He relates how Cromwell set over them two secular persons, who treated the community inhumanely, depriving them of their accustomed food, allowing them only a little cheese, or something else insipid or insufficient, while feeding themselves and their people sumptuously:¹ how their house was daily filled with heretics and even the worst sort of men, who got intoxicated on the wine belonging to the convent, and out of malice and drunkenness would jeer at the monks, and when they had the chance box their ears: how others came to trouble them out of curiosity as to why they were still at liberty and as to the grounds of their audacious constancy in openly opposing the king: and how, when the monks replied that their armoury consisted in the sword of the spirit, the word of God, and the teaching of the fathers, all the books which could be found in their cells were taken from them.²

The two secular persons whom Cromwell set over the charterhouse were John Whalley and his own servant, Jasper Fyloll. Whalley was sent there probably upon the procurator and his brethren being carried off to the Marshalsea, and appears to have remained there until the late summer of 1535, if a letter of his may be dated by the mention of apples and other fruit. His correspondence³ with Cromwell is a confirmation of Dan Maurice's relation:

My Dewtie remembryde, Please it yo^r maistership to be aduertised that Mr. Rastall hathe bene here comyng to me in yo^r name saying that yo^r maistershipps pleasure is that he shuld daily resorte hither and haue recourse to comen⁴ with the monkes, and to reconcile them if he maye. Sir although Mr. Rastall be verye proprely lerned, and an honeste man and of good experyence, yet I thinke he is not the man that shall prevaile amongest theym; for they

¹ "At the convent's expense" is presumably his meaning.

² *Passio* of 1570, ff. 46-47.

³ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 92, pp. 77, 79, 230.

⁴ Commune.

laughe and jeste at alle thinges that he speakith.¹ Wherefore in my poore conceite, some other honest men, that be trusty and well lerned, or at the least competently lerned, wolde be sente hether (some at one tyme or some at another) to perswade theym. For no question of it, they be exceeding supersticious ceremonius and pharisaicall and wondersly addicte to their olde Mumpsimus; nevertheles better, or more charitable ytt were to converte theym then to putt theym to thextremite of the lawe. I perceive right well, by many of theym, but not alle, that they care not to be put from their Religion, but they feare that in case they shuldes now swarue and goo from their Religion, and hereafter the Pope and his adherents shulde prevayle, that then they shulde be grevously punyshed (yea vnto the deathe) for breakynge of the othe that they have made to the Pope; and no doubte of yt they haue and vse very sore punyshmentes as it is enfourmed me. Wherefore as beforesayde, I wolde (saving yo^r maistershippes better aduyse) that some honest learned and men assured to the Kingis highnes and youe, were sente hither. And thus I wolde haue theym occupyed for a season. And shortely after I wolde haue the vicar of Croyden, Doctor Buckemaster, Symondes, and suche other of the popishe sorte, in open audyence (and not to be suffred to speake with any of theym alone) not onlye to preache agaynste their supersticion and pharisaicall Cerymonyes, but also the Popes vsurped power. And after alle this, to cause the bysshoppes (of yorke, Wynchester, durham lincolne, Bathe and london) yea and dyvers other bysshoppes that be nerehand in lyke maner to preache. For they haue greate confydence and truste in theym, in so muche that some of theym heretofore haue sayde to me, that those forsayd bysshoppes and dyuers other wille not say ne yet thinke butt for feare that the Kynges grace shuld (or in any wyse may) be Subpreme hed of the Church of Englund. Yea and they haue asked me whye the sayde bisshoppes and Vicare of Croyden and suche other as be of the moost famous Clerkes of thie Realme doo not openly preache that the Kyngis grace may and ought to be of right subpreme hed of the Church of Englund. And yf none of all those thynges wille calle theym vnto good order, then to cause

¹ Is this "Mr. Rastall" John Rastell the printer, who died in 1536 or perhaps William Rastell, his son, and editor of Sir Thomas More's works in 1557?

theym to be called before the more part of the nobles of this Realme, as well of the temporaltie as of the Clergie and before all the Pryours and Rulers of the housses of the Charterhouses in Englund and that theyre errours and obstinacy to be publisshed in open audyence, and then to commytte theym to thextremyte of the lawe, or otherwyse to order theym, as by the nobles and other of the Kynges most honorable counsell shalbe devysed. This I meane onely for yo^r Maistershipp discharge. For to youe they do impute and ascrybe in theyr myndes saying that ye myght helpe theym and yf youe wold. And then shall yt be spredde throught the hole Realme that they suffre not vnworthely, but for right grevyous offences. Sir I desire you to take no dyspleasure that I so boldely wryte vnto you trustyng yo^r Maistershipp wille pardon me and accept my pore mynde and harte. Ye shall vnderstand here hath bene Mr. Fylolle yo^r seruant ones and haue spoken with one or twoo of theym and Mr. Robertes, Mr. Shyngleton whiche preched at the Spitle the tuysdaye in Easter wek, and William Marshall and dyvers other honest men, whome yf I had knowen youre pleasure, I wolde haue suffered to haue gone in. What youre Maistershipps pleasure shalbe I beseche youe I may be aduertysed. And that the Holly Goste preserue yo^r maistershipp. from the Charterhouse etc. be

yo^r humble seruaunt

J. W.

(*Addressed*) To his right worshipfull and most syngler goode maister be this yeven.

(*Endorsed*) John Whalley against the Charterhouse monkes obstynacye.

My dewtie remembryde, And where yo^r Maistershipp sent me worde by Maister Rastall, that all suche bookes as he thought beste to be taken from the monkes shuld be taken from theym as the Statutes of Bruno and suche lyke doctōrs, excepte the byble and other good catholique bookes, Sir according vnto yo^r commandement, The sayd Rastall and Jasper Phylow yo^r seruaunt hathe perversed euery celle ouer, the whiche Jasper yf it were youre Maistershippe pleasure wolde lye here in the Charterhouse; here ys chambers ynough, and he may doo some good, for he is sobre and wyse. Some of theym will forsake their opynions, iii or iiii,

and The residew trustith moche of the Pryor of Hynton, Doctour Howrde what he fyrst will do ; yt were necessary ye shuld send for hym, and that some of thies olde preachers might preache vnto them euery wek, and I thinke they wilbe sone at appoynt, as knowith o^r Lord who preserue you vnto his godly pleasure. From the Charterhouse this satterday xxixth of May.

yo^r humble seruau^t John Whalley.

(Addressed) To his right worshipfull and singuler good Maister.

Withe moste humble Recommendations and to aduertise yo^r Maistershippe That there is a brother of this house namede Salter whiche hath lyen in pryson this xii monethe and more yf it be your pleasure that he may be put in libertye in the Cloyster he were bounden to pray for yo^r Maistershipp in this yt may please yo^r mynde to be knowen. Also I haue gyven charge that no maner of person sperituall or temporall shall com into the cloyster to haue communication with none of them, except they bring yo^r token, or that I knowe theym my self to be of an honeste sorte. I haue sent you a disshe of appulles that be lefte in the housse yf they lyke you, they shalbe kept for you as long as they laste, and provide for the covent almondes and fygges accordingly. At the Chartrehouse this fryday.

yo^r humble servaunt John Whalley.

The monks were clearly now prisoners at the king's pleasure in their own house ; nothing was now their own.

Jasper Fylloll, on succeeding to Whalley, at once began overhauling their accounts, consulting the lay-brothers and inspecting the procurator's bills. If he informed Cromwell correctly, the charterhouse had certainly run into an expenditure of £300 in excess of its revenue. Moreover, it was a time of scarcity when wheat had risen 4s. and malt 20d. in the quarter, and in consequence, all victuals were unusually dear. Fylloll was brutally practical ; as yet, however, since Cromwell's pleasure was that he should not break the old order of the house, he could only give suggestions to his master. Economy there must be somewhere, and he proposed either to diminish the number of the monks, or their dainty fare, by which he seems to have

meant their ordinary fish diet, and the livery of bread and ale. He wrote this in September; a month later his sinister proposal was that the number of the monks and lay-brothers might be lessened by so many as had not and would not confess the king to be their supreme head, and would not renounce the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome. But we will here allow Fyloll to address Cromwell for himself.

My dewtye to yo^r good Maistershippe humbly premyside. Pleasithe hit the same to vnderstande, That with this my rude letter I have sent to yow a paper of such proportyon of vytell and other as the lay brothers hyre tellyth me of necessite must be provydyde for them: whiche will not be borne with the revenuce of the howse. For the yerly revenuce of the howse is vi^cxlii.li.-iiii.d.ob. and the provysion in that proportyon amountyth to vi^clviii.li.viii.s., iiiii.d. And yet sythyns the makying of that proportyon whete is risen iiiii.s. in euery quarter, and malte xx.d. in euery quarter, and comunely all other vitell rysith therewith.

I lerne here among the lay broders that heretofore when all vitell was at a convenyent price and allso when they were fewer persons in number then thei now be, The proctowr hath accomptyde for Ml.li. a yere theyr rent of asyse beyng but as above vi^cxlii.li.-iiii.d.ob. whiche costlow fare, buyldynges and other was than borne of the benevolence and cheryte off the Citie of London. Nowe they not regarding this derthe, nether the encrease of ther superfluous nomber, nether yet the decay of the said benevolence and charyte, wolde haue, and hathe, that same fare contynually that then was vsid, and wold haue like plente of brede and ale and fysshe geuyn to strangers in the butterye and at the butterye dore and as large lyuere of bredde and ale to all ther servantes and to vagabundes at the gate, as was then vside, wich can not be.

Wherfore vnder favor of yowr Mastershippe, hit semyth to be moche necessary to mynyshe eyther ther number or deyntyte fare and allso the superfluous lyuere of brede and ale.

These Charterhowse monkes wold be callyd solytary. but to the cloyster dore ther be above xxiiii keys in the hands of xxiiii persons, and hit is lyk many letters, vnprofytable tayles and tydynges and sumtyme peruerse concell commythe and goythe by reason therof. Allso to

the buttrey dore ther be xii sundrye keys in xii mens handes, wherin symyth to be small husbandrye.¹

Nowe is the tyme of the yere when provysion was wont to be made of lyng haberddens and of other salt store; and also of ther wynter vesturys, [to] theyr bodyes and to ther beddis and for fuell to ther cellys, wherin I tarye tyll I may knowe yo^r mastershippis pleasure therin.

I thinke vnder correctyon of yo^r mastershippe, that hit were very necessary to remove the ii lay broders from the buttry and sett ii temporall persons ther, in that rome; and lyke wyse yn the kychine in those ii officys lye the waste of the howse.

In the begynnyng of Auguste laste paste, My lorde of Caunterburye, sent for ii monkes here Rochester and Rawlyns; his lordshipe sent Rochester home again, but he kepithe Rawlyns styll with him and I vnderstand he hathe chaungid his habytt to secular prestis clothing and eatyth fleshe. I know that summe of them, and I thinke that dyuerse moo of them wold be glad to be lycencyde to the same.

Oon lay brother apostata late of the Ile of Axalme, as he said, being sycke yn the greate syckenes, was secretlye without my knowlege receyvyd here into the cloyster wher he died within iiij days.

Oon of the lay brothers kepte him in his siknes and is now sike in the same greate sycknes. Goddis wyll be performyde.

Wher the lorde Rede late chife Justyce of the comon place hath here foundid a chantrye of viii. *li.* yerly for terme of xxx yeris, his chaplen dyed the first day of September and ther is yet xiiii yers to cum.

Maister John Maydewell comenly callyd the Scotyshe frere hath bin hire with Danne John Rochester, William Marshall and other then being present and hath exhorted him to the best, but they coud fynde no good towardnes in him, but after an houris communicacyon they lefte him as they fownde him.

Than I entretyd Rochester and iiij or v. of the monkes to be contentyde to hyre him preche oon sermon among them oon day that weke. Wher with they were than

¹ These keys were not those of an outer door of the cloister, but the latch-keys which every Carthusian has to his cell door admitting him to the cloister and to some other doors inside the monastery. Naturally the monks must have keys to their own doors. (*Cf.* Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 194.)

contentyd, but on the next day when they had spokyn with ther broders, they sent me worde, that I shuld not bryng hym among them, for if I so dyd they wold not hire hym, bycause they harde tell of him that he prechide agaynste the honoryng of Imagis and of sayntis, and that he was a blasphemer of sayntis. And I said that I mervayled moche of them for ther can be no gretter heresie in any man specyally in a Relygius man, than to say that he can not preche the worde of God, nether will not hire prechid, and they say that they wyll reade ther Doctours and go no farder. And I tellyd them that suche doctours hathe made sum of ther companye to be strong traytours, and traytorusly to suffer dethe.

Now sir, standing the case in the premisses, as I have now wrytterne, I dare do nothing tyll I know sumwhat of your mastershipis pleasur. For I have lernyd of my felowe John Whalley, that your pleasure is that I shuld breke noone old ordir of the howse, but your commandement onys knowyne, I trust to endeuer my selfe to folowe and accomplisse hit, with suche diligence, and discrecion as I am able. And as God will give me grace, and as I thinke to aunswer to yo^r Mastershippe yn dred of yo^r displeasure. As knowith God, who euer ledde yow from henceforth forwarde, as he hath don hiderto in his holye spiryte, to the conforte off our mooste cristen and mooste catholike prince the kinges highnes, and of all his noble men and all other his true subiectes. At the Charterhowse nexte to London the v day of September.

your humble seruant Jasper Fylloll.

Sur, I have sowyd to the byll of proporcyon a parchment contaynyng the names of the whole howsehold of the Charterhowse and by cause ye shall not mervell upon the ordyr of that byll, In the fyrst lyne is set before euery mans name that hath confessyd hym selfe to be the kyngis man ther is set a g for good, and before the other a b for badde. In the secunde lyne ys sett the letters that standyth vpon his cell dore. the thyrde lyne is the number of the persons.

(Addressed) To the ryght honorable my master hygh Secretary to the kynges hyghnes.¹

¹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 42. The list and "the proporcyon" are both now missing.

Instructyon to my Maister, the kyngis high secretarie,
 For the Charterhouse by London, the seconde day
 of October, the xxvii yere of ye Reygne of king
 Henry the eyght.

Iff hit be the kyngis pleasure and youris, that the Charterhouse shall stande without a prior as hit nowe dothe, hit semyth than saying yo^r maistershipys correccion to be very necessarie to minyssh the number of the cloyster munkes, and also of the lay brothers, At the leaste by so many as hathe not, ne will not confesse the kyng to be theyre supreme hedde vnder God here in erthe, and y^t will not renunce the Jurysdiccion of y^e bishope of Rome, And of all his laws that be contrarye to the good laws of this realme.

That don y^t semythe to be necessarye, y^t they shall sitt daylye in there fraytowr, and iiii of them at a messe of meate, and yat so don that meate y^t now servith xii persons will serve than xx^{tie} persons honestlye.

Hit semyth allso to be convenient, that theyre lay stuarde, and other their lay seruantes and straungers shuld eate flesshe in theyre hall and parlowr contrarye to theyr old ill custom. Allso if any of y^e Cloyster munkis luste to eate flesshe, y^t were pitie to constrayne hym to eate fische for suche constraynyd Abstinence shall neuer be merytorius.

Hit is no grete mervayle, thogh many of these munkis haue heretofore offendid God and the kyng, by theyr fowle errorrs, for I haue fownde in the Prior and proctours cells iii or iiii sondry prentyde bookis from byande the see, of as fowle errorrs and heresyas as may be, and oon or ii bookes be neuer prentyd alone, but hundredes of them, wherfore by your Maistershipes favour, hit semythe to be moche necessarye that theyre cells be better serchide, for I can perceve fewe of them, but they haue greate pleasure in redyng of suche erronyus doctours and lyttyll or non in redyng of the newe testamente or in other good bookes.

Allso Master Bedyll and Mr. Doctur Crome in this vacacion tyme callyd Rochester and Fox before them, and gave them mervelus good exhortacions by the space of an howre and more, but hit prevaylyde nothing, but they lefte those ii frowarde monkes as erroneus as they fownde them, wherin was myche lack of grace.

Allso William Marshall gave latly to be distrybutyde among all ovr munkes xxiiii englysshe bookis, namyd the

Defence of Peace.¹ Many of them recevide those bookes and sayd if theyr presydent wold command them or licence them to reade hit, than they wold so do, or els not: The iii^{de} day following all they saue oon sent theyr bookes agayne to me, sayng that theyr presydenste hadd comawndyd them so to do, Yet at more leasure Dampne John Rochester was fayre entretyde to rede oon of them that he toke the boke and kepte hit iiij or v days, and than burnyd hym, whiche ys good mater to lay to them at the tyme when yo^r pleasure shall be to visytte them.

Where in euery office of the howse, there is sett oon or ii lay broders hit ys thought that they be not proffitable to y^e howse, but moche prodygall, euery oon of them to y^e other and to theyr fryndes elswer.

Also the lay seruauntes of y^t howse be but lyke Abbey men, and will do but as they lyst, and they be the common messangers for bering and bryngyng of letters, tydynges and credence to and fro the covent in the cloyster, And euery of the sayd lay seruauntes hath a key to the cloyster dore, to cum and to go and lett in and owt theyr fryndes at ther pleasure.

Oon man ther hath the covent seale of xx housis in London. And his wryttinge ys moch suspicyus: for y^t is rasyde in xx wordis. And the tenementes decaythe and he is bownde to reparacions, and is not able to repayre them for he hath long owe xviii *li.* to this house, and yet owthe hit. And allso he hathe forfyttyd xl *li.* to this howse, for not kepyng his couauntes.

There be also other tenauntes and oon of them hathe ii or iii housis withowt any lease of them, and they makythe theyr vnder tenauntes at theyr will, and drivithe those tenauntes to ruine. And they will take no warnyng to auoyde. And summe of those tenementes wilbe lett with reparacions borne by the tenaunte and good surtye therfore.

Your Maistershipis pleasure and commaundement knowen all thes matters may be reformyde wellinowgh and in short space.

Memorandum for Fogwell pownde hit is like to be destroyed by y^e means of an yll tenaunt that hath no lease therin, for he is a very poore and willfull yong man, y^t

¹ A translation by W. Marshall of Marsiglio of Padua's *Defensorium Pacis*, written in the fourteenth century against the temporal power of the pope. The translation appeared on 27th July, 1535. (See *Dictionary of National Biography*, under William Marshall.)

dothe steale and destroye carpys ther, to y^e treble value of his rente, and yet that pownde is no parte of his couaunt, but he hath fre entree therto and shittithe owt all the owners.

Maister Maydewell otherwise cald the Scotyshe freer hath at myn Instaunce layne iii nyghtes in the Charterhouse to examyne certayn bookes wiche I thinke to be moche erronyus. I besече your Maistershippe that I may knowe yo^r pleasur, whether he shall tary her any longer, or nay. The man is very honest, but he hath no money to paye.¹

The following bill of fare, endorsed "Concernyng the daylly and wekely fare of the monkes of Charterhouse," is also in Fyloll's writing :

Anno xxvii. regni regis Henrici VIII. The daylye and wekelye fare off the munkes & off the laye broders, at the Charterhouse next to London, begynnyng on Sonday the xth daye off Octobre, anno ut supra.

Sondaye at dyner.

Euerye munke furmentye, a hote pye of lampurus and iii eggys. The laye broders, salt fyssh and chese.

Monday y^e xith daye of Octobre.

Euery munke potage of herbys, plentye off Suffolke or essex chese and iii egges.

The lay broders had lyke fare

Tuysday y^e xiith daye of Octobre.

Euery munke furmenty, oysters and a pece of lynge.

The lay broders had lykewyse.

Wednesday y^e xiiith daye of Octobre.

Potage of herbes, a great Whytyng and ii egges.

The laye broders, potage, oysters, and euery man a whytyng.²

¹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., ff. 43-44.

² *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 97, p. 162. This paper sent by Fyloll to his master, apparently to show the dainty fare which he wished to curtail, is followed by another in this volume, p. 164 (*Calendar*, viii., No. 597, 2), addressed by someone in a joking spirit to the procurator, being a very curious list of fish and fruits and other alleged requirements of the charterhouse. Since there was under Whalley and Fyloll no procurator, it must belong to another period, perhaps even before troubles came upon the monks. It is a "remembrance (*memorandum*) for the catys to the profyte of thys place in fyshe," and begins with the words of advice: "Father Proktour ze must have some man of the towne to be freyndis to zow thouz ze geve hym a reward ons in the zere," to search the ships of the Steelyard, Lombards, and Spaniards, etc., for the fruit and fish required. The handwriting is very like that of Andrew Borde, and the spelling is peculiar like his; the list may have been a jest of his written in happier days.

From this correspondence it will be seen how, under the regime of Cromwell's servants at the House of the Salutation, Carthusian solitude and seclusion were impossible. Discipline, also, now was scarcely to be maintained, for the discontented had but to complain to Fyloll, or to some other government agent, if he wished to eat flesh, or break any other rule small or great. Now was the opportunity of backbiters, like Thomas Salter, of weak brothers, like John Darley, who in spite of visions was without perseverance, and whose preference for toads¹ to the kind of fish customary at the Carthusian table rather refutes Fyloll's term of "dainty fare," and men like Nicholas Rawlyns, who had been from the first lukewarm in his religion. From the last-named monk, Cromwell now, or somewhat earlier, received the letter below :

To the Ryght worshipfull Master Cromwell Secretary
vnto the Kynges noble grace.

Certefyeng yo^r Mastership of parte of my mynde by this poore and simple and rude manner of wrytyng, that ys done in haste with out any maner of studying or discretion. Where as I do here sey with out any seing or reding of them, that the kynges noble grace w^t his commynaltie, both of the Spiritualte and temporalte that be lernyd in bothe the lawes, and I do not dought but they have a conscience and a soule to kepe and save as well I have. The whiche have graunted to the Actes of parliament last made that the kynges noble grace is the supreme hede of the Church of Englande w^t more other grauntes inactyd. Whiche I do perceyue that o^r father Prior that was of this house with other more Fathers of o^r Religion walde not consent vnto. Wherefore they sufferyd dethe by the kynges lawes. Therfor I wolde that yo^r Mastership sholde knowe my poore mynde by this simple writing, that I do bere vnto my prince and Kyng as moche Faythe and obediens as a trew subget ought to do, and as I have byn euer his trew and pore subget and bedeman all the daies of my lyffe, And I do purpose to contynew in the same, and yo^r mastership shall order me in this matter as you do thinke best, the whiche shuld be to the proffet bothe of my body and soule.

Yff I sholde be examynyed and sworne be fore the fathers

¹ *Passio*, ed. of 1550 (reprint of 1888), p. 83.

and brethren of this order within this house, they wold hatte me, and wounder at me, as a meny of crowes or dawes wolde do at a tame hawke, for they do suspect me of the good and lovyng mynde y^t I do bere vnto my prince and Kyng.

Moreover I wolde desire yo^r Mastershippe to be so good Master vnto me, as you shall bynde me to be yo^r dayly bedeman all the dayes of my lyffe, by name, that you wyll cause the kynges noble grace, or his officers in the same to be so good and gracious to me, as he is now the supreme hede of the Church of England, that I may be dispensyd wyth out of this Religion, Wherin I was not lawfully professyd. for I oght to haue by o^r Rule and Statutes a yere of probacion, and I was professyd halffe a yere and iiii wekes before my yere of probacion. and more over in that halff yere I was seke ix wekys and from that tyme vnto thys day I have had never my helthe a fortynet to gether, as all the brethren of this house can bere wytnes that this is trew that I do writt. And yf I do contynew long in this Religion, hit wyll shortyn my lyffe soner then I sholde dye, yf that I were a brode agayn in the worlde, Whiche Religion is agaynst the law of God, Wherby it sholde shorten any mans lyffe. I do insure you the Religion is so harde, what with fastyng and wythe the great watche and solitude, that ther is not vi hole monkes within this cloyster, but that they have one infyrmyte or other, the which wyll be theyr dethe soner then God wolde that it shulde be.

Also this is the very trew cause, that I was professyd so sone before my yere of probacion. I was so seke dyuers tymes that I wolde have gone forth out of this Religion into the worlde agayne before my professyon made. And by counsell of the Pryor and other of this house, they made me to gyve a waye suche goodes and moveablls as I had, or ever that I cam into the Religion by cause that I shulde have non occasyon to goo in to the worlde agayn. also by counsell of some of them they made me to gyue viii.li. in money to this house. the which some of money, yf I coude have had it agayne, I wolde never haue byn professyd, and so I said to the Prior the same mornying before that I was professyd. And he said to me agayn, yf I wolde be professyd I shuld, and yf I wolde not be professyd I shuld have neuer a peny agayne, Yet he had promysed to a frynde of myn aquentans, that I shuld haue had my money agayne.

And moreover my Lorde of London that now ys, was very harde vnto me and sequastred the Fruytes of my benyfyce in the tyme of his Visitacion, the whiche was shortly after that I came hether, and sayd to my parissghyns that I shuld be no lenger parson there, for he was patrone of yt. And then I thought it wolde be yvyll stryuyng with hym at that tyme, the whiche caused me to be professyd, where as I neuer intended hit, with good wyll. And therfor for the loue of Jhesus, I pray yow to be good and gracyus Master vnto me that I may be dyspensyd with out of my Religion into the same state of a seculer preste as I was before, for the preseruacion of my body and lyffe. For surely I wyll never be bounde to be obedient to man agayn in Religion but onely to God and to my pryncce.

By yo^r pore Bedeman Dan Nicholas Rawlyns, monke of the order of the Carthusiens in the house of the Salutacion of o^r lady, by sydyn London.¹

That Dan Rawlyns had been admitted to his profession irregularly before the close of his year's novitiate may have been true; the prior might well have fallen into an error of judgment and have hoped that the vows once taken would have given him stability. At any rate, by his own showing it was the bishop's intention of depriving him of his living, and probably some attendant disgrace, which had decided him to take the vows, quite as much as the pressure from the prior. The tone of his letter is that of a time-server, and doubtless won him Cromwell's favour. Cranmer had also interested himself in him, and had sent for him to his presence on another occasion. But whether from the king's vicar-general, or from the archbishop as primate, this unsatisfactory monk finally obtained his "capacity," as is mentioned in a last letter of Jasper Fyloll to be quoted, and the other two malcontents, of whom the latter writes also, presumably were allowed out of the cloister before the dissolution of the charterhouse.

Dane Nycholas Rawlyns hath hys capacityte sealyd, but he hath borrowed all hys secular vesture off other prestes off hys acqweyntance.

Dane Thomas Salter and Dane John Darley wold fayne

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 100, p. 112.

be owt off the cloyster by fauo^r off yo^r mastyrshyppe. Dane Darley ys provydyd of a seruyce at Salesburye.

The sexten of y^e charterhouse hath secretlye conveyed ii or iii hundred weyght off wex owt off the storehous ther. I haue required hym to tell me what he ment therebye, and he seyth y^t the faders off the cloyster comandyd hym so to do, and he wyll kepe yt tyll they command the contrary. I suppose y^t they wyll sell yt, and therewith bye there necessarye warme clothyng for y^{is} wynter.

Vnder reformacyon off yo^r mastershype, it semethe to be moch necessarye y^t I knewe yo^r plesure yn summe off those artycles, y^t I haue lefte heretofore yn writynge vnto you. Whete ys at xviii.s. iiii.d. y^e quarter and malte at vii.s. y^e quarter, and we haue no store theroff. And here ys fed yn this house daylye lvi persons besydis strangers. And now servantes lokyth for theyre wages, and for theyr lyueres, or for parcell theroff.

yo^r humblest seruant
Jasper Fyloll.¹

(*Endorsed*) jasper filoll is remembrances concerning the monkes of the Charterhouse.

If Dan John Darley found favour with the government, he was unusually fortunate, considering the nature of a personal experience which he had not the discretion to keep to himself. Robert Raby, an aged monk, had died some time after the execution of the Bishop of Rochester. In his last illness Father Darley was licensed to say the offices with him, being presumably appointed to attend to him. Before his passing, he requested him if the dead might come to the "quick" that he would come to him. One afternoon after his death, accordingly, Father Raby appeared to his brother monk at the entrance of his cell and asked him why he did not follow their "father," Prior Houghton, for he said, "he is marter in hevyn next unto angelles." On another occasion he appeared more threateningly with an uplifted staff in his hand, but only to declare his own regret that he had not lived to be a martyr, because "my lord of Rochester" and the prior were "next unto the angels in heaven." The tale must have got to the

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 96, p. 92.

council, for if Chauncy, who gives another¹ version of it, is correct, they sent for Father Darley, and after much questioning threatened him lest he divulged the affair.²

Chauncy might well call those two years a time of probation. For the spirit of the Carthusian discipline was during this period tested as it had never before been tested in England; the letters of the discontented prove how to the very last the severe rule even to the prison for the apostates,³ was maintained. In the letters of Cromwell's agents, there is no breath of slander as to immorality against the inmates of any of the charterhouses, no hint of slackness of their "religion." Far from it; the complaint was only that they were too addicted to St. Bruno and to their statutes, and to their books belonging to the old ecclesiastical system. While these men were enduring a long persecution and expecting, even hoping for, martyrdom as a less terrible alternative than falling into the temptation of yielding against conscience, men of other orders were giving way almost without a struggle, and sometimes becoming preachers, or taking other service in behalf of the new system. It cannot be supposed that all the other religious were time-servers, trimmers submitting to the powers then in being, and awaiting a turn of affairs, or the death of the tyrant, when the government might swerve back to the papal allegiance, or that they cared nothing as to the superseding of the spiritual by a temporal headship.⁴ But though the worst aspersions which Protestant rancour was wont to hurl against the monasteries rest on no foundation, it may be that luxury and slackness had been encroaching on their former temper, and thus weakening their powers of moral resistance to the growing terror of the Tudor tyranny. The excessive sternness of the Carthusian life, kept up in its entirety at the House of the Salutation, braced the wills of the charterhouse men to endure. If learning and study had decreased in the other monasteries their inmates may also have failed to grasp clearly the trend of Henry's policy

¹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 160. Being Darley's own account of his vision.

² *Historia* of 1550 (ed. 1888), pp. 123-124.

³ An apostate monk was one who had broken his vows.

⁴ The later forms of mediæval monasticism at any rate were so dependant on the papacy for sanctions of rule, and for privileges, that it is difficult to imagine a genuine monk of that period suddenly *honestly* throwing over the old system to embrace that of Henry VIII.

from the ecclesiastical point of view. The Carthusians, indoctrinated by the writings in their own library, perceived from the first that that policy would break up the unity of the Church. Discipline gave to the best of the Carthusians their steadfastness; spiritual and actual separation from secular interests, perhaps, gave to them, being single-hearted, a clearer and impartial vision when brought face to face with worldly issues.

Even for the strictest Carthusians, however, it must have been during those two years very difficult to maintain anything like the old life. The correspondence above quoted shows how hostile preachers were brought in from outside to turn the monks to the king's purpose. This was not enough. The new Bishop of Rochester wrote to Cromwell suggesting that he should give orders for the weekly attendance of the Carthusians at St. Paul's Cross, where select preachers were expounding new doctrines.¹ Once at least the efficacy of a public preaching was tried. Maurice Chauncy, having become one of the more prominent members of the convent, and three others were by Cromwell's orders violently carried one Sunday to the Cross. Here, set in a conspicuous place before the pulpit, where all the concourse of people could stare at them, they were made to listen to the sermon of some bishop who had a great name for learning and doctrine. The four monks had only deaf ears for the syren-like tones of episcopal eloquence, and they were taken back to their cloister unshaken in their opinions, to suffer with their brethren the constant attacks, opportune and inopportune, of Cromwell's theologians and servants, who sometimes offered them fair promises, and sometimes terrorised them by threats. Scarcely had the unhappy community any time left to themselves, and so wearied were they with the continual daily visitation of official persons² and by disputation, that they could seldom say their offices properly either by night or by day. Then, too, their solitude was broken by the coming and going of relations and friends, who were allowed to enter that their tearful entreaties might bring

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, ix., No. 989.

² According to Chauncy, Cromwell himself often came (*Passio* of 1570, f. 45^v). Cf. *State Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, ix., No. 950. John Husee to Lord Lisle, 11th December [1535]: "Mr. Secretary is now much busied with the monks of the Charterhouse."

them to compliance. No stone was left unturned to persuade or to coerce them; but leaderless though they were, as yet the monks stood firm for the most part. Each of them was now free to follow his own will, and was granted the faculty and offered the power to do evil, says Chauncy, perhaps with Dan Nicholas Rawlins in his memory. But as a whole the convent was so trained in the discipline and observance of the Rule, that they behaved no less religiously than were a prior still presiding over them and daily present; for each, he adds, was to himself a prior, ruling himself in everything piously and prudently according to the institutions of their profession.¹

Seeing that all the attempts of himself and his agents to shake the opinion of the monks was but labour lost, Cromwell took the step of separating the staunchest opponents of the royal supremacy from the rest. On the 4th May, 1536, a year after the date when John Houghton had been sent to the Tower, "that worst of wild beasts" came himself to the charterhouse, if we understand Chauncy's words correctly, and carried off the same four members of the community who had been taken to St. Paul's Cross, and dispatched them to two other houses of their Order. These were Maurice Chauncy, and his future companion on a happier occasion, John Fox, who were sent to Beauvale, and John Rochester and James Walworth, who were sent to Hull.²

The king's vicar-general then turned his attention to those whom he esteemed the weaker brethren. Bland persuasions alternating with harsh usage, gentle words and fair promises with rough speech and dire threats, were the means employed to draw them to his master's cause. Perhaps it was at this time (though it may have been earlier), that the "Order for the charterhouse,"³ below quoted, was drawn up, for the line therein recommended to be taken with the inmates, the promises and threats together, and the separation of the "obstinate" from the more compliant, is in keeping with Chauncy's relation of Cromwell's conduct towards them. While there is mention in it of a procurator there is none of a prior, which seems to indicate the date 1536, since it must be

¹ *Passio* of 1570, ff. 47-49.

² Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 298, and *Passio* of 1570, f. 53^v.

³ *Ibid.*, Cleopatra E. iv., f. 27.

before William Trafford was appointed to that office; the monks, moreover, are to have the Old and New Testament, presumably in English (for the Carthusians could not have lacked the Scriptures in Latin), and the translation by Coverdale was authorised in that very year.

And order for the Charterhous of London.

Furst that there be v or vi gouerners of temporall men lernyd, wysse and trustye appoyntyd wherof iii or ii of them shalbe contynually there togeder euery meale and loge there euery nyght.

Item that the seyd gouerners shall call all the monkes before them and all the other seruantes and offycers of the hous, and to shew them that the kyngis grace hath pardonyd them of all heresydes and treasone by any of them commyctyd before that day, gyffyng them warnyng that yf they eftsones offend, to dye withoute mercy. And that there be a pardon purchesyd for them all, under the kyngis great sealle.

Item that the seyde gouerners take the keys from the proctoure and other offycers and to gouerne the house and to reseyue all Rentes and make all paymentes and to be countable to the Kyngis grace therof.

Item that the seyd gouernours call all the monkes to them seuerally one after a nother at dyuers tymes and to examyn them off all theyre oppynyons and to exorte them to the truth shewyng them that yf any of them will he shall haue a dyspencacion to leffe that order and to lyffe otherwyse and to haue a conveyent stipend for a yere or untyll he haue providyd hymselffe of a lyffying, so that he confyrme hymselffe to the kyngis laws, and to indeuer hymselffe to learne and preche the worde of God, Whiche euery prest ys bounde to doo, And yet by theyre Relygyon (as yt ys seyde) they haue professyd falsly the contrary that none of them shall neuer preche the worde of God.

Item to put all the monkes to the cloyster for a season and that no man speke to them, but by the lycens of one of the seyde gouernours.

Item to take frome them all maner of bokes wherin any errours be conteynyed, and to let them all haue the olde testament and the new testament.

Item to cause them to shew theyre seremonyes, and to

teche them and to exorte them to leffe and to forsake all suche ceremonyes that be nought.

Item yf they fynd any of them so obstynate that in no wyse wilbe reformyd than to commyt hym to prison tyll the counsell may take some other direction for them. And they wilbe reformyd to seuer them frome the company of the obstynates, and to be gentylly handelyd to cause them to vtter the secretes and myschyffes vsyd among them.

Item there wold be iii or iiii tymes in euery weke duryng this visitacion a sermon made by some dyscrete well lernyd men and all the monkes offycers and servauntes to be causyd to be there present, none excepcion saue only syknes, and the seyd prechers to haue theyre chambers there and mete and drynke, that they myght quietly study therefore duryng that tyme.

Item the lay bredern be more obstynate and more frowerd and more vnresonable than the monkes, therfore they wolde be lykewyse examynynd and the obstynates ponysshyd, or expulsyd. and the other kept for a season for knolege of dyuers poyntes of them to be had.¹

Cajolery, threats, promises, enticements to play the traitor to their convent or Order, were of no avail; in spite of all his efforts Cromwell continued to be baffled by the still almost unanimous resistance of the monks. He now therefore took another eight of them, sending them this time to the Bridgettines of Syon,² who were held in great opinion for their learning, and on that account were expected to convert these "obstinates." The execution of Father Reynolds, the fellow-sufferer of the three Carthusian priors, may have struck terror into the hearts

¹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 27. To cause Carthusians "to show their ceremonies or to utter the secrets and mischiefs used among them," was to enforce a direct violation of their statutes, which strictly forbade, and made punishable, the revelation of the secrets of their Order, or any defects in the persons or houses thereof, to any person, ecclesiastical or secular, not of the Order. All complaints, whether of the prior against his subjects, or of the latter against the prior, were to be made to the chapter-general, or the prior of the Grande Chartreuse, or to either of the visitors of the province to which such complainants belonged, who had power to provide the remedy. (See the compilation of the statutes made in 1509 in Arundel MS. 278, f. 12.)

² Chauncy, in the *Passio* of 1550 (ed. of 1888), pp. 113-114. In his version of 1570 he omits the name of the monastery to which they were sent, and omits also the speech of the dying Father Fewterer.

of the religious of Syon; be that as it may, by 1536 they had become supporters of the royal supremacy, two of them, Fathers Copinger and Lache, being now as zealous to maintain it as they had been previously in opposing it. The dying John Fewterer, confessor general to the community, blamed himself to the eight Carthusians for their prior's death, inasmuch as he had encouraged him in his resolution to die for the cause of the papal headship. On accepting the king's supremacy he had tried to make amends by directing Fathers Copinger and Lache to write to the London Carthusians, in reply to questions of theirs, a long argument in behalf of the royal ecclesiastical title, imploring them not to throw away their lives for that question. From this we give the few interesting passages, noting that "the reverend father of Shene" mentioned is evidently Henry Man, who became Visitor of the English Carthusians after Houghton's death, perhaps through the influence of his patron Cromwell.

"Good fathers and devoute brethren, sorye we bee that ye be in the troubelouse estat we here of. . . .

"For the auctoryte of o^r prince vpon the Church of England, and for thauctoryte of the bisshope of Rome vpon the same we have moche labored and founde by the word and will of God bothe in the olde and newe testament great trewthes for our prince, and for the bysshope of Rome nothing at all. Of whiche o^r labors I dyd as for yo^r comfurther delyuer to the reuerend father of Shene certan and dyuers papers with matier of scripture, counsailes canons and doctours to open vnto you the clernes in thies matiers in bothe respectes. . . .

"Knowe you for truthe yf England be a Church, or yf eny Church be in England his Grace ys supreme as afore-sayd of yt. Saint Paul doth bed all the Church to be obedient to his grace *quia superior potestas*, as to the hiest power and auctorytie. Saint Peter dothe bed al the Church to be subiecte to hys grace as the most precellent personne amongst them."

[Then after arguing that if the bishop of Rome may licence a layman to be a judge in a spiritual cause, it is not against the law of God that the king should, as judge, direct spiritual causes, the writers end with the appeal:]

"Therfor dye not for this cause. salve yo^r selves and

yo^r house. Lyve long and lyve well to the hono^r of God, welthe, by yo^r prayer and edyfing by yo^r lyf, to the people. Submitte yo^r selves to yo^r noble prynce, gette his gracyous fauor by yo^r doing to his grace and so brynge yo^r selves oute of trouble and ruine to the quyet of yo^r selves and prouffyt of soules and godly pease to be in this realme."¹

As to his eight brethren, Chauncy admits that they were influenced by the persuasions and instructions of the Bridgetines and inclined to waver, but he states that on their return home they resumed their former constancy and with greater fortitude. However, he was apparently mistaken as to two of them, Fathers Broke and Burgoyne, whom we shall find writing later to Copinger in another tone.

At this point we leave the London charterhouse for the present, to discover what had been happening at the other monasteries of the Order.

¹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi., ff. 172-174.

CHAPTER V

COMPLIANCE AND SURRENDERS OF OTHER CHARTERHOUSES

FOR the history of the last days of the other charterhouses the only source is a few State Papers concerning each. The scanty information available reveals them generally as more compliant, or more indifferent as to the question of the supremacy than the London convent. We are ignorant whether other pressure was brought to bear on the tender consciences among them besides the terrible impression made by the martyrdoms, two of their own priors, Augustine Webster and Robert Lawrence, having been among the victims, and by such tidings as might have reached them of the long drawn out misery of their brethren of the House of the Salutation. These communities, except that at Sheen, were smaller, and for that reason might be, perhaps, sooner cowed, but even so, some of their members were those whom Cromwell would have characterised as "obstinates," men not indeed ready to die for papal supremacy as a vital article of faith, but certainly trusting more in the old ecclesiastical system than in the new; of such, without doubt, were the few who, yielding now to the king's will, were thereafter to become inmates of a renovated charterhouse under Queen Mary.

The youngest Carthusian monastery, the large and wealthy House of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen, being a royal foundation in close neighbourhood of the court, from the first would be naturally under some royal domination, and latterly it had for prior a tool of Henry, or of Cromwell, Henry Man. Certain of its inmates, moreover, may have been swayed by a discreet gratitude to the king who had spared them a visitation of his wrath, deserved on account of their undisguised encouragement of the unfortunate Elizabeth Barton. This woman, known as the Holy Maid of Kent, hypocrite or not, as to her visions or revelations, was certainly extraordinarily bold in venturing to warn Wolsey as to his responsibility towards God "in the meddling he was put in trust with by the king concern-

ing the great matter of his marriage,"¹ and in her denunciation of Henry's proceedings. The king's wrath was kindled against her, and into the danger into which she fell she dragged all who had upheld her. Among the Sheen Carthusians who had been the recipients of her so-called revelations, and had believed in her, were John Michell, otherwise Michael, the prior, Henry Man, the procurator, Henry Ball, the vicar of the convent, and Brother William Howe, the sexton.² At what date they had begun to hold communication with the nun does not appear, but by 1532 Cromwell was considering whether steps should be taken against her and her favourers, which may be the explanation of the letter below written by John Michell when procurator,³ and the anxiety of the monks may have had relation to some inquiry set up by Cromwell.

After due commendacions and humble thankes doone vnto yo^r maistership, I hartely desire youe to sende me worde by this berer whether ye entend to come vnto vs at this tyme or nay, or when we shall geue attendance vnto yo^r commyng; yt had bene my duety to haue come myself, but that I feared I sholde haue bene suspecte of some of our brether to haue presumed farther then yt becommed me, or to accelerate theyr trouble which they loke for (more then they nede) at yo^r commyng. Although through yo^r highe wysdome and discrecion I truste verely, ye shall ease or alleuyat meny a heuy scruple which I beseche o^r lorde ye may vnto whos grace I hartely commende yo^r maistership. Fro Shene this morning in hast. By yo^r humble bedeman

John Michel Procto^r there.

(*Addressed*) To his right worshipfull Maister Maister Doct^r Bedell, most worthy counsellor to the kynges grace this be deliuered.

(*Endorsed*) The Prior of Shene.⁴

¹ Arundel MS. 152, f. 296. More to Cromwell.

² *Calendar of State Papers*, vi., No. 1468.

³ This letter was assigned to the year 1532 by Dr. Gairdner (*Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. v., No. 1749), but it may belong to a later date, just before John Michell became prior, and the monk's trouble may refer to the taking of the oath to the Act of Succession, for it is endorsed "The Prior of Shene," which suggests that it was received about the time when his short priorate began.

⁴ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 73, p. 128 (*Calendar*, v., No. 1749).

What John Michell thought of the Holy Maid we do not know. But as to Henry Man and Brother William, their enthusiasm is related with a slight savour of sarcasm by Sir Thomas More in a long letter to Cromwell detailing his own connection with her.¹ "There came to myn house," he wrote, "the proctor of the Charterhouse at Shene and one brother William with hym w^{ch} nothings talked wth me but of her and of the greates ioye that they tooke in her vertu, but of eny of her reuelacions they had no comunicacions. But at another tyme brother William came to me and tolde me a longe tale of her being at the house of a knyghte in Kent y^t was sore troubled wth temptacion to distroye hime selfe; and non other thinge we talked of, nor sholde haue done of likelihode though we had taried togeather muche longer, he toke so greates pleasure, good man, to tell y^e tale wth all the circumstanes at length." In a later passage in the same letter he said, "After her own confession declared at Poules crosse when I sent my servaunte vnto the proctor of the Charterhouse y^t she was vndoubtedlie proved a false deceyvinge ypocrite, the good man had had so good opinion of her so longe y^t he coulde at the firste scantlye belieue me therin."

Henry Man's admiration for Elizabeth Barton was that of an excitable and weak character. To her confessor, Father Bocking, the cellarer of Christ Church, Canterbury, he wrote:

Devoute religious [father] in o^r lorde Jhesu be yo^r salutation. Of late it hathe pleasid the goodnes of God to gyue me (that am myche vnworthye) some knowledge of his secret and wonderfull workis the whiche he workethe dayly in his speciall elect virgyne dame Elizabeth Barton yo^r (as I vnderstand) spirituall doghter. This knowledge (I say) it hathe pleasid God to gyue me by the relacion of certain his devoute seruantes. The whiche knowledge dothe more edifye my soule and more feruently accende my harte in the loue of God then eny thyng that euer I herd spoken, or eny thyng that euer I haue redde in holy scripture. Wherefore good father, I beseche yowe in visceribus Jhesu Christi to accepte me as yo^r spirituall sone and to make me parte taker of yo^r goode prayaris ut confirmet hoc Deus quod operatus est in me. And more-

¹ Arundel MS. 152, f. 296.

ouer I beseche yo^r father hode offte tyme to put that my goode mother Elizabethhe (in whome is my truste aboue all mortall creatures) in remembrance to offer me up in sacrifice to the moste gloriouse Trinitie and to begge grace for me that [I] may so mortifye me y^t I may saye with Saynte Paul Viuo autem iam non ego: viuat vero in me Christus, and that I may so sette my desyr, my delectacion, my estuant affection and my feruant loue in God that I may attene to suche cognition and loue of hym as may be hade in this lyfe, and after my deathe to haue the clere fruition of hym to his hono^r laude and prayse euerlastyng. From o^r Charterhouse of Shene by yo^r vnworthy sone if it shall please yowe so to accepte me.

Henry Man professid and proctor ther most onworthy.

(Addressed) To his deuoute father in God m^r Docto^r
Bockyng cellerare of the monastery of Christes
churche in Canterbury d^d.¹

Dr. Bocking's answer was evidently all that the procurator could wish, to judge by the effusive reply which Man sent to him in Latin. After saying that Bocking's letter had given him inexpressible joy, he continued: "Let us magnify the name of the Lord who has raised up this holy virgin, a mother indeed to me, and a daughter to you, for our salvation. She has raised a fire in some hearts that you would think like the operation of the Holy Spirit in the primitive Church. If you saw with what frequent tears some bewailed their transgressions! God has left Himself at least 7,000 who have not bent the knee to Baal. I rejoyce that I have lived to see this day. But now, as to yourself, I cannot let you disown the title of father I have given you, unless you will take me as your hired servant."²

This letter, dated from the charterhouse at Sheen on St. Swithun's day, was probably seized with the one above among Dr. Bocking's papers by Christopher Hales,³ and sent up to Cromwell in September, 1533.

Henry Ball, the vicar of the Sheen community, wrote to the nun herself in a calmer strain. In his letter he

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 79, p. 76 (*Calendar*, vi., No. 1149, 2).

² *Ibid.* (*Calendar*), vi., No. 835. This letter is evidently after and not before the one quoted above, as the reference is to Man's having called himself Bocking's son in the previous letter, though the *Calendar* puts it first.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 1149 (1).

praises her virtue and supernatural gifts, though he knows that she loves better to be dispraised than lauded; he tells her that he has little profited by withdrawing from the world, and begs the aid of her prayers, and humbly signs, "Henry Ball, a Shene monk unworthy."¹

This connection with the Holy Maid brought no severe consequences on the Sheen monastery, but undoubtedly Fathers Michell and Man thought it advisable to show themselves henceforth as very faithful subjects to "the king's highness," so that when, in the spring of 1534, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and Archdeacon Bedyll came to receive their oaths to the Act of Succession, they found a meek convent there, presided over by a prior and procurator almost officiously eager to use their influence both at home and with their neighbours, as the bishop showed to Cromwell in a letter of 7th May of that year.

Pl ease it you to vnderstand that yesterday at afternone we accomplished o^r busines at Shene and the Prior and the conuent with novices and conuerses and al the seruantes of that house haue taken the othe annexed to o^r commission. And the said Prior and Procurator of the place with diuerse other of the brethren haue shewed thaimselfes as honest men, and feithful subiectes to the Kinges highnes, nott only in exhibiting thair redy obedience to his grace and his lawes in this behalf but also in moving and exhorting the frire [*sic*] observantes of Richmont to do semblably, with which frires by mediacion of thair rulers we have had diuerse conferences. . . . From Sion the viith May.²

Since he could turn their compliance to use, Cromwell did not lose sight of Fathers Michell and Man. Presumably through his influence the latter was promoted to the priorate of Witham charterhouse, but after a few months he was recalled to preside over Sheen, John Michell being transferred to Witham, and both were commissioned to act jointly as visitors of the Carthusians in England.

It must not be supposed that Prior Man had no difficulty in persuading his subjects at Sheen to follow his own submissive conduct. As to the acceptance of the royal supremacy, there were some among them who had "a little

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, vi., No. 1468 (8).

² *Ibid.*, § 83, p. 255 (*Calendar*, vii., No. 622).

scrupulosity of conscience," who would "die for sorrow" if they should do anything against it. One of the monks, evidently fearing that the king's vengeance for the resistance of the community at Smithfield might take the form of the entire suppression of their "religion," applied to Sir John Alayn, pleading with him, as a familiar friend of the king's powerful secretary, to exert his influence that patience might be used towards their tender consciences:

Ryght worshypful Syr, my deuty remembryd in y^e most louly maner y^t . . . haue me recommendyd vnto yo^r Mastershyp trustyng y^t ye be in helthe whyche I beseche Gode maye long contenew vnto hys plesur and yo^r hertis easse. Humbly besechyng yow not to be dyscontentyd wythe myn Ingratytude, y^t I haue not accordyng to my dewte, wrytyn to yow or now. Trustyng y^t her after I shall not in y^t thyng be so neglygent as I haue ben hythyrto, but now trustyng in yo^r gret humanyte and gentylnes, wheroff I haue oftyn tymes had experyens and also consyderyng myn vrgent cause I haue takyn boldnesse to wryt vnto yo^r goodnesse, trustyng by yow to haue confort off thes o^r present trobylls. Syr yt ys not vnknowne to your mastershyp what trobyll o^r relygyon ys yn, and ys lyk thoroughe sum of vs to be vtterly destroyed. And thys thyng I thynk yo^r Mastershyp may sumwhat helpe yff yt plesse yow off yo^r goodnes. Consyderyng the gret loue and famylyaryte whyche ys between M^r Secretory and yow, and also y^t yo^r selff ys on off the Kynges most honerabyll counsell, not that I wold desyr yow to specke any thyng for vs except we shuld sumwhat enclyn to o^r pryncys mynd. For I thynk that shuld not preuayll but so yt ys y^t I know many of vs whyche wyll gladly obbey the kyngis grace in thys poynt for as moche as yt ys not ageynst the scrypture off God. And off y^t other part, ther be sum whyche wyll I thynk verly rather dey, and the cause ys non other but a lytyll scrypulosyte off conscyence and yff they shuld graunt to any thyng ageynst that conscyence they wold haue so moch remorse that they wold (I know well) dy for sorow, ye and I thynke desper off ther saluatyon, and so peraduentur dy bothe body and sowe, whyche wer grettly to be lamentyd. Yt ys an opynyon inveterat in ther h[ertes] whyche ys ympossybyll to be pluckyd owt sodenly, but in processe of tyme many thynges hathe cum to passe, whyche yn the

begynnyng semyd [to] men very straung. For thes men I wold desyr yow in Christe to specke sum gode word, that they myght be suffryd and born wythe the other. Saynt Paul saythe *infirmum in fide suscipite*. they will do nor say no thyng that shall sound or may be enterpretyd any thyng contrary to the kyngis prerogatyve, no and thoughe they wolde can not; yff yt plesse yow off yo^r innate goodnes at my por instaunce for the loue of God to accomplysse thys o^r nedfull request, ye bynd the holl relygyon to pray for yow perpetually. Syr I am ouer bold to wryt vnto yow thes long letter rashly whyche I shuld rather haue don with delyberacion, but nede knowthe no law. And o^r cause ys vrgent as knowythe God who haue yow euer in hys custody and send yow suche helthe as your sellfe wold wyshe, amen. Wrytyn at Sheen thys present tewsdai.

By yo^r seruant and dayly bedman Jhon Pysau[nt].

And yff yt plesse yow sumtyme for yo^r plesur to walk ouer o^r hows ye shall be hertely welcome to o^r father prior and haue suche por cher as he can make yow.

(*Addressed*) To the ryght worshypfull Syr Jhon Alayn knyght alderman off London and on off y^e counseloris to o^r souereyng lord the kyng, delyuer thys letter.

(*Endorsed*) John Pysent to Syr John Alyn knyght.¹

While Prior Man was absent on his duties as visitor of the English charterhouses, the charge of the convent of Sheen passed to Henry Ball, its vicar, who, unlike his superior, had decided objections to the ecclesiastical innovations and naturally, therefore, could not feel it incumbent upon him to force the opinions of his brethren towards acceptance of them. One of the monks, Robert

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 85, p. 145 (*Calendar*, vii., No. 1091). The paper has worn away here and there, hence a word or two has had to be supplied above. The date 1534, assigned by Dr. Gairdner in the *Calendar*, is apparently wrong; the "trobyll our relygyon ys yn," and the likelihood of destruction of it—that is, the suppression of the Order in England—is clearly a reference to the martyrdoms, and the threats used against the Smithfield community upon their continued resistance to the oath of supremacy; hence the date must be as late as 1535.

Marshall, indeed, whether in the hope of winning the favour of the powers in being, or genuinely approving of the royal supremacy, took it upon himself to send the following report of the slackness of the vicar and the procurator in that behalf:

Ryght interlye and speciall good maister, J salute yo^u in the name of o^r saveyor Jesu christ wyllynge yo^u to be aduertysed that of late J was at home at o^r house of Shene, and amonge my breder, j made inquisytion whether the Kyngis commyssion, whiche was sende vnto them by the Bysshopp of Wynchester brode seall, to declare the Bysshopp of Rome to have no more jurisdiction within this Realme than any other bysshopp hathe, and the Kynges grace to be supreme hede of the Church of England (most wordy vnder God) was declaryd amonge them in theyr chapetre house, and to seruantes and straungers openly in the church every sonday and holyday: And it was showyd me playnly that it was never declaryd, ether to brother, convers, seruante or stranger wth in thayr place. Wherfor nat onlie my brether (whiche be the kynges graces freyndis) but also all o^r poore seruantes be greatlie offendid wth o^r vicar and proctor, be cause they wyll nat declare it vnto them. And all thoghe o^r vicar be so steffy necked agaynste o^r most soueran prynce, thatt he wyll nat declare it vnto hys brether, yet it had bene o^r proctors dutye to a declarid it vnto o^r seruantes, strangers, and conuerses, For vnto them (by his owen Ruwell) he ys bonden to preche and teche, and j thynke verely (yf he be a trewe subiecte vnto his prynce) is bonden to declare the aforsayd commission vnto o^r housholde seruantes. For of them he hathe both cure and charge. The truth is that o^r vicar hathe recevyd the commission, and wyll nether declare it, nor yet suffer any of his breder to declare it. Wherfor j percevyng the vncharitable myndis y^t o^r vicar and proctor barithe toward o^r most soueran prince, can do no lesse than to declare vnto yo^u the truthe of thys mater, or else j war no trewe subiecte. J wolde a cummyd vnto yo^r maistershupp at this tyme my selfe, butt the very trothe is that of late j was in kynnisman house of my owen, whiche (not known vnto me) is in fecte wth the plague, and for that cause j dar not be so bolde as to present my selfe vnto yo^u trustyng that ye wyll acceptable (*sic*) my excuse. Thus o^r lord haue

yo^r evermor in his mercifull custody. Wrytten in hast at the Austen Frerys in London.

by yo^r daylie beadman dan Robert Marshall
moncke of Shene.

(*Addressed*) Clarissimo viro d. Thome Crumwell Secretario primario et a consiliis intimioribus Regie majestati.¹

John Pysant had represented to Sir John Aleyn that the monks were loyal and would speak or do nothing against the king's prerogative, if only silence as to the supremacy were allowed to them. But this was to be no more permitted to them than it had been permitted to the London Carthusians upon a similar suggestion from Prior Houghton. Thus Henry Ball, unable to follow the six gallant members of his Order to Tyburn for the sake of the papal headship, because unconvinced in his own conscience as to this being worth martyrdom, yet perhaps too doubtful of the contrary, could not coerce the inclinations of others to resistance and had to acknowledge the helplessness of his community under the king's power. Pathetically the poor vicar at Sheen, some time in 1535, wrote to Sir William Paulet :

Rygth wurshypfull master after my most hummille and hartiest maner I recomende me to your mastershpy, enterly thanckyng you for your great charyte showed to vs at all tymes, and for your good and dyscret concell at ower last metyng as concernyng the significavit, how be yt truly we can not all agree in yt the more part thyncke yt better to suffer than to grawnt therto ; how be yt if it shall please the kyngys grace to execute suche power vppon vs we can not resyst yt. Neyther yet in takyng the fyrst frutes and the x^{thes} to the grete hynderance of the pore people for whom ower landes were moche part grauntyd ower conscyence ys sore ageyne yt.² And so syr thys mater stondyth. I besече owr lord to haue marcy vppon vs. We fully commytt vs to hys blessyd pleasure and owr prynces, besechyng hys noble grace w^t all humilite and

¹ *State Papers (Domestic) of Henry VIII.*, § 93, f. 209 (*Calendar*, vol. viii., No. 959).

² The reference to the firstfruits and tenths approximately dates the letter, the Act assigning these to the king was passed in November, 1534.

subieccion w^t all ower especyall good lordes and masters to haue inter compassion vppon ower tymorus consciences. Yt is not of no vntowardness or obstinacye as ower marcyfull lord knowyth whom we interly beseche to save the kyng and all the realme. Amen.

your pore bedman henry Ball vycare at Shene.

(*Addressed*) To the wurshypfull and his especyall good master william paulatt knygh co . . . of the kynges . . . ble howshold.¹

The Prior of Sheen himself, however, amply made up what was lacking in his monks as to zeal for the king's cause; nay, so hot was Man for the new system, that of his own accord he suggested to Cromwell that the Carthusian priors should preach the "word of God" not only in their own charterhouses, but (contrary to the custom of their non-preaching Order) in any church near which they might come on any necessary journey. His letter, written, according to the *Calendar of State Papers*, in 1536, is as follows:

Ryght honorable and my synglare goode lorde, I humblie recomende me to yo^r goode lordeship w^t manye hartie thanks for all yo^r goodnes towards me. And wheare it hathe pleasyd yo^r lordeship to putte in o^r commission for the visitation of o^r Religion, that o^r bretheren shall preache the worde of God w^t in the monasteries of o^r order, I thynke nat contrarie but yo^r lordeships meanyng thearin is that priours of o^r order, (to whome it is lawfull and some tyme necessarie to goo and ryde abroode) shall preache nat oonlye w^t in the houses wheare they dwell, but allso in other churches wheare they come wheare as they thynke conuenient. Yet nat w^tstandyng bycause that is nat expresslye mentioned in the sayd commission I thought my dutie to knowe forther of yo^r lordeships pleaso^r thearin. wherfor yf yo^r goode lordeship be contentyd therw^t, I besche yowe to assygne w^t yo^r hande and seale w^t yo^r seale the bill involuyd herew^tin wherby I may signifye to all the prioris of o^r sayd religion that I do nat apoynte thys thyng upon myn awne mynde, but bye strong authoritie frome yo^r goode lordeshipe: whome I praye God long to

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 92, p. 85 (*Calendar*, viii., No. 610).

preserve in grace and vertue w^t increace of hono^r. Frome the Charterhouse of Shene the viiith daye of Auguste.

yo^r assuryd beydesman and seruant
Henrye the Prioure theare.

(*Addressed*) To my ryght honorable and my syngular
goode lorde, Lorde Pryvye seale, be this d'd.¹

Two more obsequious letters of Prior Man to Cromwell exist,² both relating to the advowson of Godshill, in the Isle of Wight, which belonged to Sheen charterhouse, dated respectively the 6th January and the 5th March, 1538. In that year, presumably, the convent, like other of the religious bodies, went through the form of surrender of their property to the king. Man's letter of the 5th of March implies, indeed, that their house had already begun to be dismantled, for he says: "Concerning our house whereof Mr. Wriothesley moved your Lordship, I am glad I may do your Lordship some service. There still remains stuff of Mr. Poole's; his servant John Walker keeps the keys. For the remotion of which stuff, your Lordship knoweth best what way to take." (Mr. Poole's stuff was apparently goods left by Reginald Pole, who had a dwelling within the precincts of the monastery as had had Dr. Colet, Dean of St. Paul's.) After the dispersion of its inmates following on the surrender,³ Sheen charterhouse, as is to be related in a subsequent chapter, passed into secular possession, until under Queen Mary it was restored to its original use for a short period.

If John Michell had been set over the Witham Carthusians to win them to complacency towards the king's will, his task was apparently easy. His only recorded difficulty, and that on other ground, was with the procurator, "no good husband" for the house, according to Lord Hungerford, the steward appointed by the government for the estates of both Witham and Hinton priories, who was called in to settle the dispute between the two heads.⁴

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 105, p. 256 (*Calendar*, xi., No. 244).

² *Ibid.*, *Calendar*, xiii., pt. i., Nos. 35 and 422.

³ There is no document relating to the surrender of Sheen among the Augmentation Office Deeds of Surrender, nor among the Close Roll enrolments of surrender quoted by Rymer in *Fœdera*, vol. xiv.

⁴ *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xiii., pt. ii., App. No. 39.

As to the other members of this the oldest Carthusian community in England, they showed a spirit of timid compliance, as is evidenced by a few words earlier of Dr. Layton, written when visiting some of the religious houses of Somerset and Wilts: "Witham the Charterhouse has professid and done all thyngis."¹ On the other hand, the king's commissioners for the surrender, on coming to their house, were not sure that the Witham monks would "conforme them self," fearing some influence from Hinton charterhouse, whose prior, Edmund Horde, universally respected by the English Carthusians, had at first conscientious objections against giving over the conventual house and its possessions.² However, finally they signed the deed of surrender of their priory and of all their property on the 15th of March, 1539.³

Prior Horde of Hinton charterhouse, after Anne Boleyn had been raised to the place of Queen Katharine, had a dream. "He saw a stage ryall [where]upon stowde (as he thought) all the nobles of the realme; they by one consent drew up into the sayde stage the queenes grace that now is (as he thought) by a lyne. Wheronto he put his honde with ayde to the same, and so sodaynlie cam ayen to his remembraunce, and sore repented his folly that he had so moch doen in prejudice to the law of God and holy Chirch. And forder saide (streyking himself upon the breste with his fyste), 'God defend that ever I shold ever consent to so unjuste and unlawfull a dede.'"⁴ Clearly, then, he was troubled by the attempt to fit in the royal matrimonial arrangements with his own conception of the law divine or ecclesiastical. But as to Henry's right to settle the succession to the throne, and to claim supremacy over the English Church, he seems to have had little hesitation, and in this he was followed by his monks. For his letter to the king, quoted below, almost undoubtedly refers to the oath to the Act of Succession and to its subscription by his community:

Please it yowr maiestie to vnderstende that I have ben enstruetyd by master Layton of yowr gracis pleasure con-

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. ix., No. 168.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xiv., pt. i., No. 145.

³ Augmentation Office, *Deeds of Surrender*, No. 270.

⁴ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 76, p. 84 (*Calendar*, vi., No. 510).

cernyng the subscribyng and sealyng of a certeyn profession in wrytyng, whych I have sent vnto your grace wyth as trew and feythfull hart and mynd as any your gravis subiect lyuyng, most humbly besechyng your grace appon my knees to accept the same. And thus have I don frely and frankly of very zeles and feythfull harte, whych I ow your graciouse maiestie and the trueth, whych duryng my lyfe I woll sett forth fortifie and defend agaynst almen, accordyng to my bounden duetie, and also dayly pray for your prosperus estate, from your poore howse the charterhouse at Henton the fyrst day of Septembre.

By your humble subiect and Bedesman
the Prior ther.

(Addressed) To the Kynges maiestie.

(Endorsed) The Priour of Henton to the Kyng.¹

Edmund Horde's known virtue and learning charged his opinion with weight among other Carthusians besides his own convent; therefore we shall find that Cromwell was recommended to send him to allure—really to coerce—the weak and the dissidents in the other charterhouses to the king's cause. A man deservedly respected and trusted by them would scarcely be willing to force the consciences of his brethren, and if indeed he was asked to take the odious task on himself, it is not unlikely that he refused it, and so earned Cromwell's rebuke on some occasion at Lord Hungerford's house, for his "untowardnes in certaine thinges" which the vicar general willed him to do "concerning the kynges maiestie."²

When it came to surrendering the convent's property to the king, Prior Horde boldly avowed his scruples. John Tregonwell and William Petre, the royal commissioners for the suppression, arrived at Hinton on 26th January, 1539, and at once communicated to the prior their purpose in coming, using such means and persuasions as they thought most meet. Horde's answer was that if the king's majesty would take his house so it proceeded not of his own voluntary surrender he was contented to obey, but otherwise his conscience would not suffer him willingly to give over the same. He asked for delay until the next morning, but

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 85, p. 158 (*Calendar*, vii., No. 1127).

² *Ibid.*, § 91, p. 103 (*Calendar*, viii., No. 402).

on the morrow he declared himself to be of the same mind, "or rather more styff in the same." The convent were of the same mind as the prior, and gave "moche lyk answers," except three who were conformable. And one of the monks, Nicholas Baland, being incidentally examined as to the king's title of supremacy, expressly denied it, affirming the Bishop of Rome to be the vicar of Christ, and that he is and ought to be taken for supreme head of the Church.¹ Father Horde and some of the other monks excused this very inconvenient declaration by saying that Dan Balande was often "lunatyk," a defence which stood him in stead when some months later he got himself into trouble again on the same subject.² He signed the deed of surrender and was granted a pension like the other monks, and years later was among the Carthusians who for a while were re-united under Queen Mary.

Prior Horde's scruples as to the surrender are pathetically set forth in a letter to his brother Alan, a bencher of the Inner Temple. He pleaded that the house was not theirs to give, but dedicate to Almighty God for service to be done to his honour continually. Moreover, no reason was alleged for the surrender demanded, and the service of God, religious conversation of the brethren, hospitality, almsdeeds, and all other duties, were "as well observed in this poor house as in any religious house in this realm or in France." But because his brother had written of the king's displeasure and that of the Lord Privy Seal, he promised to endeavour to persuade his brethren to a conformity in this matter.³ This letter was written on the 10th of February; on the 31st of March, 1539, the deed of surrender⁴ was signed by the Hinton Carthusians in their chapter house.⁵

At Axholme the community, after the execution of their prior, Austin Webster, at Tyburn, remained in a state of suppliant humility towards the powers in being. At a word from that sycophant agent of the king's vicar general, Dr. Thomas Legh, they gladly committed the choice

¹ *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xiv., pt. i., No. 145.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1154.

³ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 270.

⁴ Augmentation Office, *Deeds of Surrender*, No. 99.

⁵ Fuller details of the last years of the charterhouses at Witham and Hinton are given by E. M. Thompson in *History of the Somerset Carthusians*.

of a new prior to Cromwell, requesting, however, that the appointment might be given to their procurator, Thomas Barnyngham, whom they sent up with a letter of recommendation, and who had the repute of being ready "to tender the king's matters as much as any man." The alternative was Michael Mekenés, their vicar, whom Cranmer had represented to Dr. Legh as of no learning and "very simple to be governor of a house." Legh was to have visited these Carthusians in person, but shirking the unpleasantness of the way thither—it was winter-time—sent a servant who seems to have had no difficulty in persuading them to seal "the profession concerning the King" (presumably the acknowledgment of the royal supremacy). The compliant monks naturally expected Cromwell's favour, and when writing to him on the 23rd February, 1536, they were under the impression that their preference for Father Barnyngham had his approval, and requested that he might be put into possession of his office with all convenient speed. But meanwhile, though their letter does not mention this, the procurator had fallen too sick to go up to town; Father Mekenés, aspiring to the priorate, seeing now his opportunity, played the most unbrotherly trick of getting out of his hands the conventual instrument making over the election to Cromwell on the pretext of showing it to a brother, and sneaked off with it to town in his stead, with result that he secured the office for himself. Great was the disappointment and discomfort of the community, who later, besides writing to Cromwell, sent a letter of bitter complaints to the Prior of Sheen, Henry Man, then visitor of the Order, showing Father Mekenés to have been an utterly unworthy person. Henry Stoketh, or Stockwith, mentioned by them, was a friend of Cranmer, who on the 20th of July, 1537 (or more probably 1538), wrote to Cromwell desiring a lease for him of the demesne lands of the charterhouse in the Isle of Axholme.¹ Judging by the report to Man, Stockwith and Mekenés were leagued together; perhaps, then, Stockwith, working on the archbishop to reverse his unfavourable opinion of the latter and to use his influence with Cromwell, had been the means of Father Barnyngham's rejection. However that may have been, Dan Michael Mekenés remained prior

¹ *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., No. 288; and vol. xiii., pt. i., No. 1424.

until he and his convent surrendered their house and possessions to the king on the 18th of June, 1538.¹

The correspondence relating to these incidents is here given:

After all dew and hertye commendacions presupposid pleasith your mastership to be advertesyd that wher as I dyd intend to a goon to the charter house in the Ile of Axam accordyng to yo^r pleasure, the waye was suche I cald not conveniently doo, notw^tstondyng Isent my servaunte thether w^t my letters perswadyng them that it was best to comprimit the election of ther hed in to yo^r handes. The whiche they war glad at the fyrst for to doo, perceyvyng that you have evermore of yo^r accustomyd faysyon ben good vn to religious howses, havyng gret confydens and trust in you that you wyll in leke maner be vn to them. And to elect suche a man as shall be to the glory of God the cumforte of them all, and welth of ther howse. Wherfor they have sent up ther proctor w^t an instrument sealyd w^t ther convent seale, comprymyttyng all into yo^r handes, with a letter in the favor of the proctor the berer herof, which is woon of them, vn to whom bothe they and the cuntry geve a good name, seyyng that he is a sad dyscrete relygious man, whiche tendre the kynges matters as moche as any man, wordy to be a hed in any howse, whome they all wold fayne have, except on Myghill Mekenes, for whom my lord of Canterbury wrytt to me for a man of no lernyng and very symple to be governor of an howse. Pleasith you to prefer the berer herof, the cuntry ther abowtes would be glad. And the convent wold thyncke that you had shewyd them gret pleasure. And my thyncke he ys most mete and best lernyd amonge them all. And concernyng that he wyll stand to the tryall therof. Moreover they have sealyd the professyon concernyng the kyng, the whiche the berer herof doo bryng w^t hym. And at the next spryng I doo Intend to be ther, in vysytacion ther to execute all thynges accordyng to yo^r wyll and pleasure as knowyth God who ever preserve yo^r Mastershype. From the mon : of Roche the vii day of January.

yo^r euer assureyd Thomas Legh.

(Addressed) To the Ryght honorable Master Thomas Cromwell chief Secretary vnto the Kyngys grace and Master of his rollys.²

¹ Augmentation Office, *Deeds of Surrender*, No. 9.

² *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 101, p. 40 (*Calendar*, x, No. 50).

Right honorable pleasith yt your Mastershipe to vnderstande that Master Doctor Legh to accomplysse your mynde and pleasure, intended to have visyt our howse in hys Journey but the way was so tedyous and daungerous that he myght not conveniently ; therfore he sent a seruaunte w^t hys letters mouyng vs to compremytte the eleccione of our hede into your handes whyche we dyd and sealled an Instrument y^r of made wyth our convent sealle. Whyche I dyd bere vnto hym. Master doctor perceyving our wyllis and myndis towards the kyngis hyghnes, commaunded me beyng procto^r inmediatly in myne owne persone to present the same vnto yow wyth a professione to be assigned wyth our handis and sealled w^t our Covent seall and other lettres. Yt fortunied me to be vysytt and sore seke that yt was not possyble for me to labour purposyng at my mendyng in all spede to have comen vp. Our vicar perceyuyng my dyseace vnder a colour came vnto me desyeryng to have the Instrument of the compremysse of our Eleccione to shewe a brother that desyered to se yt, and than he keped both the Instrument and the professyon styll in hys handes and prevalye prepared hym self and ys comen vp w^t the Instrument not regardyng the booke of professyon. Here inclosed I have sent Master docto^r lettres, for in as mych as the vicar ys comen vp at my mendyng I can not do my dewtye for we can nott be both conveniently from home at one tyme for orderyng of our howse. Humbly Ibesyche your Mastershipe to be good vnto thys poore howse. And dayly we shall pray to our Lorde God for your preseruacion w^t long contynuaunce in hono^r. At the Charterhowse w^t in thyle of Axholme, the xvth day of Januarie, your assured orato^r and perpetuall bedeman

Dan Thomas Bernyngham

y^e procto^r and monke.

(Addressed) To the ryght honorable Master Cromewell chefe secretory vnto y^e kyngis hyghnesse and master of his Rowlls.¹

Pleasith yowr right honorable lordshyppe, yowr poyre bedmen the Covent of the Charterhouse within the yle of Axiholme, doo geve our most humble thanks vnto yowr goode lordshyppe for the contynuall goodnes that ye

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 101, p. 101 (*Calendar*, x., No. 104).

have and dayly doyth shewe vnto vs and oure poyre howse, and specyally att this tyme. For as we be ynformyde itt hayth pleasyd yow to elefte our welbelovyd brother Dayn Thomas Barnyngham tobe our Pryor by whoys mynystreion we trust to jncrece in Crist relygyon to the pleasure of God and our grett comfert and quyetnes. And for our further quyetnes and well of our howse we most humble beseche yor good lordshyppe our seyde brother with all convenyentt spede may be putt in possessyon accordyng to your seyde eleccion, and wee shall contynu your dayly orators to God longe to keyppe and preserve yow in prosperus helthe and honor to his pleasure. Written att the Charterhous in the Yle of Axiholme the xxiii day of Febrvary.

your dayly oratours

Dayn Jhon Pople sexton	Deyn Thomas Browe
Dayn Rycharde Crakelle.	Dan John Chamerlayn.
Dayn T. Alred	Dan Henry Wilson.
Dan Bryan Bee vicar	Dan Thomas Dobson.

(*Addressed*) To the Right honorable lorde Cromwell
lord prevy Seell.¹

Humble shewith and compleynyth vnto yo^r honorable lordship your poir and contynuall oratoris the monkis of the Charterhouse within thile of Axiholme, Whois names ar subscribed vnto theis presentis not knawying vnto whome we may compleyne or show o^r dolorouse greves, but onely vnto yo^r honorable lordship, whoo ever hath shewd on o^r religion your high charitie above all other. So it is as we do vnderstand your lordship had determind and purposed o^r welbeloued brother Dan Tho. Barnyngham should be o^r Prior; he is a sad and a varay religiouse man, Wold God we had hym. Our father Prior apon certayn monitions, not reformyng his erro^{us} (*sic*) but contenewing in his indiscret maners, trewsted no oder but to be discharged of his office at the councell and [with (?)] lettres of Henry Stockw^t haith made all the monay he may and gatherd the rentes and convaide the same and horses that wer of any price. and he is goyn hymself haveyng the convent seill w^t hym. He leiff in the house no peny more yan iii^{li}. Wheither he is goyn, or for what purpose we can

¹ *Ibid.*, § 116, p. 99 (*Calendar*, xii., pt. i., No. 489).

not tell. Humble besechyng yo^r honorable lordship to consider o^r great trobill and to graunt us such comfurth as may be to the lawd of all myghty God, o^r soulles helth and the kynges most hye maiesties hono^r. Written the xxith day of Marche by yo^r Oratoures

Dan John Chamerleyn.	Dan Thomas Alred.
Dan John Pople	Dan Thomas Broke
Dan Ric. Craknell.	brother Robert Pynsbyke
Dan Bryan Bee vicar.	convers.
	brother Thomas Smythe
	convers.

(*Addressed*) To the right honorable lorde privye seall
w^t all humble vies se it d'd.¹

Hvmly shewyth and complanyth vnto yo^r fader hede yo^r poor oratours and chyl dren of obediens, nott knowyng vn to whome we may make o^r complant and shewe our dolorus grefes, but only vnto yo^r worshypfull faderhede, that our fader prior hath done and dayly doth in conveyng our goodes out of our howse; as sone as he was comme home fro London he sayd y^t he had gyfyne vp hys offyce, the howse and the landes, but not the goodes. At hys goyng vp to London he left vs in monye nother golde nor syluer but only iii^{li} for to kepe our house w^tall, and it is not a lytyll y^t he hath receyvyd of o^r bayly syns myghylmes, and yit he dyd report to Mayster doct^r Layton y^t he had deuydyd the same monye in porcions and gyfyne it to his brethren whych thyng is not trwe. Butt when Prior Austyn was dead this man was vicar, and mych of y^t that we had y^t tyme he delyuered to vs in porcions, and as sone as he was prior, he cald it in agane. But now at thys tyme for o^r comforth we can nothyng gett of hym. He hath conveyde owte of hys celle wax worth xl.s. and pewtyr vesell to the nowmbyr of iii score or ther a bowte and iii pecys of lyne cloth and ii pecys of wolan cloth, and a great qwantyte of spyce w^t other moo thyngis. O^r chese and fysshe is greatly wastyd sych as we shuld lyue w^t all, and all o^r rydyng horses is gone and none left in the howse but o^r cartte horses w^t certen catell and movable goodes y^t dyd belong to the howse whych werre

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 117, p. 74 (*Calendar*, xii., pt. i., No. 693.)

to long to wryte euery thyng. Hys prevy caryers dyd convey thys by nyght and thys they dyd so long at last they were takyn w^t o^r awne seruans and sum thyngis were broght in agayne. Also o^r fader hath presumyd after he had gyfn vp the howse and landes he wold haue lettyn a certen fermhold by the covent seale to one of hys kynsmen, but parte of the convent wolde not consent y^eto and yerfore he is sore grevyde w^t some of them. Also he hath lett my lord of Darbyis offyser take cotypes owt of o^r copes y^t we hold of my lord of Darby whyche we feare shall turn vs to hurt and trobull and as sone as he had them he dyschargde vs of them and of o^r fysshying waters, whych thynges were the most profytt y^t longde vn to vs. Also we fere conveyng of o^r evydence and he receyvyth renttis as he dyd be fore whych we thynke shall be lytyll profytt to o^r house. We dyd desyre hym to haue a key w^t hym in the kepyng of o^r covent seal, but he wyll grauntt vs none and we fere of more hurt and dyspleaser shall cum to us yerby, for but late we were certifyed y^t Mayster Stokw^t sayd to o^r fader, yf y^t the visitors of yo^r religion cum to visitt you abyde hym (*sic*) not, but convey yo^r selfe w^t the covent seale and tarry nott hys commyng. And Henry Stokw^t dyd say to the same man if y^t he had done wolde not serue, then he wolde take an oyer way and as we be informyd o^r fader is myndyd to send hym to London very shortly and we fere he shall haue the covent seayle w^t hym for to do the worst to the howse y^t he can. Also Mayster Henry Stokw^t was at London at the feast of all santes or yer a bowte, and he had w^t hym of o^r monye xx^{li} to labor for o^r fader y^t he shuld not preche: when he comme home he sayd y^t my lord pryvy seale had grauntyd hym y^t he shuld not preche, nor he shuld not be put owt of his office, and for y^t promys my lord had on hym xx markis but we y^t are the poor covent can not thynke y^t my lord had it but y^t Mr. Stokw^t dyd kepe it hym selfe and so doth report of my lord. Also after the tyme y^t Mr. Stokw^t comme home o^r fader wold asyne no man to preche accordyng to yo^r commawntment and when o^r fader is any thyng movyd or troblyd w^t vs he wyll send for Mr. Stokw^t for to reforme vs as he hath done many tymes of what autoryte he do take it vp on hym. We pray you fader y^t it may be knowne also Mr. Stokw^t doth sclawnder the covent and sayth o^r house is noght els nisi

spelunca latronum nor he caryth not what he doth say so y^t his wordis may make for his purpas. Also our husbandrye is not lokyd vpon. O^r lond is not tylde; mukeis not led.¹ O^r corne lyth in the barn; sum is threschte and . . . ndyd and mych is yit to thresche and taketh hur w^t vermyn. And as sone as o^r fader comme home he shwede o^r seruandes y^t he had gyuen vp the . . . bad them shyfte for them selfe. and so at Ester they went many of them away, and shortly hay tyme shall cum and when it shulde be sped other thynges shalbe to do. And so we can se none oyer by all hys acies and dedes but y^t he goth abowte to vnde the howse and for fere y^t an other man shuld haue hys offyce he intendyth to leave hym lytyll or noght to kepe howse w^t all. Also he and his carnall frendes detrackyth vs sayng y^t all the troble y^t the howse is in commyth nothyng of hymselfe but by vs w^t letters y^t we have wrytyn op to my lord of the prevy seale. Now worshypfull fader for the love [of] God helpe vs at this great nede and send vs sum conforthable councell and o^r lord ihesu rewarde you in hevyn and euermore kepe you and all yo^r deuoute brederne. Amen.

By yo^r beadmen and chyl dren of obediens

Dan Bryan Bee vicar.

Dayn Thomas Alred.

Brother Thomas, convers.

(Addressed) To the right wyrshupfull fader prior of Shene and visitor of our religion be this delyuerd w^t obediens.²

Robert Lawrence, the other Carthusian fellow-sufferer of Dan John Houghton, it will be remembered, was Prior of Beauvale, or Bevall, in Nottinghamshire. While he was in London, on the 16th April, 1535, the commissioners for the survey known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, Sir John Markham, Sir Anthony Babington, and John Constable, came to his priory to obtain information as to its possessions, spiritual and temporal, and incidentally to inculcate the arguments for the royal supremacy. How William Trafford the procurator and some of the monks appeared before them and showed unwillingness to supply the required details, suggesting that these should be taken from the presentments of lay persons, and how Father Trafford declared

¹ I.e., "muck (manure) is not laid" (?).

² Cotton MS., Cleopatra, E. iv., f. 114.

that he firmly believed the pope to be the supreme head of the Church Catholic and was ready to abide by his words *usque ad mortem*, is set forth by Markham and his colleagues in the following letter to Cromwell:

Pleas it you to knowe that the Fryday beyng the xvi day of Aprill in the xxvi yere of o^r most dred soueraign lord kyng Henry the viiith the Supreme hede of the Englysshe church, We Sir John Markham, Antony Babyngton knyghtes and John Constable Esquier the kynges comyssioners for the rate and the true value of all spirituall promociions and possessions within the Countye of Notyng-ham beyng assembled that day at the Priorye of Bevall in the said Shire beyng of the relegion of the Charterhouse, the proctour and other of the Convent appered bifore vs showing the Prior was absent and at London, and wold haue had vs to have taken presentment of ley persons after their facion informed. Whiche we wald natt for that we hadde nott soo vsed in other houes religieuse. And seyng thereof suche scrupulosite an exortacion frendly was showyd that the kynges of Englund by good juste title ought to be supreme hede of the church of the same, dilatyng the Storye true of Lucius and Eleutherius and of Ethelertus and Lerta his wiff and Gregory and Austen; and vpon the oppenyng of the seid matter, oon William Trafford, Proctour of the seid house, said theis wordys folowyng (Ibeleve fermely that the Pope of Rome is supreme hede of the Church Catholyk). And heryng theis wordys we questioned hym whether he wold abyde by the same. And he said he wold vsque ad mortem. Whervvpon wee causyd hym to write the wordis, whiche resteth of his own hand with the said Sir John Markham beyng Sheriff, in whos warde he is, besechyng your maistership to assertayn the said sheriff what he shall furdre doo therin in exemplum aliorum. And thus our lord sende your Maistership long and prosperous helthe. Written this xviii day of Aprill by yours

(Signed) John Markham
Antony Babyngton.
John Constable.

(Addressed) To the right worshipful Maister Thomas Cromwell oon of the kingis most honorable counsaill d'd.¹

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 92, p. 46 (*Calendar*, viii., No. 560).

Cromwell answered on the 29th April that Trafford was to be sent up to town. Sir John Markham, receiving the order on the 8th May, acknowledged it next day, saying that he accordingly was sending up the Procurator of Bevall "with the words that he spake written with his own hand and his name subscribed to the same."¹ What happened to Trafford in London we do not know. A bullying by the secretary and others of the council, and a sight of the parboiled remains of the martyrs for the papal headship set up as a warning to all of like views, or perhaps a promise of preferment, may have been the inducements to quite another frame of mind in him. He appears to have been kept at Sheen for his new opinions to crystallize under the guidance latterly of Henry Man. And so with that compliant Visitor of his Order to vouch for him, he was thought by Cromwell after a while to be a safe sort of person to be promoted to the priorate of the charterhouse at Smithfield, for the purpose of leading the monks there to make that free and voluntary surrender of their property which Henry, ever desirous of formal legal sanctions for his actions, was so anxious to obtain from the monastic bodies. The letter below is from Man to Cromwell about his appointment:

Right honorable Maister in o^r Savio^r Jhesu be yo^r salutation with many humble thanks for all yo^r synguler goodnes shewed to me. This is to beseche yo^r Maistership to accepte this beyrer benyglye (*sic*) even so accompleshyng that you have begon in him. This is Fader Trafford whom your Maistership hath apoynted to be Prior at the charterhouse in Smythfeld. I dowt not but he will so ordre himself tharein as shalbe to the hono^r of God and of the kyng with much wurship to yo^r Maistership, honestie to himself, and proffet to the said house by the grace of Jhesu who ever preserve yo^r good maistership in grace and vertue. From Shene the xxiiith daie of aprill by yo^r dayly orato^r and bedeman

Henry the Prior of Shene.

(Addressed) To the right honorable and his singuler good Maister, Maister Thomas Cromwell secretarie to the Kynges highnes, and Maister of the Rolles d'd.²

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 92, p. 163 (*Calendar*, viii., No. 692).

² *Ibid.*, p. 66 (*Calendar*, viii., No. 585, under the year 1535, a too early date).

Another member of the Beauvale convent, the devout young sacrist, Dan Nicholas Dugmer, when asked by the royal commissioners for his opinion of the king as supreme head in ecclesiastical matters, replied, either from simplicity or from astuteness, "As to that, I regard him as God and His holy Church regard him, and I am persuaded that he thinks of himself no more highly." They seem to have been satisfied with his answer.¹

Meanwhile at Beauvale there had succeeded to Prior Robert Lawrence, Dom Thomas Woodcock, the election being secured by the monks on payment of £20 to Dr. Thomas Legh, if the accusation² of the latter's inimical colleague ApRice is to be credited. Under the new priorate things were not very satisfactory from the Cromwellian point of view, and when the Visitors, Priors Man and Michell, came there in August, 1537, they found it not only expedient to move Fathers Chauncy and Fox away, but also that they would have—to use their own words—"myche busynes with certen" of the monks there; this, too, was in spite of the favour of the king, who on 4th January, 1537, had granted the priory of the Holy Trinity of Bevale to continue in its pristine state, Thomas Woodkok, professed of the Carthusian Order, to be henceforth its prior in the same form as he was on 4th February last, on condition of paying to the king all the tenths and first fruits, notwithstanding the Act for the dissolution of the monasteries with property not exceeding £200 yearly in value.³ Beauvale charterhouse, having thus the royal licence, carried on its existence until the 18th July, 1539, on which day Prior Woodcock and seven of the monks signed the deed of surrender.⁴

The relations of the government with the charterhouses of St. Anne, Coventry, of St. Michael, Hull, and of Mountgrace in Yorkshire, were complicated by their suspected countenancing of the rebellions of 1536 and 1537. At St. Anne's, Dom John Houghton and his fellow-sufferers

¹ Dom Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides*, iii., p. 265. For other details of this excellent monk see Dom L. Hendrik, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 303-304.

² *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. ix., No. 622.

³ Patent Roll, 28 Henry VIII., pt. iv., m. 17.

⁴ Augmentation Office, *Deeds of Surrender*, No. 18.

were held in reverence, and the then prior attributed to their interposition the preservation of his subject Dan Richard Crofts from suicide during a fit of religious melancholia,¹ and it may well have been that this convent was not groundlessly reputed to have a sympathy with the rising in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Anyway, the monks, in the absence of their prior in London, thought it best to explain their connection with Thomas Kendall, vicar of Lowth, one of the rebels in 1537, in a letter to Cromwell, as follows:

Right hono^rable and o^r most singular good lord, liketh it you to be aduertised that of late came to o^r howse a preste callid S^r Thomas Kendall sayng that he was benyficid w^t in thre miles of Co[l]chester and that he came from Oxford, made instant labo^r to have byn receuyd into o^r religion, father Prior then beyng at London laboring for many causes concernyng o^r poore howse, to whome the Proctor wrote concernyng his petition. And o^r seid father Prior made answer directly that he wold not receue hym nor any other.² And the seid Sir Thomas hauing this answeare taried vsyng fislike both w^t in the Citie and also in the Countre, some tymes resortyd to o^r howse for loggyng and sometymes to the Citie. And we hauing a ferme w^t in iii myles of Lowth send on of o^r seruantes for rentes by whome the seid Sir Thomas send writynges to certayn men of Lowth vnknowing to vs which seid men schewid the seid writynges vnto the dukes grace deputie at Lincoln, Which send certayn men to o^r howse on the Natiuitie even of o^r Lord God about six of the klok we beyng at rest and not knowing and toke the seid preste and caried hym out of o^r howse. And this by pretence of his clokyd vertue hid his demereties and extreme fautes committed ageynst the kynges highnes as doith appere, we neuer knowing therof, as we will answeare before God, and therof take o^r deth. desiryng yo^r hono^rable lordshippe to contynew good lord to o^r poore howse and we shalbe yo^r daily oratours to o^r most mercifull lord God who euer preserve yo^r good lordshippe in vertue and grace long to contynew. Writyn

¹ Chauncy's *Historia*, ed. of 1888, p. 121.

² In one of his examinations, Kendall himself, however, says that on the prior's return from London he was accepted (*Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xi., No. 970).

at the Charterhowse next Coventre the fourth daye of January by yo^r assured daily oratours,

per me Johannem Tod seniore.
 per me Robertum Bulde.
 per me Willelmum Abell.
 per me Thomam Corbyn.
 per me Ricardum Appulby.
 per me Thomam Letherbarow.
 per me Johannem Tod juniorem.
 per me Richardum Sclater.
 per me Johannem Berdon.
 per me Richardum Wall.
 per me Richardum Craftys.

(*Addressed*) To the right honorable my lord preue
 seall be this deliuerit in haste.¹

The charterhouse at Coventry being liable to suppression according to the Act for the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, passed some months before the writing of this letter, would be especially anxious to stand well with the authorities; their explanation of the incident and Kendall's own declaration at his examination in the Tower on the 12th of the same month,² that he did not believe that they would have received him had they known who he was, were presumably accepted, for on the 6th July in that year the king granted their continuance under their prior, John Brocheard.³ But on the 16th January, 1538, Father Brocheard and seven monks put their names to the deed of surrender of their house and all its belongings,⁴ probably not without a struggle for longer religious existence, for in the preceding December Dr. London, an agent for the suppression of monasteries, mentioned to Cromwell the receipt of "unwise letters" from the charterhouse in Coventry.⁵

Neither of the Yorkshire charterhouses could at first accept the royal supremacy over the English Church. In their tribulation about the question, they went for counsel to the Archbishop of York, Dr. Edward Lee—indeed, he stated that four charterhouses came to him, Richmond

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, 114, p. 21 (*Calendar*, xii., pt. i., No. 19).

² *Ibid.*, *Calendar*, xii., pt. i., No. 70 (1).

³ Patent Roll, 29 Henry VIII., pt. v., m. 17.

⁴ Augmentation Office, *Deeds of Surrender*, No. 63.

⁵ *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Calendar*, xiii., pt. ii., No. 1153).

(Sheen), Coventry, Hull, and Mountgrace. He said to them: "What counsel shall I give you, but to do as I have done myself and as many others have done, both great learned men, and taken for good men, and that they might not think that such men would do but that [which] they might avow?" The Priors of Hull and Mountgrace were "sore bent rather to die than to yield to Henry's royal style," but the archbishop persuaded both to change their opinions.¹ Thus on the 1st July, 1535, Thomas Magnus, a correspondent of Cromwell, found the Carthusian prior and brethren at Hull "conformable to the king's pleasure,"² and on the 10th February following Dr. Legh gave a similar report.³ On the 4th February the Act for the suppression of the lesser religious houses had passed, and the convent of St. Michael, Hull, being one of such therein so designated, had thenceforth nothing but the king's mercy between them and dissolution. On the 26th May the commissioners for the survey of their possessions were there, and again found the prior and brethren quite agreeable towards the royal business which they had come to conduct. Moreover, they learnt that the community was "right well favoured and commended by the honest men of Hull and other neighbours thereabouts for their good living and great hospitality by them daily kept." The men of Hull and their other neighbours, indeed, even went so far as to dare intercede for them, requesting the commissioners to desire Cromwell to be good master to the prior and brethren and "to be a mean for them to the king's highness" that they might continue in their house.⁴ The request had effect; on the 17th August ensuing the Carthusians of the priory of St. Michael near Hull were granted continuance under their prior, Ralph Malyvere, notwithstanding the Act of 27 Henry VIII.,⁵ though, of course, not without heavy payments to the king.⁶

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, x., No. 99, Archbishop Lee to Henry VIII., 14th January, 1536 (*cf. ibid.*, No. 93, the same to Cromwell, 13th January, 1536).

² *Ibid.*, viii., No. 968.

³ *Ibid.*, x., No. 288.

⁴ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 104, p. 64 (*Calendar*, x., No. 980), Ralph Ellerker and others to Cromwell, 28th May.

⁵ Patent Roll, 28 Henry VIII., pt. i., m. 31-32.

⁶ For the fines paid into the Treasury of the Augmentations for the charterhouses of Hull, Beauvale, and Coventry, for their continuance, see *Calendar of State Papers*, xiii., pt. ii., No. 497 (i., 3).

Meanwhile in the very month that the commissioners were at Hull, the government authorities had dispatched to this "conformable" community two of the refractory monks from the House of the Salutation at Smithfield, Fathers John Rochester and James Walworth (or Walwerk), both priests who had made their profession in the London charter-house. These two "obstinate" for the papal supremacy could have found many congenial spirits in that part of England, for in the autumn occurred a rising in Lincolnshire, followed by the rebellion headed by Roger Aske, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, the object whereof was a reversal of the main part of Henry's ecclesiastical policy. The issue of a general pardon and the promise of a parliament to meet in the north to redress their grievances quieted the county for the present; but the non-fulfilment of the king's promise led to a further rising among the disappointed Yorkshire men in the first months of the year 1537, and some of the insurgents tried to take Hull. St. Michael's convent, compliant to the king's will and dependent on his pleasure for their very existence, would have shirked implicating themselves in this attempt or in other proceedings of the rebels. But an influential neighbour of theirs—Dom Chauncy calls him a "noble" in the first version of his history, and more bitterly "a satrap of the Philistines" in the last version—after the quelling of these tumults denounced their two London guests, Fathers Rochester and Walworth, to Cromwell as guilty of rebellion in their persistent opposition to the king's laws. Cromwell authorised this unnamed person to take them to York to be examined by the Duke of Norfolk, then in charge of the affairs of the north.¹ Since the two monks in their indictment² are described as being, besides late of the city of London, also as late of the monastery of Blessed Mary the Virgin without the walls of the city of York, it seems that the duke put them into safe custody in that abbey. From their place of confinement probably Father Rochester wrote a letter to Norfolk which could only hasten their fate:

Jhesus

My deutie exhibited to yo^r grace, Likyth the same to be aduertised, that wher as of late in the presens of yo^r

¹ Chauncy's *Historia*, ed. of 1888, p. 118; and *Passio* of 1570, f. 53.

² Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi., f. 208.

grace, dyuers of the councell being present, I offered my self and promysed iustly and manyfestly to proue that the Kynges Hyeghnes hathe byn deluded and dysseiued be them that haue provoked and entysed his grace to take vpon hym thaçtoryte of Supreme hede and confessed his grace to be of right thonly supreme hede of the Chirche of Englund next and Immedyatly vnder God, and to haue cure and charge bothe of bodie and Sowle, to which I say and promyse (and be the helpe of God) to justifie and prove the Contrary so evydently and apertly by ther owne argumentes and allegacyons that the kinges hyghnes, yo^r grace and all other shalbe here after of dowght ther of, and that it is dyrectly against the lawes of God, fayth catholyke, helth of his hyghnes bodie and Sowle. Wherefore I beseche yo^r grace (for the Loue of God) as ye tender Goddis hono^r, and the Kingis, (as in very dede yow haue all weys done) that you will helpe this matter to comme to the kingis presens; for it towches his hyghnes very nigh. Yo^r grace had neuer so waytie a matter in hand that you myght so hyghly hono^r God and the King in as now. I dought not but God hathe ordeyned and chosen yo^r grace in lyke maner to be his mynestre now herin, as ye were whan he be yo^r grace staed purgatorie.¹ I haue no trust for the tryal hereof, but only in God, nor yet in lerning: neuerthelesse I trust to proue all that I shall say both be scripture and manyfest reason. And if it shold fortune (which God defend) this matter neuer to come forth opynly to the triall, but the contrary, than this letter to be my wittnesse and dyscharge afore God. Whome I also take to witnesse that I haue not so myche respecte . . . to my selfe as to the saffegard of my bodely lyffe, for I protest to God, that I had leuer God [will]ing haue the trowth come forth and so die than . . . here at ease, and the trowth clokyd and hyd as it hathe byn. Wherefore I beseche yo^r grace that I may come to the Kyngis presens for proffe and tryall hereof; and in the mene tyme to be ordered after the dyet of my Relygyon, that I may haue conuenyent strenght to mak answeere at such tyme as yo^r grace shall call for me. For I am most commynly at all tymes very

¹ This allusion is obscure; but, though Father Rochester, as an adherent of the old ecclesiastical system, must have sympathised with the aims of the Pilgrimage of Grace, he may have meant that the quashing of the rebellion by Norfolk was the saving of the country from civil war.

weke. And if I haue writton more boldely or more rudely to yo^r grace than becomes me I beseche yo^r grace to pardon me for Goddis cause and the Kingis is cause therof. And if I had come to the Kingis presens or bifore yo^r grace at any tyme thes too or thre yeres past, as I dyd of late, truly I entended to haue saed . . . and done than as I haue done now. As knowes [o^r] Lord who long preserue yo^r grace in hono^r with thincrese of myche vertue in hast the day of Merch

yo^r graces bedeman John Rochester.

(Addressed) To the Duke of Northfolkes good grace the Kingis lyuetenaut in the north partes.¹

The duke enclosed the monk's appeal in a letter of his own to Cromwell, dated at Newburgh the 31st March. "I have no litle marvayle," was his comment on Father Rochester, "howe he was sent into these parties and not put to execution there, considering that he saithe he shewed his opinion to Mr. Bedell and others theyre and thus remayneth. I beleve he is one of the most arrant traytours of all others that I have herd of. I thinke it were veray necessary he were sent for vppe to be justified there and not here, bycause that nowe I thynke thopinion of the people in these parties is cleerly tourned from ther old beleve of the bushop of Rome. And what suche a maligne espirite myght impresse in light folisshe heddes I report me to youre lordshippes high wysdome. When our thinges be well here I wold be sory that any occasion shold be yeven to engendre newe folisshe fantasies."² On sight of the unhappy monk's curious confused composition, the Privy Council thought him "to be a rank traitor," and in spite of the advice not to try him in Yorkshire, directed the duke to send for him, and if he persisted in his opinion, to cause him to be "justified and executed" there.³ Writing to the king on the 10th May, Norfolk told him of the arraignment of, and judgment on, the two charterhouse monks and that they were to suffer on the next Friday; he added that "two more wilful religious men in manner unlearned,

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 117, p. 183 (*Calendar*, xii., pt. i., No. 778). The paper is worn away at the edge.

² *Ibid.*, p. 181 (*Calendar*, xii., pt. i., No. 777).

³ Harl. MS. 6989, f. 69^v.

I think, never suffered.”¹ In spite of statements otherwise, Fathers Rochester and Walworth, according to the bill of their indictment,² were tried and condemned solely on the charge of repudiating the royal supremacy and upholding that of the pope.³ They were hanged on 15th May, 1537, but were spared the cruelties meted out to John Houghton and his companions; their bodies, suspended by chains outside the walls of York, were left until they dropped to pieces.⁴

As to the charterhouse of St. Michael at Hull, Ralph Malevery, the prior, and his convent, signed the deed of surrender of that priory and of all its estates in their chapter house on 9th November, 1539.

The commissioners for receiving the oaths attached to the first Act of Succession, passed in March, 1534, arrived at Mountgrace in the summer of that year. They wrote to Cromwell on the 1st July that they had taken the oaths of the king's subjects in the parts of the country allotted to them, saving those of “twoo monkis which is wthin the

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, xii., pt. i., No. 1172.

² Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi., f. 208.

³ Dom L. Hendriks, in *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 215-216, states that the “true bill” (Cotton MS. as above) containing their indictment accuses them of having hidden traitors and rebels in the monastery of our Lady by Hull; but the only charge therein is that John Rochester and James Whalworth, “each of them falsely and traiterously by malice aforethought and seduced by diabolical instigation, little weighing their due allegiance, on 8th May, in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of our most illustrious and most Christian prince and lord by the grace of God King, etc., and in earth supreme head of the Anglican Church, and on divers days and times before as false wicked traitors and rebels of the king at the Monastery of St. Mary aforesaid falsely and maliciously conspiring, did imagine, practise, etc., and attempt to deprive the king of his dignity, title, name, and royal estate, viz., of being on earth the supreme head of the Anglican Church, and separately by words, writings, and notorious and public acts falsely and maliciously deprived him as much as in themselves they could, and then and there affirmed that the said present lord king was not supreme head on earth of the Anglican Church but falsely, etc., said that the Roman Bishop was and is supreme head on earth thereof.” The only monastery of St. Mary mentioned is that of the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary without the walls of the city of York, of which the two monks are here said to be, probably because they had been in safe custody there before the trial. The Bill is of course in Latin; in translating the charge, the lengthy legal verbiage has been slightly abridged in this note.

⁴ Chauncy, *Historia* of 1550, ed. of 1888, p. 118.

Mountgrace and wthin oure Circuit, one Dan Thomas Leighton and Dan Geffray Hodeshon which doith w^t stond and will not make the saide Othe according vnto o^r said Souereign lordis Comandement by his said commission, Bot w^t stondis it obstinatly." They ordered the prior to put the two monks in safeguard until they could hear of the king's pleasure therein, and asked the secretary to let them have the Council's directions as to "what should be doyn to thaym for the withstanding of the said othe";¹ but we have no further details today concerning them. The inference from this letter of the commissioners is that the prior and the rest of the community of Mountgrace, like their brethren of the London charterhouse, swore to the first Act of Succession. But the oath to the Supremacy Act demanded next year they, again like them, regarded as a much more serious thing. John Wilson, their prior, could not reconcile this to his ideas of the Christian Church, and sought counsel of the Bishop of Durham.² The Archbishop of York, Dr. Lee, sent the Archdeacon of Cleveland to him with a book to remove his doubts. The prior "received the book, but allowed not the thing, and said he trusted none of his brethren would allow such a thing." The archdeacon tried in vain to allure him to the royal views.³ Then Dr. Lee resolved himself to try "to recover him," and sent him a letter with result that the prior on the 9th July had a personal interview with the archbishop, who on the same day dispatched word to Cromwell how he finally yielded. "He was," Dr. Lee relates, "very conformable and considers that it beseeems not him to stand in any opinion against so many of good learning and good living. He is much comforted to hear that the London charterhouse and other houses of his religion are stayed. As there are in every house simple men of small learning and little discretion, he advises that Dr. Horde, a prior of their religion whom all the religion esteems for virtue and learning, should be sent to all the houses in the realm. They will give him more credence, and rather apply their conscience to his judgment than to

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 85, p. 25 (*Calendar*, vii., No. 932), Sir James Strangways and others to Cromwell.

² *Ibid.*, § 157, p. 109 (*Calendar*, xv., No. 125).

³ *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. viii., No. 963 (from Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi., f. 239).

any other, although of greater learning, especially if some other good father be joined with him. He desired me to move this to you, and I think it would do much good for many of them are very simple men. I have given him a book of declaration to read among his brethren."¹ After the change worked by the archbishop, of course, when Richard Bowyer, alias Strilley, came to Mountgrace on his way to Alnwick, he could on the 13th July assure Cromwell that "Dan John Wilson, father Prior at the Mountgrace for hymself is determyned to accomplish the kingis grace commaundment and yo^r pleasure in all thinges. And so (is) part of his covent. And if theyr weyr a commission made vnto Doctor Horde on of theyr religion and to on adiunct with hym,² I thynk verely, that ther woldbe no stopp but that ther Religion³ hoolly in the north parties wylbe inclinable in all poyntis. And I thynk that yo^r maistership cannot do a more charitable dede than to wyne such a simple sort w^t mekenes and mercy."⁴ The conversion of Father Wilson was scarcely thorough—he was to be one of the few Carthusians who were reunited at Sheen under Queen Mary—and while professing "a willing heart towards all manner of things" passed by Parliament, he evidently wished to shift the responsibility of drawing his brethren away from the papal allegiance on to the shoulders of Prior Horde of Hinton charterhouse. A letter from the Earl of Northumberland to the king gives further details of the prior as well as of two staunch adherents of the papal cause, who, rather than be sworn, attempted flight from the convent.

Pleas it youre most gracious maiestye to be aduertysed that on goinge in my jo'ney vnto youre graces Countie of Northumberland to doo justice there vppon offenders accordinge to your graces lawes and the truste youre highnes puttethe in me most vnworthy, credible reaport was made vnto me at Darneton, as well by youre justices of peax there nye adioynynge as also by the Priour of Mount grace

¹ *Calendar*, vol. viii., No. 1011 (from Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. vi., f. 241).

² That is "to one joined with him."

³ The word "religion" is used here, of course, in the specific monastic sense.

⁴ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 105, p. 53 (*Calendar*, xi., No. 75).

seruantes of the goinge awaye towards Scotland of oon Dane Richard Marshall prest and Jamys Neweye laye brother of the said house within youre countie of Yorke, by cause they wold not be sworne vnto suche articles as they were bounde according to youre highnes most dradde lawes. Whervppon I sent for the Pryor of the same place and haue spokyn withe hym, and he showid me that the xiith day of the present monethe, oon Anthony Heroune borne in Northumberland was confessed at hym and desyred hym licence that he myght conueye certayne of his bretheren into Scotland, for so moche as they colde not be contented to be sworne as afforsaid. Whiche desyer he denyed sayinge that nayther the said Anthony myght aske licence for theym so to doo nor he to graunt it theym without commyttyng tresoun to youre grace, and therby to runne unto your high indignacion whiche he said he wolde not doo. And immediatly hervppon the said two persons dyde rynne awaye. Whyche be nowe brought thyther agayne and be comytt to a straye pryson there to remayn vnto suche tyme as youre graces pleasure be further knawen therein. And where the said Anthony is nowe no parfite knowledge can yet be hade, for whome I haue haide watche for hys apprehension wher I can haue any supposall that he is lykely to reasort vnto. And the same Anthony yf it be possible that any may take hym I shall not fail to send hym vp vnto youre grace according to my most bounden dutie, to be ordered further as shall stande with youre most gracious pleasure yf he come to thies partes; bot as I am informed nowe lately he is repared to Saint Albones for payinge rentes to thabbot there for suche tythes as he hathe of the same howse.

It maye pleas youre most gracious highnes furthermore to be aduertysed that I haue had the said prio^r in examination and haue founde hym vereye conformable and wyllynge to consent and agree according to hys most bounde dutie and withe a right wylling harte to all maner of thynges past in youre graces most hye court of Parliament, lykewyse as all other youre graces subiectes hathe and in the same manner, he saithe that all the resydew of his brethren be, except oonly the two persons afforsaid, desyring youre highnes that one of his owen religion may come and vysyt theyme for the same intent. And that his conformyte therein may be perfetely knawen vnto youre grace. And thus

the hooly Triynyte euer preserue youre most Royall Estate long to endure with asmoche increas of hono^r as youre most noble harte can desyre. At Darneton the xiiiith day of July

(Signed) yo^r most humble subiecte and lovly

[lowly] seruant H. Northumberland.

(Addressed) To the Kinges most gracious Maiestye.¹

Prior Wilson was anxious to save his convent from the interference and molestation of the Government agents; he would obey the new laws so far as he could, and, on the other hand, would entreat that his monks might not have further vexation. But he must have had hard work to persuade Sir Francis Bigod, who also was at Mountgrace in July, not to trouble those who on his own showing were "traitors" in the eyes of a man engaged on the royal business. There is this severe passage relating to Mountgrace in a letter of Sir Francis to Cromwell dated from "Myddlam" on 20th July:

"The Prior of Mountgrace praide me not to moave ne to vex any of his brethern for he had sente to yower mastership his mynde concernyng boith hym selfe and his brethern; therfor I wolde ther meddle no farther, yit this I well parsaive by the prior that moste parte of his brether be as yit traters. He shewid me likewise that a gentilman of Northumberland callid Heron was lately at the mounte and wolde that the prier shulde have yoven hym leave to conveye twayn of the monks wiche be traters, in to Skotlande. I can not tell whether he haith openyd this to yower Maistership or not I dare not conceale it from you, and that for my discharge."²

On the 8th August the Archbishop of York wrote to Cromwell again confirming what he had said before as to the submission of Prior Wilson, and repeating his request for the presence of Prior Horde among his brethren.

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 94, p. 45 (*Calendar*, viii., No. 1038). On p. 48 is a letter of the Earl to Cromwell of the same dates, notifying that he has written to the king about Anthony Heron and the two Carthusians.

² *Ibid.*, § 94, p. 115.

Right honorable after my hertiest commendacion I have writen to you by Teshe my registre, that the priour of Mountgrace is yelded recogniseng that it besemethe not hym to stond in opinion agaynst as well many good and learned men, as also against many faders, and coventes of his religion. Mr. Bigod the bearer perceiveth the same in hym, oonely he requireth (wiche I haue writen to you heretofore) that for the alureng of some his simple brodren, Doctor Hord, a priour of their religion, in whome they have greate confidence, maye come thidre. The sayede prio^r hathe the same desiered of Mr. Bigod. His commeing shall more worke in them then any learning or autorite, as the priour thinketh, and I can well thinke the same. And thus our Lorde have you in his continuall kepeng. From Thorpe the viiith of August 1535.

yo^r own ever assured,

(Signed) Edouard Ebor.

(Addressed) To the right honorable my verie goode frend Mr. Secretarie.¹

Meanwhile the visitation of monasteries in the same year was being conducted in those parts by Doctors Layton and Legh, who seemed to have found the monks of Mountgrace as compliant as those of Hull.² Nevertheless the real opinions of their prior, in spite of his supposed conversion to the royal supremacy, were evidently known by the leaders of the northern rebellion to be in line with their own. Mountgrace was, therefore, one of those religious houses to whom George Lumley³ sent a servant at Sir Thomas Percy's command "to move the Abbots and Priors and two brethren from each to come forward with their best crosses," to join those pathetic "Pilgrims of Grace," who, under their banner of the Five Wounds of Christ, and wearing their badges of the sacred monogram, like a church procession, marched forwards with such high hopes of winning their king back to the old paths, and who were to be so cruelly deceived. Whether Dan John Wilson made any response, either in person or by sending any of his monks, does not appear. The Pilgrimage of Grace having failed, only hastened the suppression of the

¹ *Ibid.*, § 95, p. 51 (*Calendar*, ix., No. 49).

² *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. x., No. 288.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xii., pt. i., No. 369 (p. 164).

larger monasteries and the confiscation of their property, for even where there was no accusation against them of real participation in it, their sympathies might be taken for granted to have lain with the insurgents. The charter-house of Mountgrace was among those that now fell. If the work of dissolution began even before the signing of the deeds of surrender, it would account for a sometime monk of that house being out of the cloister and serving a cure in Middlesex. This was Sir Richard Davy, curate of "Whyzt Church" (Little Stanmore), whom John West, curate of Kingsbury, and William Balford, curate of Hyndon, tried to get into trouble with Cromwell by relating a conversation at some merry-making in his parish, when he had said that he would not hold with "this new doctrine," nor with the suppressing of images.¹ That the priory of St. Mary of Mountgrace was not actually implicated in the rebellions is clear, for its property did not pass to the king by the attainder of its head. Prior Wilson would have liked to keep his house, "if it had stood with the king's pleasure."² Dr. Hilyard, secretary to the Bishop of Durham, confirmed him in his unwillingness to part with it by saying that it was in a manner selling it to surrender it for money or pensions. This man, however, for reasons of his own having fled to Scotland,³ the prior felt himself unable to resist, and "voluntarily" made over to the king his priory and all its possessions. The deed of surrender was signed by Dan John Wylson and some of his community in their chapter house on the 18th December, 1539, before Thomas Legh, "a clerk of the King's Chancery."⁴

In the beginning of the next year Father Wilson was called to account for his connection with Dr. Hilyard: his answer to his examination, illustrating the occurrences related above, is given here in full:

28 Januarii.

John Wilson late p^lor of y^e mount grace in y^e Conte of Yorke sworne and examined saithe y^t he hath ben p^lor

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. xiii., pt. ii., No. 361.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xv., No. 125.

³ Cardinal Gasquet, *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries* (ed. of 1899), pp. 354-355.

⁴ Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv., p. 665 (from Close Roll, 31 Henry VIII., pt. iv., No. 3).

there y^e space of xx yeer or there a bout and saithe y^t at y^e fyrst tyme whan he hurd y^t y^e kinges Ma^{tie} and his consayll was determyned for to extyrpe and abolishe y^e bishop of Romes vsurped po^r o^t of y^{is} his highnes realme of England, by cause y^e contrary was bet in to his brayn by fore, the thyng dyd troble hym for a tyme. Wher vpon he went to the Byshop of Duresme to haue his aduice and consayll who showyng vnto y^{is} exa^{et} certayn auneyaunt docto^{res} of y^e Churche as Cipⁱane and other wher by diuerse argumentes dyd appere y^t y^e byshypp of Rome had no more autoryte de iure diuino then oyer byshopes had and y^t onely wⁱⁿ his owne see. Whiche satisfied y^{is} exa^{et} for y^t tyme and shortly after tharchbishop of Yorke send for this exa^{et} and at y^t tyme dyd perswayd vnto hym y^t y^e kinges Ma^{tie} was supreme heed immediatly vnder Cst of y^{is} Churche of England, And if y^{is} exa^{et} or any of his brether had any contrary scruple in ther conscience the archbishop wold present his sowl for therse by twyne God and theme y^t the same was consonaunt vnto y^e law of God and his doctryne.

And sens y^t tyme y^{is} exa^{et} for hymself was well satisfied, howbeit he had muche troble w^t certeyn of his breyer whome by cause they wold not acknolege ther dwtes vnto y^e kinges Ma^{tie} and vtterly expell y^e bishop of Rome o^t of ther hartes y^{is} exa^{et} kepid theme in prison a longe tyme as one Geyfrey Hodgkson, Robert Fuster, Ric. Mershall, and Thomas Lyghton whiche y^{is} exa^{et} keped in prison a quarter of a yeer at two seueral tymes by cause they wold not be obbedient vnto the kynges Ma^{tie} and at y^e last they wer obbedient and tractable enough and so haue contenewed by the space of two yeer and more and do contenew lykewyse at y^{is} present as y^{is} exa^{et} doth suppose. And furyermore he saith y^t albeit he of hym selfe had evyll wyll to surrender vp his house if it myght haue stood w^t y^e kingis pleyzure y^t he myght haue keped it yet yer was neuer none except onely Doctor Hylyerd y^t euer gaue vnto y^{is} exa^{et} any conseyll not to surrender it; but docto^r Hylyerd cummyng to y^e house desyryng to speke w^t y^e breyer of y^e sayd house dyd conseyll as well y^{is} exa^{et} as his sayd breyer that they shuld not surrender vp y^e house but if y^e kyngis Ma^{tie} wold take y^e sayd house then the (*sic*) shuld suffer his highnes to take it by his owne autorytie and none oyer ways. And moreou^r y^{is} exa^{et} deposeth y^t

y^e sayd Hylyerd dyd neuer wryte vnto y^{is} exa^{et} nor none oyer in y^t behalfe saue doct^r Wilson¹ who was informed by a seruaunt of S^r James Strangwysses, one William Bates, y^t he fered lest y^{is} exa^{et} shuld styke in y^e surrenderyng of y^e sayd house of Mount grace: by occasion wher of docto Wilson wrot vnto y^{is} exa^{et} y^t if y^e kingis Ma^{tes} commis-sioners cam thether for to take surrender of the house of Mountgrace y^t in no wyse he shuld make resystence but frely to surrender y^e same for y^e kingis Ma^{tes} dyd purpose to put y^e sayd house to a better use, and also he w^tot in y^e sayd lettres y^t in no wyse they shuld not styke w^t y^e bryche of y^e vowes, for vowes had ben despensed w^tall saue chastite. And finally y^{er} was neuer none y^t gaue vnto them y^e contrary conseyll onely Docto Hylyerd excepted, whiche also sayd y^t it was a maner of sellyng yer house to surrender vp ther house for money or pensions.

And foryer he can not say.

(Signed at the foot of every page) Johan Wilson.²

¹ Dr. Nicholas Wilson, when a prisoner in the Tower, declared that he had asked Hilyard to advise the Prior of Mountgrace to be obedient to the king and to give up his monastery when required to do so (*Calendar of State Papers*, xv., No. 747).

² *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 157, p. 109 (*Calendar*, xv., No. 125).

CHAPTER VI

THE BREAKING OF BRUISED REEDS AT THE LONDON CHARTERHOUSE

THE generally submissive conduct of the other charter-houses was not without effect on the sorely tried monks of that last Carthusian stronghold of the papal supremacy at London. But any yielding now on the part of the community of the House of the Salutation after so long a resistance stood them in little stead with the exasperated king. A short while after Father Fewterer's death, Ralph Sadler one evening at Windsor had a conversation with Henry as he was going to the queen's chamber to supper. Having told him that "the father of Sion" was departed, and that Cromwell would repair thither himself for the election of another head for the Bridgettines, "his Grace answered that it were well done. . . . 'Howbeit, quod he, the Charterhouse in London is not ordered as I wold have it. I commanded, quod he, my lord privy seal a great while ago to put the monks out of the house and now he wrote to you, quod he, that they be reconciled, but seeing that they have been so long obstinate, I will not now, quod he, admit their obedience, and so write to my lord Privy Seal.'"¹ Cromwell, with the information of the death of the Confessor of Syon, had told Sadler, perhaps, of the eight Carthusians who had been "reconciled" by the religious there, but who, according to Chauncy, had, on returning home, gone back to their former opinions. The king had ordered the suppression of the charterhouse. His vicar general omitted to obey him, possibly because he still thought that to win by any means this respected body of monks to his master's side of the controversy was of more use than to make martyrs of them. The royal message received through Sadler may have been the ground of his threat to the convent at Smithfield that unless they subscribed to the supremacy oath, he would ruin their whole

¹ *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xi., No. 501 (27th September).

house. The monks were, in fact, themselves wearied out; the long persecution had done its work. They perceived also the way in which all the world was going, and how both seculars and religious, almost all, even though more renowned than they in learning, and not inferior as to religion, had yielded and had subscribed. Moreover, at this time Prior Trafford was there to influence them, though his name does not occur in the pages of Father Chauncy, whose charity did not allow him to disclose that of any defaulters towards the Roman obedience, save his own. The bruised reeds could no longer stand upright. Calling on God to witness their reluctance and to pardon their submission to compulsion, "certain of the inferior ones"—to use their brother's bitter term for them—yielded.¹

On the 18th May, 1537, the community assembled in their chapter house, and in the presence of Thomas Bedyll, Archdeacon of Cornwall, and Richard Gwent, Archdeacon of London, swore to renounce the Bishop of Rome and his authority, and to accept the king as supreme head on earth of the Church of England, and to observe all acts and statutes made in derogation of the papal, and in corroboration of the royal, supremacy. To the oath, sealed with their common seal, the signatures of William Trafford, their prior, and of twenty members of the convent were affixed.²

Certain of the monks, however, "to whom God had given the grace of fortitude"—for it is a gift of God and not of the will of man, acknowledged Chauncy years later (his own defection from his ideal of constancy having taught him generosity towards the signatories)—remained firm, utterly refusing their assent,³ or, according to William Say, the public notary who attested the oath of the others, they, though frequently and earnestly requested and exhorted to take the same oath, contumaciously refused to do so. These were Thomas Johnson, Richard Bere, Thomas Grene, priests and professed monks, John Davy, a deacon and *referendarius* of the house; Robert Salt, William Greenwold or Greenwood, Thomas Redyng,

¹ *Passio* of 1570, ff. 54^v-55.

² Record Office, *Acknowledgments of Supremacy*, S.A. 2, No. 82*. Also Rymer, *Fœdera*, xiv., pp. 585-589.

³ *Passio* of 1570, f. 55^v.

Thomas Schryven, Walter Person or Pierson, and William Horne, converses.¹

These ten men were promptly conveyed to Newgate. The earliest version of Chauncy's *Passio*, which gives the 14th kal. of June (29th May), and the latest, which gives 30th May as the date of their committal, are both wrong on this point. "On Friday before Whitsunday last, eight or nine of the London Charterhouse were brought to Newgate," wrote Robert Holdsworth to Sir Henry Sayvel from London on "Trinity even" (26th May), 1537.² To this new batch of Carthusian recusants was allotted a disguised martyrdom. Cast into a filthy and airless prison, fettered so that they could not move, like their brothers in the Marshalsea, they were brought to no trial, but provided with insufficient food, they were left to be "dispatched by the hand of God"—that is, by a process of slow starvation. In old days Sir Thomas More, when too much otherwise occupied, had employed his adopted daughter Margaret Gigs to dispense his alms.³ Trained by him in the way of charity, and, perhaps, having imbibed from him a regard for the Carthusian Order, it was she, now Mistress Clement, who for a time tried to relieve the misery of these prisoners. The story is that, bribing the gaoler, she came to them for several days disguised as a milkmaid, with a bucket of food on her head, and fed them from it, their chains rendering them helpless; then pity bowing her to a yet lower service, "she afterwards took from them their natural filth." When the king, wondering why his victims continued alive, commanded a stricter guard over them, the gaoler refused her admittance. The indefatigable woman bribed him further, this time to be allowed to go above their place of confinement, for she hoped that by breaking a hole through she could pass baskets down to them, each where he was bound. But somehow this plan failed, and their lingering fate overtook them.⁴ Slowly through the summer days they languished, and one after another, save William Horne, they

¹ *Ibid.*, f. 56; *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 120, p. 140; *Fœdera*, xiv., p. 589.

² *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Calendar*, xii., pt. i., No. 1285).

³ Rev. T. E. Bridget, *Life and Writings of Blessed Thomas More*, p. 143, quoting Stapleton's *Life of More*.

⁴ Rev. J. Morris, S.J., *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers* (1st Series), p. 27.

died. By the 14th June, Archdeacon Bedyll could, with that curious piety of the supporters of the new régime, gleefully announce to Cromwell that the monks of the charterhouse then in Newgate were almost dispatched by the hand of God; he enclosed a "bill" showing that five were already dead, two at the point of death, two sick, and one "whole." A sixteenth-century hand has noted on the margin of the Vienna manuscript of Father Chauncy's narrative the order of their release from torture. The last to pass to the place of refreshment was Father Johnson, on the 20th September.¹

Brother William Horne, one of the converses, reported sick by Bedyll, recovered, and presumably, through some alleviation of his treatment, endured imprisonment for another three years—Chauncy erroneously states four years.² Finally, on a day appointed for a holocaust of condemned persons, he was dragged to Tyburn. He refused to relinquish his habit, according to Marillac, the French ambassador,³ doubtless in remembrance of the three Carthusian priors who had preceded him on that painful journey. He was hanged, drawn, and quartered on the 4th August, 1540, and thus completed the tale of eighteen Carthusians whom the Roman Church claims as martyrs.⁴ These Englishmen devoted their manhood, already consecrated in the convent, to their faith, and had to suffer under laws new to their country, and no less cruel than those under which the Inquisition flourished. They died with a constancy not surpassed by any, and with a spirit of Christian meekness scarcely attained by some at least of the heroes of the famous Protestant *Book of Martyrs*. A fragment of a contemporary manuscript,⁵ which reads like an echo of the popular horror at the barbarity of their punishments, states that these monks died for "the defending of the liberty of the Church here in England"; the words were written when men were forced to realise that the royal supremacy had by no means brought freedom to the Anglican Church; but today it must be conceded

¹ See later, Bedyll to Cromwell, 14th June, from Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 256, and our footnote to this letter from the Vienna MS.

² *Passio* of 1570, f. 57.

³ *Calendar of State Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xv., No. 953 (6th August).

⁴ Stowe, and Wriothlesley's *Chronicle*, p. 121.

⁵ Harl. MS. 530, f. 54.

that they died certainly for liberty of conscience and in witness of the sacredness of a solemn oath.

On the day of the apprehension of the last batch of Carthusians, John Husee, after closing a letter to Lord Lisle from a spectator of the incident, received the news which he added in a postscript, "that x of the monkes of the Charterhouse of London were this aftrenone had to Nywgat. And the sheryves remayned at the writyng of this styll in the sayd Charterhouse, and it is thowght that the said house shall be clerly dissolved."¹ What the sheriffs had to do there is not evident, unless it was to overawe the community. But that sad remnant must have been pretty well paralysed by fear at those last arrests. Archdeacon Bedyll related to Cromwell on the 4th June² how he went to them and persuaded them "rather to submit wholly to the king's mercy and surrender their priory than abide the extremity of the king's laws." "I hope," he continued, "to bring the surrender to the king tomorrow under the convent seals, or else they shall deceive me very much of mine expectation."

He was not disappointed, except by a few days. On the 10th June in his presence in the chapter house, the common seal of the convent was put to the deed of surrender.³ That

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Calendar*, viii., No. 568). The date April, 1535, assigned in the *Calendar* to this undated letter is certainly wrong; the only time when ten of the London Carthusians were sent to Newgate under Henry VIII. was on the occasion above related.

² *Ibid.*, vol. xii., pt. ii., No. 27.

³ Augmentation Office, *Deeds of Surrender*, No. 133, and Close Roll, 29 Henry VIII., pt. i., No. 16. Dom Hendricks (in *The London Charterhouse*, p. 230) states, without giving his authority, that Bedyll himself drew up the deed, and that it bears "through Trafford's connivance, the seal of the Monastery." However, in this there is no question of his "connivance," or lack of straight dealing. The remaining monks of the community had agreed to surrender, and the deed ran in his name as their official head, and in that of the convent, and according to the usual legal form in passing conventual property for the security of the grantee the convent seal was appended. Below the enrolment of the deed on the Close Roll is a memorandum, that on the day and year above said (10th June, 1537), the foresaid prior and convent personally being in their chapter house acknowledged the foresaid deed and all the contents therein in the foresaid form. Hence it may be deduced that the affixing of the seal was with the "connivance" of the whole of the extant community, except the absent Fathers Chauncy and Foxe. It may be noted that no signatures either of the prior or of the monks were set to the deed.

document was drawn up in the humble language of a petition for mercy. William Trafford, prior of the monastery of the Salutation of the Blessed Mary near London and the convent thereof, of the Carthusian Order, declare that, since the greater part of their community, some living, some dead, have so grievously offended the most illustrious majesty of England, and have so provoked his indignation against them and their priory, that deservedly according to the laws of the realm not only might the goods movable and immovable, and all property of the priory, be confiscated, but the survivors might be put to a most cruel death, they, considering it more prudent to commit all their possessions to the hands and will of the royal clemency than to suffer the severity of the laws, and in order to obtain more easily grace and pardon for their past deeds, and to mitigate the harshness of his majesty's most just wrath, give and grant to their most illustrious prince and lord Henry, etc., on earth supreme head of the Anglican Church, founder and patron of their said monastery, their said priory and all their manors and other possessions.

Father William Trafford had been instrumental again in swaying the members of the charterhouse to Cromwell's will, as well as the Archdeacon of Cornwall. Four days later, Bedyll wrote to his patron desiring him to befriend that useful man, at the same time sending information as to the ten prisoners in Newgate :

My very good lord, after my moost hertie commendations it shall pleace yo^r lordship to vnderstand that the monkes of the Charterhouse here at London whiche were committed to Neugate for thaire traitorus behauior long tyme continued against the Kinges grace be almoost dispeched by thand of God, as it may appere to you by this byll inclosed. Wherof considering thaire behauior and the hole mater I am not sory but wold that all suche as love not the Kingis highnes and his wordly honor were in like caas. My lord (as ye may) I desire you in the wey of charite, and none other wise, to be good lord to the Prior of the said Charterhouse whiche is as honest a man as euer was in that habite (or els I am mucche deceyued) and is one whiche neuer offendid the kingis grace by disobedience of his lawes, but hath labored very sore continually for the

reformation of his brethren. And now at the last at myne exhortation and instigation, constantly moued and finally persuaded his brethern to surrender thaire house landes and goodes into the Kingis handes and to trust only to his mercy and grace. I beseche you my lord that the said Prior may be so entreated by yo^r help, that he be not sory and repent that he hath fered and folowed yo^r sore wordes and my gentil exhortation made vnto him to surrender his said house, and think that he might have kept the same, if yo^r lordship and I had not led him to the said surrender. But suerly (I beleve) that I knowe the man so well that how so euer he be ordered he wolbe contented without grudge. He is a man of suche charite as I have not seen the like. As towching the house of the Charterhouse, I pray God if it shal plesce the king to alter it, that it may be turned to better vse (seing it is in the face of o^r worle) and much communication wol run thereof throughout this realme. For London is the common cuntry of al England from whiche is derived to al partes of this realme al good and ill occurrent here. From London the xiiiith day of Junii.

By yo^r lordships at commandment
Thomas Bedyll.

The bill enclosed :

Ther be departed
brother William Greenewode.
Dane John Davy.
brother Robert Salt
brother Walter Peereson.
Dane Thomas Greene.

Ther be euen at the poynt of dethe
brother Thomas Scryuen
brother Thomas Reedyng.

Ther be sycke
Dane Thomas Jonson.
brother William Horne.

One is hole
Dane Bere.¹

¹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 256. In the Vienna MS. of Chauncy's narrative (Cod. 9366b in the former Imperial Library) in the margin, a hand of the period has written against the passage

During these happenings Fathers Foxe and Chauncy were not in London. When the Visitors of the Order appointed by the government, Priors Man and Mitchell, were at Beauvale in August of that year, they found these two young men still very scrupulous about giving up the Roman allegiance, and at their own request transferred them to the charge of Copinger, the new Confessor of Syon, who was thought to have been successful in his arguments with some of their brethren. At the end of the month they and the letter¹ below quoted were dispatched to him.

Ihesus. Marie.

Father Confessor, in o^r Sauyo^r Jhesu be yo^r Salutation. We haue send to yowe o^r bretherne, Foxe and Chauncye to whome we beseche yowe to shoue yo^r charite as yowe haue done to dyuerse other of o^r bretherne befor this. They be verye scrupulose in the mater concernyng the bishop of Rome: but they be nat obstinate. We truste that yow shall fynde them reasonable and tractable, for they be myche desirouse to speke with yowe *facie ad faciem*; yche of them hath a boke wherin be suche authorites as they do leane vnto. We praye yowe here all that they will propose, and therto make suche answare as yo^r learnyng and wisdom shall move yowe. We were purposyd to haue resonyd with them in euery poynte contentyd in ther bokis: but ther desyre was so myche to speke with yowe and to be removyd frome the house wher they were, that we thoght it goode to condescende to ther request and nat to spend so long tyme with them: for we had myche busynes with certen other as they can tell yowe. Therfor good father for the love that yowe haue to Goddis hono^r and

relating the imprisonment and deaths of these ten monks this note of the dates of their departures: "Primus eorum nimirum Gwilielmus Grenewode obiit sexto die Junii; secundus vero, scilicet Joannes Davy diaconus octavo die Junii: Tertius Robertus Salte, conversus, ix^o Junii: Quartus Walterus Peerson conversus obiit x^o Junii: Quintus Thomas Grene sacerdos, eodem die: Sextus Thomas Scriven conversus xv^o Junii: Septimus Thomas Rediing conversus xvi^o junii: Octavus Ricardus Beere sacerdos, ix^o die Augusti: Nonus vero qui fuit Thomas Iohnson obiit xx^o die Septembris, fuitque sacerdos." A third contemporary hand has given a note to the same effect at the end of the manuscript (*Analeſta Bollandiana*, xiv., p. 281).

¹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 298.

the kingis, to the welth of ther sowles and to the honestye of o^r Religion, helpe to remove ther scruples, as o^r trust is that yowe will. We pray yowe recommend us to o^r goode mother Ladye Abbesse, desyryng her goode will and furtheraunce herin, and we shall se that suche coste as they shall put yo^r house to, shalbe recompensyd by the grace of Jhesu, who augment his grace in yowe. Frome the Charterhouse of Bewuall the last daye of August.

yo^r lovyng bretheren in God

Henry Man } visitors of that Order assigned
John Michel } by the Kingis grace.

(*Addressed*) To the goode Religiose Father, Mayster Copyngear generall confesso^r at Syon.

(*Endorsed*) Aug: vltimo. The visitors of the Charterhouse to the Confessor of the Syon.

On the 23rd September, Father Copinger reported to Cromwell the progress of his two charges. After returning thanks for books sent to Syon, he said :

“To now certyfye yo^r lordshipp of the state of the brethern of the Charterhouse sent unto me by the vysytors, trewly I fynd them evyn as the same vysytors do wryte of them, nothyng obstynate butt full of scrupulosite and as men that hathe moche labored to fortyfye ther opynyon, and not lookyd for the contrarye part ; but now syns ther comyng to me I haue shewed them suche lernyng and Reasons, that as I do perceyue thei do gyff as moche credytt vnto that as to ther owen lernyng and reasons, and sutche promyse haue I made vppon my consyence to dyscharge ther consyence that I trust they wyll be satysfied and leave ther scruple, so that I dowbte nott butt the vysytors shall att ther retorne hooome fynd them conformable obedyent and quyett towardses o^r princes prerogatyff and the lawes and statutes made for the same, as any of the Coote¹ w^tyn thys Realme.”²

Meanwhile the “conversion” of these brethren was exciting interest at home, for on it perhaps hung such measure of the royal clemency to the convent as might

¹ Meaning, perhaps, “as any of their coat, or habit within this realm.”

² *State Papers of Henry VIII.*, § 106, p. 192, J. Copinger to Cromwell 23rd September.

remain after the surrender of their priory, and Copinger received a letter from two of those monks, who had earlier been sent to Syon, showing some anxiety lest the confessor might give over his efforts too soon :

*Jesu dirige ad te
tuorum corda seruorum.*

Right worshipfull Father, We two yo^r children and sonnes vnworthy, recommend vs to you in o^r most louyng maner. We haue hard by our worshipfull Father Prior parte of y^e greate paynes whiche of a sincere loue and pure charite that ye haue to God and our religion ye take with our ij brethern now beyng with you for whom we thanke you as for o^r own selves. We can not but think saynt paules wordes to be verified in you, viz: *Charitas non querit que sua sunt sed que Jesu Christi vel aliorum in Christo.* We haue not forgotten the paynes, pacience, and longanymyte that ye had with vs, when we were with you, and how hard it was (and in maner ympossyble) to vs to folow yo^r counsell, but in processe of tyme we did folowe yo^r counsell thanks be to Jesu. This we write for we suppose it be thus with o^r brethern, and if it be thus we instantly desire you to contynue yo^r pacience to them, *et fiducialiter age quod agis et erit Deus merces tua magna nimis.* Gladde wold we be to heare y^t thei wold surrender their wittes and consciences to you y^t thei myght come home, and as bright lanterns, shew the light of religiose conuersation among vs as they can right well, to God be the glorye. If it chaunce otherwise, as God forbid, we wolde thei had neuer come to you. We cannot be fully mery till we heare some goode tydynges from you of them, but eke depende all in hoope, and it is written, *Qui spe alunter, pendunt non vivunt.* Valeas in Christo pater nobis amatissime; precamusque ut nostro salutes nomine filios tuos Syonenses et fratres nostros cartusienses. Scriptum in domo nostro Cartusie Londoniensis in presenti die martis, valde diluculo, per gemellos tuos,

Wylliam Broke.
B. Burgoyne.

(Addressed) To y^e worshipfull Father Confessor of Syon.

(Endorsed) (1) From twoo monkes of the Charterhouse of London. (2) To the Confessor of the Syon.¹

¹ Cotton MS. Cleopatra E. iv., f. 46.

At some date in November, 1537, the visitors recalled Foxe and Chauncy to the house of their profession, after an absence of a year and a half. On their return, or while they were still with the Bridgettines, promises were held out to them that their oaths would save their priory. To the professed son of St. Bruno, his religion—we use the word in the monastic sense—is his country, his convent is his family, the charterhouse of his profession is his home. It may be imagined, then, what these promises meant to these men called upon to make a decision on which, as they were given to believe, the welfare and permanence of their community depended. They were not proof against the seduction. They both took the oath of supremacy, simulating consent to the king's will. Within a twelvemonth they found that their hypocrisy had won no benefit for their priory. "Woe unto us!" exclaimed Chauncy years later, "for in this (it is to be feared) we have offended God and were utterly deluded by our own desire."¹

But it is not altogether surprising that they were deceived, for although the general work of the suppression of the religious houses was going on, some months had elapsed since their prior and brethren had surrendered the charterhouse to the king's hands, and as yet no steps had been taken to turn out the community. In fact, they were allowed to remain until the 15th November, 1538,² three days after the date of the commission to the agents of the suppression.³

¹ Chauncy's *Historia*, ed. of 1888, p. 119; *Passio* of 1570, f. 58. In the earlier version "the year and a half" excluded the visit to Sion; in the latest version they returned to the charterhouse after a year and a half, and the visit to Father Copinger is omitted for some reason; perhaps because the sound of it was grown hateful to him, all mention by name of Syon or its Confessors in the *Passio* of 1570 is dropped. As Foxe and he went to Beauvale in May, 1536, a year and a half gives the date November, 1537. Moreover, he tells us that not a year after they took the oath the charterhouse was dissolved.

² *Ibid.*, ed. of 1888, p. 119; *Passio* of 1570, f. 58^v. The first printed edition gave the date 1539, and this last MS. of 1570 gave it as 1536, errors in printing or copying from the original MSS. easily rectified.

³ K.R., *Church Goods*, 12/22.

CHAPTER VII

"BABYLON"

THE suppression of the remaining seven charterhouses followed that of the London priory in the next year, 1539. According to the pension lists, one hundred and thirty-seven Carthusians were at their dissolution sent "into Babylon," to use the expression of one of them. This number was in reality larger, for in most cases the converses or lay-brothers are not included on the lists. These, even as to the choir monks, may be inaccurate. For instance, an act of the Privy Council of the 15th May, 1543, reveals the existence of one who was not pensioned; on that day "one Selby, clarke, who before tyme hadde been monk of the charterhows in Sheen upon a lewde writing subscribed with his owne hande ayenst the Primacye of the kinges highnes, seming neverthesse to be distracte of his witt, was committed to the Towre."¹ Also for Thomas Salter, or Sadler, as he is variously called, there is no warrant for a pension among those for the Smithfield Carthusians granted in December, 1538, but his name appears among the payments from the Augmentation Office in 34 and 35 Henry VIII., and again in Cardinal Pole's pension book.² It may be observed that monks who were guests, or temporarily transferred from another house, were pensioned as belonging to that house, apparently, and not as members of their own convents. John Chamberleyn signed the deed of surrender of Axholme on 18th June, 1538, but his name is missing from the warrants for the annuities of his community: it is likely that he was transferred to Hinton Charterhouse and was the John Chamberleyn who there on the 31st March, 1539, signed the deed of surrender with that community, and among them was granted a pension.³ Father Chauncy, who

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1542-1547, p. 161.

² Augmentation Office, *Miscellaneous Books*, 251 and 253; Exchequer K.R., *Miscellaneous Book*, 31.

³ Augmentation Office, *Deeds of Surrender*, Nos. 9 and 99; *Miscellaneous Book*, 233, f. 242.

ought to have known, gives the number of his own community as eighteen—that is, twelve professed monks and six converses—and in his earlier published version he adds three guests, meaning, it may be supposed, monks transferred from other charterhouses.¹ The series of warrants for the pensions, however,² omitting entirely the lay-brothers, supplies the names of seventeen monks of the House of Salutation, including that of William Trafford, the prior. Now the latter is never mentioned by Chauncy, possibly because in his eyes he had become degraded into a mere Government official such as Jasper Fylloll, put in to do the royal business of getting his brothers to subscribe to the supremacy oath and to surrender their house. Without the prior, then, we can make the official list tally with his numbering of the monks, by accepting as “guests” four of the pensioners instead of three, allowing for a lapse of memory on his part; these were Richard Tragose, now for the first time said to belong to the Smithfield priory, and John Thomson, not of the convent under Prior Houghton, but a signatory with them of the supremacy oath in May, 1537, both of unknown provenance; Thomas Barnyngham or Bernyngham, evidently the competitor with Michael Mekeness for the priorate of Axholme, also a signatory of the same oath at the London charterhouse and not pensioned with his own community; and John Bardeyn, doubtless the John Berdon,³ Chauncy’s fellow exile in Flanders. This last-named monk is actually described as having been a guest in the London house at its dissolution; he belonged to the charterhouse of St. Anne at Coventry, and with his brethren there had written to excuse their connection with Thomas Kendall, vicar of Lowthe, but being absent did not receive a pension with his own community.

The warrants for the pensions of the London charterhouse are dated the 10th December, 1538; the average amount of those granted here was smaller than that of the annuities allowed to any of the other Carthusians save

¹ *Passio* of 1570, f. 58^v; *Historia*, ed. of 1888, p. 119.

² Augmentation Office, *Miscellaneous Book*, 233, f. 63 *seq.*

³ “Berdon” was erroneously printed “Perdon” in the edition of 1550 of Chauncy’s narrative, and it is so repeated in the reprint of 1888, p. 125. Unless we take “Perdon” to represent “Berdon” or “Bardeyn,” there is no other name with which to identify it.

the small community at Axholme. Prior Trafford was assigned but 20li., and each of the monks only 5li. yearly.¹ If these insignificant pensions were a last sign of the king's displeasure, it would seem that he poured out his generosity on the royal foundation of Sheen. On the 10th October, 1539, he granted to Henry Man, the prior there, yearly 133li. 6s. 8d.; to Edward Fletewood, presumably vicar or procurator, 13li. 6s. 8d. yearly; and to the remaining seventeen monks yearly sums varying from 5li. to 8li.² The large community at Mountgrace also on its dissolution did not fare so ill; here to Prior John Wilson was assigned 60li. a year and the house and chapel called the Mount; to eight monks, priests, yearly 7li. each, and to eight more of the same grade 6li. 13s. 4d. each yearly; to three novices 3li. 6s. 8d. yearly each; to the six converses annual sums of 40s. and 4 marks, and to John Tony, a *donatus* 26s. 8d.³ At Hinton charterhouse,⁴ though Edmund Horde, the prior, received an annuity of only 44li., the pensions of the monks were on a similar scale, two of them, probably procurator and vicar, getting 8li., and the fourteen other monks 6li. 13s. 4d. each yearly, and five converses 40s. each; and here besides their annuities, gratuities were given, to the prior 11li., to two of the monks 40s. each, to the rest 33s. 4d. each, and to the converses 10s. each. On the dissolution of the Priory of St. Michael, Hull, on the 9th December, 1539, the commissioners assigned pensions to Ralph Malevourie of 50 marks (33li. 6s. 8d.), and to each of the six monks, priests, of 6li. 13s. 4d. each, yearly.⁵ At Witham charterhouse,⁶ Prior John Michell received an annuity of 33li. 6s. 8d., nine of his monks annuities of 6li. 13s. 4d., the procurator and three others, one being "impotent," getting annuities of 8li., and two converses 40s. But here, as at the other Somerset house, to the pensions were added gratuities, for the prior 8li. 6s. 8d., for four of the monks 40s., and for the rest of them 33s. 4d. The Axholme pensions were granted on the 20th July, 1539; Michael Mekenés the prior, for all his attempted

¹ Augmentation Office, *Miscellaneous Book*, 233, f. 63b.

² *Ibid.*, No. 234, f. 3b.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 350b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 233, f. 243.

⁵ *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (*Calendar*, xiv., pt. ii., No. 662). Cf. Augmentation Office, *Miscellaneous Book*, 234, f. 397.

⁶ Augmentation Office, *Miscellaneous Book*, 233, ff. 247-250.

friendship with the mammon of unrighteousness, was given only 20li. yearly, three of the monks 8 marks, and four others 6li. each yearly.¹

Details of the actual suppression of the charterhouses and the surrendering and delivery over of their conventual property into the hands of the king's agents are scanty; but we catch a glimpse of the mood in which the Carthusians of St. Anne's, Coventry, awaited their ejection by Dr. London. They thought of their own future, how they were going to live, and whether perhaps some of them could continue their religious life in another house, and discussed things with Prior Horde of Hinton, apparently on a visit to them. He promised them, in case their house should be dissolved and his own allowed to stand, he would not “stick to give ij or iij of them a male's mete.” Richard Wall, one of the monks, sent him a letter, too, purporting to come from the vicar and convent (he did not read or show it to Prior Brocherd or to Father Appulbye the procurator, “as they were otherwise occupied”), referring to the harsh dealings of the Government, and containing such unwise words as “expel” and “persecution.” Unhappily for Father Wall this correspondence went wrong, and reached “my lord Privy Seal's” hands, so that after the arrival of Dr. London he had to undergo examination, and as he could make but faint excuses for the obnoxious words, had to submit himself to the king's mercy, which, as interpreted by Dr. London, was the being “put in ward at Coventry,” and the possible loss of his pension.²

Dom Brocherd was certainly “otherwise occupied” than corresponding with his brother prior; he was very busy in a quite different way. He had no intention of letting the king or his cormorant servants seize more of the convent's goods than he could help. Some of the substance of the house he conveyed into divers men's hands, and part—no doubt the plate—he hid in the earth. Dr. London, arriving somewhere in the last half of January, 1539, found there but “20 nobles worth of goods to dispatch the whole house.” “Howbeit,” he wrote to Cromwell, “God” (in another letter he says it was a Mr. Morloo of Coventry

¹ *Ibid.*, 232, ii., f. 53 seq.

² *State Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, xiv., pt. i., Nos. 161 and 183, ii.

who betrayed the poor prior's hid treasure) "has so disclosed their crafty dealing, that I have given each brother 40s. for apparel, paid the servants' wages, given each brother his whole cell saving the house, and a vestment, paid all debts within 10li., and shall yet have 200 oz. of plate over," whereas at his coming he had found not 40 oz. Dr. London, with aid divine or human, had been easily able to be even with the "dissimulation of the good father," and to set forth "his double and crafty dealing." The royal agents were not too scrupulous. Did the prior, finding himself discovered, himself hand over any of the buried valuables as a gift to this man, and was this why the latter felt he could be so far generous as to beg Cromwell's "favour to him in his pension," having first, however, "done sufficiently for the reformation of his doubleness"?¹

As to the community as a whole, Dr. London wrote to the Chancellor of the Augmentations on the 29th January, 1538, to certify that he had taken the surrender of the charterhouse by Coventry, and that (considering that they were lately at great cost to obtain the king's charter of continuance, and that the house is a little in debt) he had assigned to them the pensions following which he begged might be ratified "to encourage others to make like surrender": To John Brochard, the prior, 40li. yearly; to John Todde, being blind and old, and to Robert Bolde, being very old and weak, 6li. 13s. 4d. each yearly; to William Abell, the vicar, and Richard Appulbye, the procurator, 6li. each yearly; to the rest of the monks 5li. 6s. 8d. each yearly except to Richard Wall, whose pension he reserved to Cromwell's pleasure.² These pensions were granted by patent on the 15th of the next February, but Richard Wall got nothing.³

Dr. London was also the agent for the suppression of Beauvale. He reported to Sir Richard Rich from Nottingham on the 24th July following, that he had taken the surrender of that charterhouse, and asked him to ratify the yearly pensions assigned by him: To the prior, Thomas Woodcocke, 26li. 13s. 4d.; to John Langford, 6li.; to four other monks, 5li. 6s. 8d. each; to three others, 5li. each;

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, xiv., pt. i., Nos. 113, 121, and 183, ii.

² *Ibid.*, No. 161.

³ Augmentation Office, *Miscellaneous Book*, 233, f. 192.

and to two aged converses, Richard Wakefilde and Richard Byrde, 40s. each. Sir John Huse, who was to have the custody of the monastic property there, went with Dr. London to Beauvale; the latter, writing to Cromwell from Oxford on the 27th July, says that they found the prior in a short gown and velvet cap ready for their coming, and they saw the proctor of the house in like attire next day.¹

The new dress of the two Beauvale monks showed their recognition of the commencement of a new era in which there was to be no place for monastic religion in the Church of England. What befell the dispossessed Carthusians when set adrift in “Babylon”? Indeed, how did they live? Their pensions, except in the case of the priors, were but pittances, even though the English money of that age had a much greater value than the present coinage. These annuities were for life, or until a benefice of equivalent yearly worth were obtained. The favoured Henry Man certainly was promoted to the unimportant bishopric of Man; and others like him, not prejudiced against the new ecclesiastical system, or maybe wishing to feed Christ’s flock, while secretly marking time in waiting for a desired turn of events, perhaps became parish priests. Some probably returned to a wholly secular life. A few, such as those who under Queen Mary were to form the renovated establishment at Sheen, would doubtless endeavour to continue a religious life in some form. Sir William Bee, clerk, formerly a professed monk of Mountgrace, to judge by his will made at Newcastle on 27th March, 1551, to the last clung to the old ecclesiastical institutions, and tried even when near death to keep in touch with the members of his old community; he bequeathed his soul to the prayers of “the most glorious virgin Mary” and of “all the blessed saints in heaven,” and appointed Sir Robert Wood and Sir Leonard Hall to “make a dyryge and comunyon with note” for him on the day of his burial. To Sir Leonard Hall, who may be identified with his fellow-monk at Mountgrace of that name, later a monk of the restored Sheen charterhouse, he left some articles of clothing and his books, and “to the father of the Mountgrace two pare of spectacles of sylver,” and to every one of his professed brethren

¹ *State Papers of Henry VIII. (Calendar)*, xiv., pt. i., Nos. 1313 and 1321.

of Mountgrace 12d.¹ As to the lay-brothers and novices, the paltry allowances granted to them could not have afforded them a livelihood, and to some there is no evidence that anything was given at all. However, to attempt to trace the inmates of the dissolved charterhouses would be a laborious and, it is to be feared, an almost fruitless task.

At Coventry, where Dr. London said that he made a gift of 40s. to each brother for apparel, the word "brother" seems to signify a choir monk, as it more evidently does in his statement that he gave each brother "his whole cell saving the house and a vestment," meaning clearly the movable fittings and furniture of his cell without permission for residence, and a set of priestly vestments. There were similar gifts for the religious of the London charterhouse. Doctors Layton and Legh and the other commissioners for its suppression, in their declaration of the goods and chattels of that priory, made on the 17th March, 1539, four months after its dissolution,² state that they allowed "all the woode lyinge in the Courte, and all the stuffe in the prioures own chamber, certen napery a salte of syluer and vj syluer spones and other vtensyles," to the prior "in rewarde." (The wood was apparently sold for him for 15li.)³ To every monk, they allowed "all theyr stuffe and bowkes in there own celles and over and besydes to euery monke a vestment wyth thappurtenances, and six vestementes yeven to vj parishe churches." In the same declaration the commissioners have a memorandum "that forasmoche as the Prior hadde certeyn summes in his handis of rentes and fermes of the possessions of the same (charterhouse), due at Mighelmas last it was therefore orderyd by the commyssioners aforesaid and also aggred by the same Prior Covent and servantes that the Prior shall satisfye and paie all theis sommes folowyng to the mownkes converses and servauntes amowntyng in the hole to the sommes of lxlii. xvjs. iiijd. wych the said Prior dyd vndertake to paie and the mownkes converses and servantes were fully content to stand to hys paiement." These payments were 4li. to the prior himself (William

¹ Surtees Society, *Durham Wills and Inventories*, i., p. 134.

² K.R., *Church Goods*, 12/22. A declaration of the goods and chattels of the late charterhouse of London made before Sir R. Riche.

³ *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (Calendar, xiii., pt. ii., No. 903).

Trafford), to the monks 40s. each, to the seven converses 20s. each, and to the nineteen servants various sums due to them. William Daylle (a custodian put in about the time of the surrender of the convent), in an inventory, said that "certen of the brethren took away their cells as they stood,"¹ the fitting and contents thereof being here again meant. He grumbled that they interpreted the licence of the commissioners to take "such things as were meet for them" to mean not only "the beds and books" out of the cells which they had inhabited, for they even carried off "certain boards of wainscott, which defaced the cells very sore within the said Charterhouse." Two of the former lay-brothers, Thomas Owen and "Brother Richard" (Richard Billingsley), were employed during the dismantling of the House of the Salutation to look after parcels of its effects; Owen had charge, for instance, of twenty-five cases of glass, six cisterns of lead, and of the water-cocks and pipes, which last he sold to divers persons, aiming to add the profit to his wages. Daylle suggested that these two brothers should "be sworn upon a book what things they have known go out of the Charterhouse by themselves and others, and I doubt not," he continued, "it shall be wholly for the king's advantage if they be true men."² If the monks and lay-brothers did exceed their licence, can it be wondered? After all, they only took what had belonged to them in a corporate capacity at any rate, and what now greed and injustice claimed.

The Carthusians must have regarded bitterly enough the stripping and destruction of their homes, and the dese-

¹ Dom Chauncy's memory was at fault when he wrote that there were only six converses at the time of the suppression. The commissioners give their names thus: Robert Howell, Hugh Tailor, Richard Byllynsley, Thomas Owen, Thomas Glogier (Clogher), Robert Carowe (Cardyn really), John Skonfield; the latter may be an alias for John Huse, who with the others, except H. Tailor, signed the supremacy oath. The spelling of the commissioners as to the names was strange: Father Bartholomew Burgoyne appears as Bartholomew Surgyon, Oliver Batemanson as Matemanson.

² *State Papers of Henry VIII.* (Calendar, xiii., pt. ii., No. 903). Daylle perhaps succeeded Jasper Fylloll at the charterhouse; he says that he had been there a year and a half, dating his inventory on the 24th November, 30 Henry VIII. Thomas Owen, for keeping the orchards, gardens, and cells of the charterhouse after the dissolution, "and for his board wages in gross and by reward," received 20s. for twelve weeks (see K.R., *Church Goods*, 12/22).

cration of their churches. Maurice Chauncy records the unholy uses to which the "Lord's temple" in his priory was put. Henry VIII. granted the charterhouse on the 12th June, 1542, in survivorship to John Bridges and Thomas Hale, the first yeoman, and the second groom, of the royal tents and pavilions, with the express purpose of their safe keeping those articles there. According to Chauncy the church was turned into the king's armoury as well as a depôt for his tents; the altars happened to make convenient gaming tables for the employees of Messrs. Bridges and Hale. Also within the sacred precincts may have been stored the equally incongruous paraphernalia of the royal amusements; for the king on the 5th March, 1545, appointed his servant John Bernard to be clerk controller of his tents, hales, and pavilions, and of the revels, masks, and masking garments, granting to him for life the house called Egypt and Fleshall and the adjoining house called lately Le Garniter with chambers beneath it and a kitchen garden near by, situated within and upon the walls of the late charterhouse near London.¹ This poor monk, bearing a conscience wounded in vain for its preservation, seems to have haunted the purlieu of his former home, increasing his sorrow while watching the doings of the new occupants. He was not quite so troubled when in 1545 it passed into the possession of "a certain knight," who, "mixing the sacred and the profane, pulling down and setting up, and changing square into round," built for himself out of it a magnificent mansion. The knight was, of course, Sir Edward North, Chancellor of the Augmentations, to whom on the 13th April that year the king granted in fee the reversion of the house and site of the late charterhouse.² Maurice Chauncy perhaps with his own eyes saw the commencement of the alterations and new building, perhaps was present when, in digging the new foundations in the cemetery, the workmen discovered the body of John Batmanson, sometime prior, and a visitor of the Order, buried sixteen years before, yet still intact in all its garments, and perhaps himself persuaded them to inter it reverently

¹ *Calendar of State Papers*, xx., pt. i., p. 303. Grant to Sir Ed. North, quoting grant to Bridges and Hale; grant to Bernard, Patent Roll, 36 Henry VIII., pt. xiv., m. 23. Cf. Chauncy in the *Passio* of 1570, ff. 58^v-59; *Historia*, ed. 1888, p. 119.

² *Calendar of State Papers* (as above).

in another place.¹ The further history of this and the other charterhouses, or the division of the spoil, however, is not our concern here.

Through the obscurity into which the Carthusians passed after their suppression, the temper in which some of them faced the new conditions of things can only be dimly discerned. Some from early manhood had known none but a cloistered life, safeguarded by a strict and harsh discipline; now they were cast out into a world where a violent and bewildering change was loosening the old ties of even the ordinary Christian life. All, from the calm of a silent secluded existence of devotion and divine contemplation, were hurled out into a turmoil of conflicting problems ecclesiastical, theological, moral, and also civil, when their duties as subjects had to be considered. Maurice Chauncy tells of the bitterness of heart with which he and others like-minded looked on while not merely monks of their own Order, but all the religious throughout the whole kingdom, were ejected and their places occupied by "impious and profane heretics." To their thinking the Babylonish kingdom was established; they saw impiety triumphant, a tyrant on the throne, and heresy everywhere predominant. "We poor Carthusians," he wrote long afterwards in Flanders, "sat down by the waters of Babylon over there, and wept as we called to mind the old days and beheld the present, while we perceived holy Church trodden down, sacred religion destroyed, orthodox faith overthrown, while we gazed at our homes made desolate, our churches ruined, our heritage, or more truly God's heritage, dissipated." The Church of England, formerly by her neighbours called for her devotion the sacred chapel of the Blessed Virgin, had lost her fairness, they lamented, as they used to sit sadly conferring together. "Used to sit," he explains, "because we were compelled to remain in that desolation and captivity, for we had no means of going forth thence. And thus, alas! the land of our birth was made unto us a land of captivity. It was not once indeed that we tried to leave the kingdom, but in vain! For so strictly were the ports and sea-shores watched, that without danger of death we could not escape."²

Finally, the risk of loss of life seemed preferable to a

¹ Vienna MS., cod. 9366b, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xiv., pp. 268-283.

² *Passio* of 1570, ff. 59^v-61^v.

continued existence among heretics, or to a longer exile from their Order and religion. Chauncy and some others made the venture of flight just before the wave of iconoclasm under the boy-king Edward swept over the churches of their land, stripping them of images and carved work in wood and stone, smashing the richly stained glass windows, and carrying off other precious things of the Christian heritage. The fugitives got away safely and "joyfully at last" arrived at the charterhouse of Bruges.¹ They fled either towards the end of 1546, or in the early part of 1547; naturally not wishing to be a burden to their hosts, an attempt was made to get their friends in England to secure a continuation of their pensions, and so the news of their flight reached the ears of the Council. But the ever-covetous Edwardian government was less perturbed at their escape than anxious lest it should be defrauded of a few pounds of ill-gotten wealth, and the consequence was an order for a closer regulation in paying the miserable pittances of the former religious in general:

ix^o Junii 1547.

Item: this daye for as muche as the Lord Protectour's Grace and Consail were enfourmed of certaine Englishemen, late monkes of thorder of the Charterhowse, who reteigning still in their hartes their old supersticion and popish monkery, had fownde the meanes to convey them selves secretly over the sees into Flandres, where they have againe received their monkes habite and profession, and nevertheless procured with their frendes here to have the payment of their pencions to them allotted by the Kynges Majeste continued unto them as if they remaigned still in somme partes of England, lyke as also certaine other Englishemen, late religious persons of their confederacye were of late detected that they entended shortly to have folowed the former for the semblable purpose in case they had nat in the meane tyme been apprehended; therefore considring how the Kinges Majeste, by meanes of conveyaunce over the sees of sundry suche Popishe persones late religious hath been and may be gretely defrauded in allowing them still of their pencions as if they continued here his Highnes true subiectes, and that it may be that his Majeste hath lyke-

¹ *Passio* of 1570, f. 62.

wise been deceived in the contynuanee of payment of suche pencions to dyvers late religious persones uses and behaulfes, who before the tyme lymited therefore were deceased, and for the avoidance of the like errour and losse that his Highnes shuld susteine by their deceptes hereafter, it was this day with thadvise and consent of the said Lord Protector's Grace and counsaill decreid that from hensefourth the pencioners of any late religious Howse dissolved, having pencions yerely during terme of lief of his Highnes graunt, shuld no more be paie'd the same at thandes of the Particuler Receivour of the Courte of thaugmentacions &c, but shuld hooly be referred to the Tresorer of that Courte, so as either at their next tyme of payment at Myghelmas next comming they shuld personally present them selves before the saide Tresorer or his deputies, to be viewed whither they were the same persones to whome such pencions were assigned. Or in case they did nat so personally present themselves, they shuld at least sende uppe to the saide Tresorer, by him whome they deputed to receive their pencion for them a certificat in writing under thandes of two Justices of the Peace in the Shyre where they abide, or at least under thandes of oone Justice of peace, and oone other jentilman of reputacion of that shire, declaring that the persone whome they beare witnes of is there remaigning in lief and lawful state to receive the said pencion. And that the said Order, either for the personall presentacion of the said pencionaries or the sending of their testimonies, shalbe contynued in fourme before expressed from tyme to tyme as their paymentes shall arise due, to thintent that the Kinges Majeste be nat otherwise charged then of right shall appertaine. Which was also signified to the Chancellour of the Augmentacions and Revenues &c. to give order to all the officers of that Courte whome it concerned, for the due execucion of this present decree accordingly.¹

The monks drew their pensions either from the Court of Augmentations, or from the king's receivers and ministers of monastic estates. There is no reason to doubt the good faith of the Government as to the discharging of the payments to the religious, but the entries thereof occur on separate accounts, and not regularly enough in the case

¹ *Acts of the Privy Council*, 1547-1550, pp. 97-98.

of the Carthusians to show which of them was in England at this date. The Privy Council order just quoted speaks of "confederacy," but it is unlikely that more than two or three fugitives could slip away at one time, if the port were strictly watched. John Foxe, late monk of the London charterhouse, had certainly escaped. Though he had been long in bringing himself to accept the royal supremacy, after the suppression of the monastery he went so far in his submission as to become parson of the church of St. Mary Magdalen in the ward of Queenhithe. But on the 3rd April, 1547, with the help of Thomas Moundaie, parson of St. Leonard's in Foster Lane, and Thurstan (or Tristram) Hickman, once procurator of Witham charterhouse, he was conveyed out of the realm, and then went to Louvain to renew his monastic profession in the Chartreuse there. The two aiders of his flight tried to dispatch oversea to him the arm of the late prior, John Houghton, which Father Foxe had preserved, "with other baggage which they called reliques." They were seized, however, and on the 7th July that year arraigned at the Guildhall for treason.¹ They are said to have been sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; yet Father Hickman appears a few years later as one of the monks returning to their old profession in the restored charterhouse at Sheen, and Prior Chauncy could hardly have been mistaken in the names of the men who joined him there. Maurice Chauncy himself fled on another occasion with Hugh Taylor, a professed converse of the London charterhouse. In Flanders he discovered another Carthusian, John Berdon, already mentioned as having been probably transferred from the charterhouse of St. Anne, Coventry, to that of the Salutation.

The refugees found a shelter at the Chartreuse of Val de Grace at Bruges. The prior, Peter Ruge Van Hoorne, and the other fathers there eagerly pressed for a relation of the sufferings of their English brethren, and Dan Maurice Chauncy, an eye-witness of so much of what they desired to know, must needs oblige his hosts, though hitherto "terror of princes" had kept him from chronicling the

¹ Wriothesley's *Chronicle during the Reigns of the Tudors*, ed. by W. D. Hamilton (1875), vol. i., p. 184. The chronicler describes Fr. Hickman as of the London charterhouse, but this is an error; his surname, like his Christian name, is given variously in the different manuscripts where it occurs.

tragic events. Accordingly he wrote one narrative probably soon after his arrival; then, being importuned so to do by the same prior, he sent another to the Grande Chartreuse, because only from the mother-house could permission be obtained for the permanent residence of himself and his companions in the Flemish convent. This permission was contained in the authorisation from the chapter general of 1547 to the prior and convent of Bruges to admit the English refugees to a fresh profession by which they became entitled to all the religious privileges and to the appointment of offices at Val de Grace. Father Chauncy for a while served there as sacristan.¹

¹ Chauncy, *Passio* of 1570, f. 62; *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 125; Vienna MS. of his narrative in *Analeſta Bollandiana*, xiv., p. 268; Dom L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 278. Dom L. Hendriks, ignorant apparently both of Chauncy's latest version of his history, and of the Privy Council Act of 1547, was under the impression that Chauncy and Taylor fled in 1539, and that Dan Maurice wrote about that date the account for the Grande Chartreuse, which makes the inexplicable lapse of eight years between their arrival at Bruges and the authorisation for their reception at Val de Grace. The now fairly certain date of the end of 1546 or the beginning of 1547 for the flight of the Carthusians from England explains that of the authorisation not being before 1547.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RENOVATION OF SHEEN CHARTERHOUSE¹

FOR eight years the exiles were housed at Bruges, other members of their Order joining them from time to time. In 1553 came the news of the death of the unhealthy young King Edward and of the accession of the daughter of the queen whose repudiation had brought so much trouble on the religious in England. Father Chauncy felt his conscience heavily weighted by his failure to embrace martyrdom like his prior, John Houghton, and the other Carthusian victims of Henry VIII. He reproached himself that he had not in the fullest sense been of them, for he had not endured to drink of the same cup with them. He compared himself to Judas, that "Satan" habituating with "the sons of God";² even in his old age his penitential spirit dictated to him the wearing of an iron chain³ to chafe the flesh which had shrank from butchery on Tyburn Hill, or from the slow starvation in a foul dungeon. But he was no morbid defaulter. His fall from high ideals only deepened his devotion and stirred him with ardent hope of active amends in participating in the restoration of the Order in England. The religious sympathies of Queen Mary were known. Could they not now at last go home? Then came the royal marriage with the most Catholic Majesty of Spain, and the reconciliation of their country to the Roman Pontiff. And now the prior of the Grande Chartreuse himself, hearing how the Lord had magnified His mercy upon them, and had visited His people of England, sent command to the Bruges charterhouse that some of the English guests were to return home to attempt the restoration of the Carthusians there, if it should please God to "gather them from among the heathen." Chauncy was eager to be among them, of

¹ Except where otherwise stated the authority for this chapter throughout is the last portion of the *Passio* of 1570, entitled by Chauncy *De Reparatione Carthusianæ Religionis in Anglia, et ejusdem denuo Eliminatione*.

² *Historia* of 1550 (ed. of 1888), p. 35.

³ *Ibid.*, Preface, p. xxiii.

course ; but certain of the good and pious fathers came to him declaring that it was not yet a time of permanent quiet. "It may be, indeed," they said, "that it will happen for the moment things will go prosperously for you ; nevertheless no continuous or lasting peace will there be for you now. For quicker than you look for, you will all be hurled suddenly from your dwellings." The event proved the prophecy correct. The foresight of these men was not, however, given to the enthusiastic and hopeful monks, Maurice Chauncy and John Foxe, who had also become an inmate of Val de Grace. Moreover, the word to go was from the head of the Grande Chartreuse, "the primate and monarch of the whole Order," whom especially they were bound to obey. The choice of the superiors, for this mission to England, naturally fell on the members of the London charterhouse, which had so honourably endured the brunt of the persecution in the evil days. They dispatched Fathers Chauncy and Foxe and the devoted converse Hugh Taylor. These three arrived in their own country on the 29th June, 1555.

Here they found an Aaron presiding over ecclesiastical affairs in the person of Reginald Pole, cardinal, and Archbishop of Canterbury, who was disposed to be especially gracious to the sons of St. Bruno, on account of his education when a boy in one of their houses (Sheen). Happily, too, a Joshua was not lacking among the leaders of the English people as they emerged from the Egyptian darkness. This was Sir Robert Rochester, for some time a faithful servant of the queen, and now Controller of her Household. He, too, had a link with the Carthusians ; his own brother, John Rochester, was numbered among their eighteen martyrs. To him they went first and told the reason of their coming. He received them joyfully, and because, being as yet strangers in their native land, they had no roof over their heads, he lodged them in his own residence. Rochester without delay notified their arrival to the queen and cardinal, and to the latter, on the same day that he gave him the news, presented the monks. Pole, "the humblest and most good-natured" of men, received them benignly, and next day, accompanied by Rochester and other grandees, brought them to the royal presence. That very devout sovereign lady, Mary, could do no less than rejoice at the advent of the brethren of the monks who

had died for the papal supremacy which she was setting up again and confirming. She gave them all the expected encouragement, but until she should have time to consult the cardinal about their affairs, handed them over to the care of Sir Robert Rochester. That worthy knight gladly accepted the charge, and settled them for the time in the hospital of the Savoy, where he resided, and maintained them there at his own expense while they awaited the desired message as to the queen's decision.

Just at this promising beginning Chauncy was smitten by a grievous blow. John Foxe, his fellow "obstinate" in the matter of the royal supremacy, his fellow-victim of the threats and blandishments and false promises which had ensnared them into an unwilling consent to the oath, his fellow-sojourner in foreign parts, the appointed associate in his work of restoration, fell ill of a dangerous fever, and after a few days died on the feast of St. James, scarcely a month after their arrival in England, and was buried in the chapel of the Savoy at Sir Robert Rochester's charges. Father Chauncy, in not a little consternation, fearing lest the happy commencement should have no completion, dispatched a message to Flanders to ask the Prior of Bruges to send to his aid another of the English Carthusian refugees, Dan Richard Croftes,¹ whom he knew to be sagacious as well as religious, pious and zealous, and who at the time held the office of vicar at Val de Grace.² But after about two weeks in London,

¹ Dom Hendriks, in *The London Charterhouse*, p. 280, on another authority says that this monk was Dom Richards, late of St. Anne's charterhouse, Coventry, and in a footnote observes the absence of such a name from the list of ten monks who surrendered that priory to Henry VIII. The Vatican MS. of Chauncy's narrative (see *Analeſta Bollandiana*, xxii., pp. 51-78) gives the name as "Crostes"; Mr. Hudson's MS. has "quondam Richardum Crostum," which we are tempted to take as misreadings of "Crofts," or "Croftes." A Richard Croftes of the Coventry charterhouse is mentioned in Chauncy's narrative of 1550 (ed. of 1888), p. 121, in another connection (the name in the original edition being misprinted "Crotes"). Dan Richard Croftes was granted a pension of 5li. 6s. 8d. among the younger monks of St. Anne's, Coventry, in 1539 (Augmentation Office, *Miscellaneous Book*, 233, f. 192 *seq.*), and his name appears among the former Carthusians of Coventry in *Cardinal Pole's Pension Book* in 1555 (Exchequer K.R., *Miscellaneous Book*, 31), which seems rather strange if he was living abroad, and is to be identified with Chauncy's desired collaborateur.

² *The London Charterhouse*, p. 280.

this much desired brother died of a malady contracted on the journey to England. On seeing his remains also laid in the chapel of the Savoy, Chauncy felt the weight of the charge now resting on his shoulder as too heavy for him; the two who had been thus taken were far abler for the task than he, at least so he said, and he had now only the converse Hugh with him. The auspices now seemed less cheerful; he began to hesitate what to do; he reflected on his own unfitness, and growing weary of the long waiting, feared that he was to be after all disappointed of the result of his journey, and began dejectedly to think of returning to Flanders. This last idea had no approval from the cardinal or Sir Robert Rochester, who somehow finally managed to console him and to put new heart into him.

Meanwhile the news of the coming and purpose of the exiles had travelled to the ears of some of the members of the Order who had remained in the kingdom in spite of "the abominable desolation." They hastened gladly to London, so Chauncy, comforted now by their presence, and encouraged by them, decided not to withdraw from his intention. Not one of his own house came to him; there were, indeed, but six of them left here, and one of these was the unsatisfactory Thomas Salter.¹ But fifteen former inmates of other charterhouses joined him. These were John Michell (formerly Prior of Witham and co-visitor of the English province by Cromwell's appointment), John Wilson (formerly Prior of Mountgrace), Thomas Fletcher and Nicholas Balland (both formerly of Hinton),² Thurstan Hyckmans (late Procurator of Witham), and John Cliffe (formerly of Witham), Thomas Sydenton (or Synderton, formerly of Hull), Thomas Low, Robert Thurlby, Robert Marshall (all formerly of Sheen), Nicholas Dogmer (or Dockemer, formerly of Beauvale), Robert Abell (perhaps of Coventry),³ Leonard Hall⁴ (formerly of Mountgrace), and two converses, likewise both

¹ *Cardinal Pole's Pension Book* (as above).

² The provenance of the monks, given in brackets, is supplied from the pension lists in the *Miscellaneous Books* of the Augmentation Office.

³ The only Carthusian of the name of Abell in the pension lists is William Abell, vicar of St. Anne's charterhouse, Coventry.

⁴ Thomas Low and Leonard Hall are given in the Vatican MS. of Chauncy's narrative as Thomas Lee and Bernard Hall, erroneously, according to English government documents, which have them as above given from Mr. Hudson's MS., the *Passio* of 1570.

formerly of Mountgrace, brothers Robert Skypeley, or Shipley, and John Sanderson. "These are the living stones out of which the destroyed charterhouse was built anew," says Father Chauncy. He was no longer despondent; relying on the counsel of these good fathers, he tells us, he did not cease with prayers and petitions to batter the ears of the lord cardinal and Sir Robert Rochester, and of some other great people, whose help he thought to be necessary. Not that good will was wanting in the "most holy and serene queen," nor that there was any backwardness in promoting the Carthusian cause in the cardinal or others to whom he looked for assistance. But the one aim everywhere was to preserve peace in this matter, which was not easy, for their former property had passed to persons unwilling to part with it. Further, even if the new owners were to cede their rights to their former possessions, the Carthusian buildings, where not pulled down, had as a rule been changed into something so different that it would have been a great labour and expense to reconvert them to the use of the monks.

The only charterhouse which the queen might be able to restore to Father Chauncy and his companions was that of Sheen; it had been granted by Henry VIII. to Edward, Earl of Hertford, later Duke of Somerset,¹ on whose attainder in 1552 it had been given to the Duke of Suffolk;² now again, after an attainder, it was come back to the crown. Here the building had not been destroyed, and though greatly altered, having been made into a fine mansion, it would be possible to reconvert it without too much difficulty to Carthusian purposes. But it was not in the queen's actual possession, for the Duchess of Somerset was residing in it. This was the late protector's second wife, Anne Stanhope, who, being on her mother's side, a lineal descendant of Thomas of Woodstock, the son of Edward III., perhaps prided herself on her royal blood; she was a woman of notorious arrogance, and of an unaccommodating disposition.³ The queen, however, pitied her in her desolate widowhood, and before the arrival

¹ Patent Roll, 33 Henry VIII., pt. vi., m. 33-36.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi., pt. i., p. 33.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, under E. Seymour, Duke of Somerset, also Miss Strickland's *Life of Katherine Parr*, confirm Dom Chauncy's impression of the Duchess's character.

of the monks had unfortunately agreed to lend Sheen charterhouse to her. Mary was awkwardly situated. She wanted it back for the monks, and there was the duchess occupying it. That lady, "having once set foot in it," says Chauncy, "neither by prayer nor by a price could thereafter be torn from it." The queen, though regretting her tenant's "feminine infirmity, not to call it impudent perverseness," was reluctant to take any proceeding against her, so the Carthusians had to wait until at last the duchess was enticed away by the grant of a more magnificent residence in one of the royal palaces.

The delivery of Sheen charterhouse was made to the monks on the royal authority by Cardinal Pole and Sir Robert Rochester on the 17th November, the festival of their own great Carthusian Father St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, in the same year of their return, 1555.¹ There was much to be altered in the house; some things had to be pulled down and taken away; there were repairs to be done, and parts to be built up, and various changes to be made to fit it for Carthusian use. But Chauncy, who was virtually, if not actually, now prior, made such haste that he got the place into a fairly habitable condition within a fortnight. The arrangements were insufficient and incomplete naturally, but he could now send for his brothers, "and on the 25th of the same month (November), that is, on the festival of the glorious virgin and martyr Katharine, which then was on the Saturday before the Lord's Advent, joyful I led them rejoicing into it." Forthwith they began to sing the divine office, and to observe everything else peculiar to their Order and religion. A full twelvemonth later, on 31st December, 1556, Chauncy was appointed actually prior by Cardinal Pole.²

To ensure the position of the convent, the queen issued a patent³ of incorporation of the monks on the 26th January

¹ Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 281, gives the date as 1556. If Mr. Hudson's MS. is correct, Cardinal Pole seems to have delayed until all the important structural alterations were complete and everything disposed according to Carthusian rule, before granting the priorate to Chauncy on 31st December, 1556.

² Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 281.

³ Patent Roll, 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, pt. v., m. 23. We miss in the list of the convent as given here the names of John Wilson, Thurstan Hickmans, John Cliffe, and Robert (or William) Abell. Possibly they were aged men and had died before the date of this document. John

in 1557. After a preamble relating to the foundation by Henry V. of a charterhouse at Shene, called by the name of the House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Shene, and the downfall of the same house during the collapse of ecclesiastical affairs through the schism of heretics ("before we received the royal diadem and government of this kingdom," the sovereigns are made carefully to state), this document goes on to say that whereas after the realm by the singular mercy of God was brought back to the unity of the Church and to the obedience of the Apostolic See, the venerable and religious men, Maurice Chauncy, John Michell, Thomas Fletcher, Robert Marshall, Thomas Synderton, Thomas Loo, Robert Thirlby, Nicholas Balland, Leonard Hall, Hugh Taylor, Robert Shirley and John Saunderson, monks of the Carthusian Order, desiring to live according to the rule of their Order, humbly begged the queen to restore the said house of the Carthusian brothers so that they might lead their lives according to their profession, the king and queen have asked the most reverend father in Christ, Reginald Pole, cardinal priest of the holy Roman Church of the title of Sta. Maria in Cosmedin, Archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the pope, by his apostolic authority to restore the foresaid Order; and the cardinal, consenting to the request, has restored the foresaid house to its former regular state as a monastery of Carthusian brothers, under the same title of Jesus of Bethlehem which it had before the dissolution, and has appointed Maurice Chauncy to be prior of the said house, and John Michell and the others above named to be the convent of the same; and the king and queen approving of these appointments, out of special affection to the Order, grant to the foresaid prior and convent, and to the priors and convent of the said house for the time being, that they are a body corporate in fact and name, and as such may acquire and alienate property, and may have a common seal. Then follows the gift from the crown of the whole of the former charterhouse of Shene, and the buildings, etc., and the whole

Wilson had been twenty years Prior of Mountgrace, and this was now almost another twenty years since the dissolution; but the date of his death is said to have been at Bruges, 10th September, 1557, in the *Ephemerides* of the Order, which, however, Dom Hendriks suggests is an error. (See *The London Charterhouse*, p. 282).

site, and the aqueducts leading thereto, the church within the site, and the bells, lead, iron and glass belonging, the Cloyster garden in Shene, pastures called Little and Great Prayle, Stony, Brome and Whete Closes, Robynehodd's Walk, the Lymekylle Fylde, Brickill field, Oxe Close and Rocklesse mede, Lames mede, and other parcels of land, islets, willow-grounds, weirs, and landing-places in the Thames, and all privileges which had belonged to the said house, and such rents as were due from the preceding Michaelmas.

The confirmation of Father Chauncy's appointment as prior followed from the Grande Chartreuse¹ in the spring of 1557.

Having reached this point in his narrative of the settlement of himself and his brethren at Sheen, Prior Chauncy naturally bethought him gratefully of their chief benefactor, and forthwith launched out into a panegyric of Sir Robert Rochester, but he found that to praise him was impossible, for he was above praise. Among all the gem-like virtues of the knight's character, the good monk naturally singled out "that pearl precious and rare in these days, to wit, the virtue of virginity." In fact, Rochester led a heavenly life while still on earth, a very unusual thing indeed, "especially among the highly placed." As for his liberality, not only did he receive the Carthusians, house and feed them, and exert himself in their behalf with the queen and help them by his advice, but even after their entrance into Sheen charterhouse he heaped his benefits upon them. Finding that their own funds were at first insufficient, he took upon himself the maintenance of their whole house and family, until other provision should be supplied. Moreover, he made munificent contributions towards the repair of their priory. He built almost the entire church, for he raised the choir anew from its foundations; the rest of it, though miserably shattered and decayed, the walls only standing and those very ruinous, he was able to patch up for them. The old chapter house had been quite demolished, so that in this case he put up an altogether new building for them. Indeed, so long as he lived, the community received innumerable kindnesses from him daily, and after he died even, they had benefits from him, for he bequeathed to them rooli. worth of land. Presumably

¹ Dom Hendriks (as above), p. 281.

Chauncy alludes here to the manors of Stanstead, Abel's, Claverings and Marks, co. Essex, which they had had from him, and which they, just before Queen Mary's death, passed to the crown in exchange for the manors of Stanes, co. Middlesex, of Bocking and Matton, co. Surrey, and Charterhouse Grove near Combe Park, and the manors of Pirford and East Horsley, co. Surrey.¹ Then, too, besides such exalted benefactors as the queen, and that one member of the sacred college deservedly given the name of the "good Cardinal," Reginald Pole, there were lesser folk who came to the aid of the revived charterhouse. Among these unnamed persons was Sir Richard Southwell, Master of the Ordinance, who on the 11th November, 1558, obtained the royal licence for his alienation to the Prior of Sheen of the manors of Mortymers in Tottington and of Westfield, and of the rectories of Tottington and Carbrooke and other property in Norfolk.²

Towards the end of three years from their joyous entry therein, the restored Carthusians had at the House of Jesus of Bethlehem, besides the church and chapter house, a good number of cells and a cloister completed. Certain of the little band Prior Chauncy had buried—among them the Hinton monk Father Thomas Fletcher, whose singing-voice was known and remembered by the neighbourhood;³ but these had passed to a happy rest. All things were going well with the convent, and they might think that they had come to the old peace of the days before Anne Boleyn enticed her "dread lord" into paths leading away from Rome. But suddenly, as the monks of Bruges foretold, they were cast out of their dwelling. In 1558, on one same day they lost their two princely patrons: Queen Mary, the hope of Roman Catholicism, and her cousin, Cardinal Pole, both migrated from this light on the 17th November, the very feast-day of St. Hugh, which had seemed so auspicious for their new beginning at Sheen. In that same month, on the 25th, a year ago, they had also lost their staunch friend Sir Robert Rochester, who, according to his own appointment, was now lying buried in the church of their charterhouse. The concern, or rather consternation, of the so lately returned exiles can be imagined on the accession of Anne Boleyn's daughter to the throne.

¹ Patent Roll, 5 and 6 Philip and Mary, pt. iv.

² *Ibid.*

³ Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, p. 293.

Their prior, Maurice Chauncy, regarded the commencement of the reign of Queen Elizabeth as the commencement of the reign of heresy. His language grows very bitter as he recalls how in her first parliament there were put forth "diabolic and pestiferous statutes" ordering all services in church, not only the canonical hours, but also "the most holy and most secret sacrifice of the mass" itself, to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, and that, moreover, after her own heretical manner, and not after the venerable and splendid custom of holy Mother Church. The rejection of the papal authority and the passing of the Supremacy Bill with the penalties attached to it, and the dissolution of the religious houses lately restored, or set up by Queen Mary, may have suggested to him a desired coming opportunity of the martyrdom missed twenty years before, but that he was responsible for the safety of his monks.

We have found no official details of the second suppression of Sheen charterhouse, but Chauncy states that the commissioners for putting the new laws into execution came there three times, and at the third visit expelled the monks on the 1st July, 1559. From that date henceforth Sheen charterhouse, which had risen phoenix-like from the embers of English monasticism, was never again to have monks for its inmates, but a report from local gossip went over the sea to Flanders, that the spirits of the dead Carthusians buried within its precincts still haunted its church with prayer and praise years afterwards.¹

¹ Dom Hendriks (as before), p. 293.

CHAPTER IX

SHEEN ANGLORUM

PRIOR CHAUNCY and his monks suffered ejection and the deprivation of all their estates, but Elizabeth abstained from otherwise using the full force of the new laws against them, and Nicholas Sanders was able to record that the Carthusians "by the queen's favour" had gone to Flanders.¹ They had a friend at court in the count, afterwards duke, of Feria, ambassador of Philip of Spain, who at the suggestion, it is said, of his wife, Jane Dormer,² grand-niece of Dan Sebastian Newdegate, interceded for them and certain religious who wished to depart abroad in order to continue their observance of the rules of their profession. Some of the council had put stumbling-blocks in the way of his request, "alleging to the queen many inconveniences that might grow to herself and her proceedings" if she allowed them to go. However, as Chauncy relates, the Carthusians finally received a safe-conduct with free leave to depart the kingdom. He does not say whether he and his convent availed themselves of Feria's offer of lodging and provision in Durham House, made to all the religious going to the Continent until he could procure their passage.³ The count himself being recalled, left England in May, 1559, and since the Carthusians were not turned out of Sheen charterhouse until the 1st July, they could not have gone with him, as did some of these voluntary exiles; but he sent for his wife in July, "who crossed to Bruges with a

¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, Rome, vol. i., No. 131, "Of the manner in which bishops and clergy at large have acquitted themselves on behalf of the Catholic Faith in England," by Nicholas Sanders.

² She was the second daughter of Sir William Dormer by his first wife, Mary Sidney, on whose death in 1542 she was placed under the care of her grandmother, Jane, Lady Dormer, daughter of John Newdegate of Harefield, co. Middlesex, and sister of Sebastian Newdegate (Collins, *Peerage*, vol. vii., pp. 63 and 64; and *Dictionary of National Biography*).

³ Henry Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria* (ed. 1887), p. 106.

numerous company, being followed by many English Catholics, who with this opportunity left their country." Among these the Sheen community might well have been.¹

The English Carthusians turned their faces to the charterhouse of Val de Grace at Bruges as to a second home where they might look for a welcome. How many they were is not to be learned from Chauncy's narrative, but elsewhere it is stated that they numbered twelve professed monks and three lay-brothers.² Whatever their number, the Prior of Val de Grace, with permission of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, found them all a dwelling within his precincts. According to another writer (who also says they were fifteen monks and three lay-brothers) they brought with them from England many manuscripts, church ornaments and paintings. But means of subsistence they had not brought with them, and with this naturally the Flemish Carthusians could not supply them; Philip of Spain, however, came to the rescue and granted them 100li. yearly.³

Two years after his arrival there Father Chauncy by the general chapter of 1561 was raised to the priorate of the Bruges charterhouse, which he retained until 1568, when he was authorised to form the English monks into a separate community.⁴ Meanwhile, in 1564 he had made a recension of his narrative of the suppression of the London charterhouse, adding to it a short account of the restoration of the House of Jesus of Bethlehem at Sheen. A copy of this made, perhaps, by some English exile in Rome, is in the Vatican Library among a set of English sixteenth-century documents, consisting mostly of petitions to Cardinal Moroni, the protector of Catholics in the Low Countries,⁵

¹ *State Papers, Venetian (Calendar)*, vol. vii., No. 91. Ambassadors with King Philip to Doge and Senate from Ghent, 5th August, 1559. Chauncy's *Passio*, in Mr. Hudson's MS., f. 77v.

² Henry Clifford, *Life of Jane Dormer* (as above), p. 107, a note by the editor, Father J. Stevenson.

³ Hon. Edward Petre, *Notices of English Colleges and Convents established on the Continent after the Dissolution of Religious Houses in England* (ed. 1849), p. 36; Mr. Hudson's MS., f. 78.

⁴ Dom Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 284-285.

⁵ Notes by Fr. Van Ortroy appended to *Passio Minor* of M. Chauncy (Vatican MS., *Miscellanea Armadio*, lxiv., vol. xxviii., ff. 213-239; *Analecſta Bollandiana*, xxii., pp. 51-78).

a fact which suggests that Prior Chauncy had it presented for him to the authorities there in order to interest them in behalf of his English brethren. A petition for aid from him to the pope in August, 1568, may have been with a view to establishing them in their separate house which was found for them in Clare Street, Bruges, and to which they moved next year. To this and to all their future settlements the English Carthusians gave the name of Sheen Anglorum, and henceforwards they always used the seal of their last English home, the House of Jesus of Bethlehem of Sheen.¹ A manuscript (Lansdown 1201) in the British Museum is perhaps a relic of this period of their existence; this small quarto contains, among other matters, direction for the profession of novices, the order of the visitation of a sick monk, and for his funeral and burial. There is twice written in a contemporary hand the date 1569, and over the list of contents is written "Shene" in the same large book hand in which the bulk of the text has been transcribed; at the end in a small clear-set English hand of the century is the direction for admitting a converse, and the same hand near the beginning has inscribed the words: "1569: Miserere piissime Jesu scriptoris hujus libri, Amen." On the blank leaves in a much later writing of the seventeenth century is a form for receiving postulants to the novitiate; there are marginal and interlinear notes in foreign hands.

Maurice Chauncy, during his priorate of another fifteen years, must have had considerable anxiety as to the funds of his community. It is true that he writes with the deepest gratitude of the pension from Spain, but frequent warfare does not tend to increase royal treasuries, and the annuity to the monks was not always regularly paid. In 1570 he wrote a new version of the *Passion of the Holy Carthusian Fathers*, founding it on his *Passio* of 1564 above-mentioned. Since we discuss the different versions of his narratives elsewhere, all to be said here is that the *Passio* of 1570 bears evidence of having been compiled as a general petition to Catholic Europe for monetary aid; his almost fulsome praise of his surviving royal patron, King Philip, preceded by extravagant language as to his former patroness, Queen Mary, is but an appeal to the great people of Flanders; and his final laudatory remarks on Sir Robert

¹ Dom Hendriks (as before), p. 285.

Rochester, with the inevitable quotation of the widow's mite and the promised reward of a cup of cold water given to the least of Christ's members, show that he would win from the reader something more than his prayers for which he asks him in the conclusion addressed to him. The manuscript, however, seems never to have been published, and three years later, in February, 1573, he was again appealing to Rome for help.¹

In 1578 his community fell into the high displeasure of the civic authorities of Bruges, because they were supposed to favour the cause of the Spanish king against the Protestants of the Netherlands. The silence of the night was disturbed, and their nocturnal offices were interrupted by searches for arms or other military supplies, suspected of being hidden with them. Finally, after having soldiers quartered upon them "within the narrow walls of their little house," and, owing to their enforced maintenance of them, having been reduced to greater want than they were in before (for four years they had received nothing at all from the royal munificence of Spain), on the 10th April a command was sent to them to depart at once not only from Bruges but from the dominions of his Catholic majesty within ten days. Prior Chauncy begged for, if not a revocation of the order, at least a delay, but this, although he prostrated himself on the ground "before the whole senate," was refused to him, and as if they had been enemies and traitors they were driven out of Belgian lands. They hoped for an asylum at Douai, but the Protestants, being in the ascendant, would not allow them to stay beyond a few hours. On the 27th April they came to St. Quentin in France, where they found at any rate an inn to shelter them. Here they were in such necessity that they had to pawn their church ornaments which they had carried off with them. In this great trouble Prior Chauncy again had recourse to the pope, and not in vain. Gregory XIII. on the 11th of July charged his nuncio at Madrid to recommend the English Carthusians to the Spanish king's charity, and on the 26th July he wrote to Don John of Austria to interest him in their behalf, and again, when the latter was replaced by Alexander Farnese, the Cardinal de Coma wrote in the name of the pope for the same purpose to the

¹ Father Van Ortroij, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxii., footnote, p. 53.

new governor of the Netherlands.¹ Of Father Chauncy it may be noted there was a general good opinion, and he had been one among others proposed during the last sessions of the Council of Trent for vacant episcopal sees. He was venerated by the English exiles, and is reported about 1575 "to be a great stay unto many English priests."²

Through the influence of Don John of Austria, Chauncy and his flock (then consisting of eighteen monks and two lay-brothers) were received into the Chartreuse of Louvain in July, 1578. Later, perhaps because the papal recommendations to King Philip were productive of small result, Prior Maurice Chauncy went to Spain himself to plead for his community probably. An illness of three months in that country, after years of continual anxiety, sorrow, and disappointment, broke his health. Moreover, old age was upon him—he was seventy-two³—and at Paris on his return journey his strength gave way. On 12th July, 1581, in the Parisian Chartreuse, his tribulations and his long penance for a false oath won from him by trickery were ended in the peace of death.

The English Carthusians, always with a separate prior of their own, resided within the precincts of the Chartreuse of Louvain until about 1590, when they removed to Mechlin. From thence in the next century, being increased from time to time by other Englishmen who chose their way of life, they migrated to Nieupoort. Here they existed as a small community in a house of their own until they were

¹ Appendix to the *Passio Minor* in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxii., p. 76 seq., giving Chauncy's petition to the pope relating the expulsion and arrival at St. Quentin, and the letters from pope and cardinal. See also *Douai Diaries*, 1st and 2nd series, p. 139; and Petre, *Notices of English Colleges and Convents on the Continent*, p. 36.

² *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxii., footnote, p. 53; *State Papers (Domestic)*, Elizabeth, cv., No. 10.

³ A list of names appended to a petition of English refugees to Rome dated 8th March, 1566, includes "Pater Mauricius Chauncy Prior Carthusianorum Brugensium in Flandra, anno ætatis 57" (Vatican, *Armadio*, lxiv., vol. xxviii., f. 338), which gives his birth-date as 1509 (*Analecta Bollandiana*, xxii., p. 53); but cf. Dom V. M. Doreau in the preface to the *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. xxiii., note 2. Dom Bernardino de Castro, Prior of Paular in Spain, which Chauncy had visited, speaks of the latter's being so "venerable on account of his advanced age," seeming to suggest that he was even older than seventy-two (Hendriks, *op. cit.*, pp. 307-308).

suppressed among other monasteries in 1783 by the Emperor Joseph II.¹ The last monk-descendant of the remnant of the English Carthusian province, Prior Joseph Williams, died in old age a refugee in his native land, on 2nd June, 1797.

¹ For the full history of Sheen Anglorum see Dom L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, pp. 285-348.

CHAPTER X

EPILOGUE: THE CARTHUSIAN PURPOSE

MONASTICISM has been accused of having "lost chance after chance of bringing in a real reformation in the Church," of being too intent on a part to be conscious of the whole.¹ But this is to reproach it for not doing what was not its purpose, and not of its essence. For it was solely concerned with the cultivation of a right relationship between single souls and God, as its very name, especially the form "monachism," implies. Christian monachism, however, could not help being a protest against the growing secularity of the Church. The savage asceticism of its early days (refined later into the appointed discipline of the regular Orders) was its method of preaching other-worldliness to a professedly Christian, but too often luxurious and corrupt, society immersed in material things. But its primary purpose was to save those individual souls whom it could persuade to pursue its hard way of discipline leading to the heavenly country. The saving of individual souls was its method of advancing Christ's kingdom, a method which was that of Christ Himself. If monachism concentrated its attention on a part, this was its plan of working for the whole. Though its special occupation was but with the few, it has afforded to all men the example of a lofty but not impossible holiness, and by its maintenance of the highest Christian ideals has helped to civilise the world.

Oriental monachism generally, and the eremitism of the early Egyptian religious, in so far as their message was, like that of the mysterious men who came to Lot, an admonitory appeal to flee from danger, were perhaps also protests against the ineffectiveness of the Church to cope with the contemporary forces of evil. But they were silent and incidental protests, the first purpose of both being to enrol and train as the "athletes of Christ" those individual Christians who felt themselves unable to work out their own salvation in ordinary church life. Some of these literally fled to the desert to escape some overmastering temptation perhaps, or fearing to be ensnared by the world,

¹ H. B. Workman, *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*.

or to be trammelled in some way in their pursuit of God. A few fled from secular danger, and still fewer from the consequence of their own crimes, but even these last often became exemplary monks or hermits.¹ But in the case of the greater number, undoubtedly, the desert was a deliberate choice for the sake of freedom in their quest for God. The very fierceness of their asceticism, except when it degenerated into a stupid emulation in feats of bodily mortification, shows that they were athirst for God, and would suffer no hindrance, spiritual or temporal, in their aim. Many of them are seen only through the mist of legend; but in the accounts of others there is so serene an atmosphere of holiness that it is impossible not to believe that the "fathers of the desert," having made themselves "strangers to the world," became "the near and intimate friends of God."² Again and again they and their spiritual children, the Carthusians and other monks of the West, are reproached for their other-worldliness, and accused of selfishness, or losing chances of usefulness in the Church or in this world. Their accusers forget that it was just because their faces were turned away from their fellow-men, away from earth to the true Sun, that they were able to reflect God's light, and to shine like stars in the dark periods of the Church's history. To put God first and man last cannot in any case be selfish, even though it involve separation from one's fellows. Monks, eremite or cœnobite, in so doing were following Christ's own ideal, a service to God without reserve on the part of the servant, a service to God without regard to human relationship in the face of the highest claims. The appeal to individual souls for self-sacrifice and personal holiness was our Lord's own method for the world's reformation. Even the fakir-like ascetics of the type of Simon Stylites uttered the same appeal. And if some of the Egyptian or other solitaries had merely personal salvation in view, it may be remarked so had John Bunyan's hero; the safety of his own soul was certainly much more the concern of Christian than that of his wife and children.³

¹ *Conference of Abbot Paphnutius*, cap. v., in *Cassian, Conferences*, iii. See also Palladius, *Lausiac History*.

² *The Imitation*, book i., chap. xviii.

³ Possibly the "selfishness" of Christian may have been pointed out to John Bunyan, for it is only in the second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* that he mentions any attempt of the Pilgrim to persuade his wife and children to accompany him.

The earliest monks, the anchorites, withdrew far from the world; their retirement, owing to the rarity of possible communication in those times, involved remoteness from the Church. A few of them might enjoy the bliss of angels in the desert and claim to be fed with the Sacrament of the Altar by the hands of angels—that is, by a vivid sense of spiritual communion, they might share in spirit the life of the Church—but generally they were curiously independent of the ecclesiastical system. But monachism, in beginning to be cœnobitic under the lead of SS. Anthony and Macarius in Lower Egypt, and especially under that of St. Pachomius in Upper Egypt, began to turn to the Church again. Under the guidance of St. Basil in the East it assumed an honoured place in the Church's life. Nevertheless it cannot be thought of as a force within the Church before St. Benedict had more definitely organised it, so far as the monks of the West were concerned, on cœnobitic or community lines.

Though St. Benedict put before the monk the service of God rather than flight from the world, the call of Benedictinism and of the other religious Orders was still to individuals, and not to the Church as a whole; for it was a call to a specific life, whether active or contemplative, or both combined, a life which required especial aptitude. It was just this personal appeal, this testimony in monasticism to the value of individual souls, which lay behind the effective work in evangelisation of monks like St. Boniface. As missionaries and educators—and even the Carthusian solitaries in writing books in their cells were intentionally preaching to others—the monks did the utmost for the Church and the world that the conditions of their life allowed. The benefits accruing to Christianity from monasticism are, nevertheless, incidental to the consecration of numerous bodies of men devoted to the use of “the Instrument of Good Works,” as St. Benedict named the rules of conduct which he composed for his disciples.¹ The Church militant may well have partaken of the transitoriness of this world in the minds of other-worldly men.

The real aim of the true monk was the reward attached to personal holiness. Unless he were a prelate in his convent, his direct occupation was only his own soul. Like St. Peter, he was not to ask, “What shall this man do?” but simply to look to it that he himself followed his Lord,

¹ *Rule of St. Benedict* (Abbot Gasquet's translation), chap. iv.

obeying the call which he believed himself to have received. There is no need to defend the "selfishness" of the monk in pursuing at all costs what was to him a direct command from God. That Christian monasticism was the legitimate outcome of the teaching of Christ Himself and of the practice of His apostles, has been ably set forth elsewhere.¹

To the Carthusian the call was somewhat different from that to the Benedictine and the other religious whose rule was founded on that of St. Benedict. To the Benedictine, according to his great father's ideal, the monastery was a school where by patience under discipline he might share in the sufferings of Christ, and so merit to be partaker of His kingdom. He was called to take the yoke of obedience, in order to do now what should profit him for eternity. He was a soldier on active service, expecting the prize at the end of his warfare. But the call of the Carthusian was to heaven, here and now. For the cell to him was heaven, where at any time he might be favoured with the Beatific Vision and the sense of intimate union with God, where, indeed, he might be "deified" in the mystic sense of that word, or "deiformed," as Dionysius Carthusianus preferred to term that exalted state. Boson, the nineteenth prior of the Grande Chartreuse, or the monk whom he employed to defend the Order, declared that the solitary life is a school of heavenly doctrine, and the desert a paradise of delights where the rose of charity glows fiery red, and the lily of chastity gleams whiter than snow, along with the contentedly hidden violets of humility; that in the cell assuredly the human soul is restored to the image of the Creator, and there the man with a pure heart may see God. He recognised, of course, the effort demanded from the solitary, for he also called the cell "the camp of God," "the field of divine battle."²

Far from the world, that might their quiet breake,
Here the glad soules the face of beauty kisse;

And . . . ever hold
Their eyes on Him, whose graces manifold
The more they doe behold, the more they would behold.³

¹ Rev. James O. Hannay, *The Spirit and Origin of Christian Monasticism* (1903).

² *De Origine et Veritate Perfecte Religionis* (Bodleian MS. 549), f. 37.

³ *Christ's Triumph after Death*, stanza 33.

So wrote Giles Fletcher of those dwelling within the celestial courts; his words might have been written to describe the existence of St. Bruno and his noblest sons.

The worthiest Carthusians turned from the world—that is, from secular life, whether ecclesiastical or lay—not so much because they hated it; still less because they feared it, and would shirk its responsibilities, for they were brave men, adventuring on a hard way like any other beset with temptations, though maybe of a special kind. Their founder himself, as a church dignitary, had ever boldly rebuked vice and endured the consequences; St. Hugh, whether as Prior of Witham or Bishop of Lincoln, was ever fearlessly outspoken to kings and magnates; at the last in England eighteen Carthusians under Henry VIII. died in one way or another for their principles. They turned from the world because they were so other-worldly that it could not satisfy them; they went far away from it lest it should break their purpose of a closer converse and union with God, more likely to be obtained in the solitude and silence of nature. Fear even of the penalties of a broken promise or vow was the last thing mentioned by Bruno in endeavouring to persuade Raoul le Vert, the Provost of Rheims, to join him.¹ He wrote to him from amidst the mountains of Calabria to tell him of green fields and flowering meadows, a prospect of valleys watered by a pleasant river with their gardens of fruit trees, as sights to refresh the mind, when wearied with severe discipline and spiritual study, for the bow, if continually stretched, becomes unfit for its purpose, to hint at benefits and joys afforded by the solitude and silence of the desert to its lovers, known only to those who have experienced them; and to lay before him the freedom there to be had to withdraw into oneself when one would, the ever-present opportunity in dwelling by oneself of cultivating the seeds of virtue and of the happy foretaste of the fruits of paradise, the possibility to a man with serene vision and pure heart of beholding God. Here there was busy ease and quiet activity. Here, for their labours in the contest, God gave His athletes the desired reward, the peace unknown to the world and joy in the Holy Ghost. It was just this occupied quiet, this busy, silent quest and awaiting for divine communication, that the Carthusians jealously protected against

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 152, col. 420.

intrusion from the world because its very nature was incompatible with it.

The Carthusians could not turn away their gaze from heaven. If there have been comparatively few who really had the Beatific Vision, yet all were conscious of the supernal glory in consideration of which all earthly interests ceased for them. To such men the taking of the final vow was less a sacrifice than a gain. They might have said :

We offer what we cannot keep,
What we have ceased to love.¹

The Carthusian postulant with a real vocation was like one who had received that spiritual kiss from the lips of Christ, that hidden manna for which whosoever tastes thereof still hungers for it again, of which St. Bernard spoke.² The great Abbot of Clairvaux understood the value of the Carthusian silence; on one occasion he wrote to Prior Guigo I.³ that he had feared by writing to trouble their holy quiet, or to interrupt even for a moment those "mysterious whispers from God" to which the solitaries of the Chartreuse listened. Of the souls in bliss it has been said,⁴

Their hungrie eares feede on the heavenly noyse

of the songs of angels : so these ascetic monks fed in spirit on the sound of the still small voice of God which is not heard in whirlwinds, nor often amidst the restlessness of men.

In the present age, when the place of devout religion has been largely taken by philanthropy, or utilitarianism and sociology, when duty to one's neighbour is put on a level with duty to God instead of as a corollary to it, the reason (still less the need) for the existence of the Carthusian Order may hardly be understood, save perhaps in Catholic countries. Consideration of the majesty of God Supreme above all, and therefore the valuation of duty and worship to Him above duty or benefit to creatures of like nature as ourselves (except where the one duty involves the other), the belief in an intimate personal relation between Christ and every Christian soul should, however, explain much.

¹ J. H. Newman, verses entitled *The Two Worlds* (1862).

² Sermon iii. on *Canticles*, i., 1.

³ *Some Letters of St. Bernard*, ed. by Abbot Gasquet (1904), p. 193.

⁴ Giles Fletcher (as above), stanza 34.

The Carthusian cannot be called selfish; he sacrificed everything, almost his personality, on the altar of his love to Christ. If he sought Him whom he so loved in the desert he believed himself called to seek Him there. After his profession, when he had closed the door of his cell, this became to him the court of heaven where he might converse with his Master. It is not surprising that in the practice of St. Bruno and his disciples the ordinary monastic activities, however incidentally beneficial to humanity, were, so far as possible, neglected, as interruptions of their divine preoccupations. Their attitude towards active works has been shared by other contemplatives. The Carmelite St. John of the Cross declared that "when the soul has reached the state of unitive love, it is not requisite it should occupy itself in other and exterior duties—unless they be matters of obligation—which might hinder, were it but for a moment, the life of love in God, though they may minister greatly to His service; because an instant of pure love is more precious in the eyes of God and the soul, and more profitable to the Church, than all other good works together, though it may seem as if nothing were done. . . . When the soul, then, in any degree possesses the spirit of solitary love, we must not interfere with it. We should inflict a grievous wrong upon it, and upon the Church also, if we were to occupy it, were it only for a moment, in exterior and active duties, however important they might be."¹

It may be asked, if this self-dedication in desert solitudes was in response to the spiritual stirring of the love of God, how was it that, while believing in that love, these men adopted so stern a way of life, an almost cruel asceticism? The reason was two-fold: penance and discipline. While, of course, desiring the freedom which is to be gained in living away from the haunts of men, when Bruno and his companions first took up their abode in the mountain wilds of La Chartreuse, they might have had something vicariously, as well as personally, expiatory and penitential in their intention, considering the corruptions in the Church and the violence and other evils of the times. More certainly the asceticism then and later was disciplinary, the means to the end for which the Carthusians secluded themselves. That end was to satisfy the craving of the soul for union with God already in this life. Mysticism and

¹ Quoted by Dom Cuthbert Butler in *Western Mysticism*, p. 275.

asceticism naturally go together ; for asceticism is the attempt by mortification to advance towards the necessary purification of the soul which would see God, as well as the penitential endeavour to atone for sin by renunciation and self-denial in things lawful.¹ Carthusian asceticism was, moreover, avowedly founded on the severe austerity of the eremitic monks of Egypt and on the teaching of St. Jerome, though happily the eccentric extravagances and individualism of those early religious, too often savouring of pride, could not be admitted where there was one rule to which all were bound. Some small points in their asceticism were in course of time altered ; for instance, of the personal dirtiness, advocated by Jerome and apparently adopted by the early Chartreux, nothing is heard after the repulsive account of their sordid attire given by Peter the Venerable,² and with regard to their dress, allowance was later made for difference of climate. Here it may be noted that the whiteness of the Carthusian habit originally had no symbolic significance ; it was an absence of colour due to the material being the rough undyed cloth, or serge, of the country. Asceticism under rule was the training of the Carthusian "athletes of God" for their contest with their natural inclinations and temptations ; it was the means of obtaining self-mastery through self-abnegation, of crucifying themselves with Christ.

There is a tendency among both clergy and laymen in secular life to forget the asceticism in Christ's teaching, or, in remembering it, to explain it away as metaphor merely. The Lord's austerity was and is inconvenient, but in view of His own practice, and of that of His immediate followers, and of the greatest saints in all ages of the Church, it cannot be denied that He intended asceticism to be a factor in the Christian's training, however legitimately modified according to a man's strength or circumstances. The Carthusians chose to follow their Lord literally in their discipline. They set up a high standard of asceticism, hating their own souls to gain eternal life.

Enemies of monachism are prone to speak of entrance to the cloister as a cowardly flight from life's difficulties. If a man so fled to a charterhouse, he was scarcely likely to remain there. It could only have been a happy place for

¹ Cf. Dom C. Butler, *Benedictine Monachism*, p. 35.

² *De Miraculis*, lib. ii., cap. xxviii.

him who had a true vocation. As has been said, "neither the secret places of the forest nor the peaks of mountains can give happiness to a man if he has not within himself the sabbath of the heart, tranquillity of conscience, ascensions within his spirit."¹ Unless he had a real vocation, the aspirant to a Carthusian habit would have more chance elsewhere of "working out his salvation," to use a phrase of the Order for finding peace of mind. For the Carthusians, while sometimes having pride in their Order, admitted that theirs was not the only religious life. Probably those most devoted to their system clearly recognised their life in the charterhouses as a special life, and only the best because it allowed a more unbroken contemplation and communion with the Unseen than was possible in most other forms of monastic religion.

Guigo I., the fifth Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, said that he and his companions withdrew to the almost inaccessible mountain places, not for the temporal care of other folk's bodies, but for the eternal welfare of their own souls.² This welfare for them began here in turning their backs on earthly things and absorbing themselves in the heavenly. In one matter only did they admit having others in their minds, and that was in writing or copying books, which was a preaching³ with their pens. Yet this was not their only preaching. Their asceticism, in spite of their silence, proclaimed loudly and continuously to all Christendom the austerity of the Crucified, the sternness of the Cross, the absolute necessity of self-denial in the true follower of Christ.

Here it may be observed that during the course of centuries these secluded monks came to have a wide spiritual connection with the outside world, as they more and more accepted the charge of prayers for others. Intercession as a duty occurs in Guigo's Customs indeed, in one passage where he mentions the Paternosters to be said by the lay-brothers in the lower house on Good Friday for the Church, pope, and clergy, the emperor, catechumens, persons afflicted and in danger, heretics, Jews, and heathen.⁴ From the acts of the general chapters of three centuries later we find that it came to have a large place in the

¹ Ivo of Chartres, ep. 192, in *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 152, p. 201, quoted by H. B. Workman in *Monastic Ideal*, p. 332.

² *Consuetudines*, cap. xx.

³ *Ibid.*, cap. xxviii., 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, cap. lxix.

Carthusian services. There were the prayers which they bound themselves to offer for the founders of their charter-houses, and those who had endowed single cells in any of their monasteries, or other benefactors living or dead, and for members of their fraternities. Then, instead of their single altar, and mass only on Sunday and high feast-days, as at first, they now, like other Orders, had several altars in their churches, and several masses said, often with an intention for the requirements both of the ecclesiastical and lay world. Part of the ordinary routine of the yearly assembly at the Grande Chartreuse came to be the appointment of prayers and masses, whether for public affairs like the deliberation of the Council at Basle, the religious wars in Bohemia, the disturbed state of Italy, France, or England, or for the repose of the soul of some obscure citizen in Germany or London who had in some wise benefited one of their communities or monks. That their prayers were much sought after we have an instance in the message sent by George, Duke of Clarence, through the Prior of Beauvale, to the general chapter of 1477, to know what they intended to do for his wife Isabella, lately deceased.¹ And Edward I., in one of his campaigns in Scotland, had especially asked for the prayers of the two Carthusian communities in Somerset.² Intercession later grew to be so much a part of their occupation that one of them, a sometime missionary, on being asked what he did in his cell, could answer: "I am preaching the Gospel; formerly my activity could only be exercised within a limited region; today the whole world is open to my zeal, and by my prayer I can reach the furthest savage in Africa or Oceania."³

The Carthusians had a rite of their own, founded largely on other monastic rites as to their use of the psalter, and on the rite of the Church of Grenoble, in which diocese the Chartreuse stands, as to their manner of celebrating mass, and on that of the Church of Lyons as to some other details.⁴ This book has not dealt with their liturgy. The

¹ Lambeth MS. 413, f. 488.

² Close Roll, 31 Edward I., m. 7 d.

³ *Le Contemplatif* (printed at St. Hugh's Charterhouse, Parkminster, 1917), p. 13.

⁴ Dom Innocent Le Masson, *Annales*, in *Patrologia Latina*, tom. 152, col. 639. But for a full account of the Carthusian rite see Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*.

chapter on the Rule has shown, however, that a large part of the Carthusian's time was taken up in the recitation of offices in his cell besides the services in church; if a lesser part was left for actual meditation, it must be remembered that there is a way of saying the psalter of which the offices were made up, which is in itself a meditation. The Carthusian Dionysius, sometimes called the Seraphic Doctor, was of the opinion that to say the office well was a help not only to meditation, but to the scaling of the heights of contemplation; for to meditate, he said, is the habitual directing of the thoughts towards God, the perception of His presence always and everywhere, and the hearing His voice and exhortations in all that happens to one. Moreover, he said that to praise God was a more exalted, a more heavenly, a more angelical act, than to pray to God, therefore he would have the solitary as he advanced spiritually, to occupy himself customarily in the praises of God in hymns and psalms.¹

To that mystical state of rapt contemplation, where the soul on fire with love in its prayerful energy is carried for a brief space into the unencompassed light, to the experience of union with God, that foretaste of the knowledge of God as He is, of which mystical writers speak, all the secluded life of the Carthusians was intended to lead. It need not be asked how many attained that end. Their charterhouses were schools for a noble mysticism, but it cannot be claimed for their convents that they were communities of mystics, for that would imply that every Carthusian monk fulfilled the ideal, and was able to reach the heights of contemplation. Nevertheless the intention of all Carthusian discipline was to make possible for him contemplation in the fullest sense, that mystic spiritual beholding of God called the Beatific Vision.

¹ *La Grande Chartreuse, par un Chartreux* (1898), pp. 373-375.

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